

## SUMMARY

This thesis is concerned with tracing and evaluating the idea of liberal education for adults during the period 1914-1958. The study relates to the English adult education scene, focusing upon the extra-mural work conducted by the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. The research also concerns the experience gained at the University of Toronto and McMaster University, for a comparative approach between Canada and England offers scope for insights in a Trans-Atlantic context.

The selection of the five universities covered by this study was made with a recognition that, by 1958, each of them had a well established extension department: and, furthermore, that each is a provincial university closely identified with a particular geographical region. An important consideration in this research was the need to examine some elements in the social and political history of England and Ontario because, in order to evaluate the development of liberal education for adults, there has to be an appreciation of changes in the milieu in which adult education functioned.

In the layout of the thesis, the work at the English universities is presented first. Then the experience of Ontario is set forth, while contrasting this to the English experience. A conclusion outlines the common threads and differences in approach to liberal education, between the five universities.

The study attempted to seek answers to such basic questions as the following:

- (1) In what way has the concept of liberal education changed?
- (2) What subject material has been taught in different decades?
- (3) What type of student was attracted?
- (4) Are any trends discernible in terms of educational, political, social or economic factors?

Before summarising the general conclusions suggested by this study, it must

be emphasized that each university functioned in a unique setting. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to support the following statements concerning the trends that seem to emerge from this research.

In England, between the two World Wars, the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) emphasized the study of Economics, as a means of securing social emancipation for the working class. At the same time, however, there was a growing concern with cultural subjects such as English Literature, particularly when women increasingly formed a larger percentage of the total student body. In Ontario, the W.E.A. lost ground and the two universities emphasized the value of liberal education to elementary school-teachers.

After World War Two, the birth of a welfare state in England created a new demand for courses that would help train personnel in the social sciences. The concept of "university liberal education" was expanded beyond the traditional acceptance of this term. Extra-mural directors sought to include vocational oriented courses, by emphasizing the liberal spirit with which such courses could be taught, principally in order to secure more freedom from government regulation. The Ontario universities insisted upon developing programmes that could be financially self-sustaining; so that the range of courses encompassed both vocational and liberal study, with the latter including the opportunity to credit subjects towards a B.A. degree.

By the 1950's, the growth of non-credit liberal education in Ontario tended to move the two universities closer to the traditional English pattern. The evidence indicates that, on both sides of the Atlantic, university extra-mural departments tended to "educate the educated" by attracting students from the white-collar members of the middle class.

In political terms, the Conservative governments on both sides of the Atlantic showed a reluctance to encourage the growth of university liberal education for adults. This political climate helps to explain a trend where university adult educators espoused the need for social change while resisting political radicalism.



*Extension Studies*



UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

A COMPARISON OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERAL  
EDUCATION THROUGH THE EXTRA-MURAL DEPARTMENTS  
OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND  
MANCHESTER, WITH THAT PROVIDED BY TWO ONTARIO  
UNIVERSITIES, 1914 - 1958.

THESIS SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF LIVERPOOL FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY BY  
JACK ARCHIBALD BLYTH.

JUNE 1974

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## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	1	THE ROOTS OF LIBERAL EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION BEFORE 1920	Page	1
CHAPTER	2	ENGLISH ADULT EDUCATION IN THE 1920's	Page	59
CHAPTER	3	ADULT EDUCATION, 1930 - 39	Page	118
CHAPTER	4	ADULT EDUCATION DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR	Page	178
CHAPTER	5	EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION, 1946 - 49	Page	217
CHAPTER	6	THE PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION, 1950 - 54	Page	275
CHAPTER	7	THE ASHBY REPORT AND ITS AFTERMATH	Page	356
CHAPTER	8	ADULT EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, 1954 - 58	Page	407
CHAPTER	9	THE ORIGINS AND PATTERN OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN ONTARIO, 1914 - 1931	Page	449
CHAPTER	10	UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, 1932 - 1948	Page	516
CHAPTER	11	UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN ONTARIO, 1949 - 1958	Page	574
CHAPTER	12	AN OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY	Page	618
		APPENDIX	Page	638
		BIBLIOGRAPHY	Page	679

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## CHAPTER 1

### THE ROOTS OF LIBERAL EDUCATION AND LIBERAL EDUCATION BEFORE 1920

The first few pages of this thesis will examine the concept of liberal education. The objective is not to attempt any detailed historical account of the origins of liberal education prior to 1914 but, rather to consider some relevant factors that helped to determine the image of liberal education for adults that applied in the early Twentieth century.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines liberal education as that fit for a gentleman, of general literary rather than of a technical kind. This definition begs as many questions as it answers, yet does call attention to the broad features of what is termed "liberal education". Liberal education is concerned with general purposes rather than technique or acquisition of occupational skills. The word "liberal" can be traced back to an age before Christianity appeared, with the Latin root "liber" meaning free and not in a state of bondage. In Greek and Roman times the free man could devote himself to study, so that the idea of "liberal education" was associated with the opportunity for study provided by the possession of leisure time. The liberally educated man was supposed to exhibit a freedom of mind, while the illiberally educated man did not display this characteristic. An allied idea concerned the social status of the student for, in Greece, where slavery existed, the acquisition of a manual skill was illiberal. Stress was laid upon the motivation of the student, because as Aristotle remarked, "in education it makes all the difference why a man does or learns anything; if he studies it for the sake of his own development or with a view to excellence it is liberal."<sup>1</sup>

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1 R. Livingstone, The Future in Education, London, Cambridge University Press., 1942, p. 69.



The emphasis in liberal education was on the opportunity to develop individual capacities or gifts and become a well rounded human being. While it is true that Hellenism, the world of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, touched only the educated elite, it has provided a universal cultural heritage for the West. To this Greek heritage was added that of the Hebraic culture providing what Matthew Arnold called, "sweetness and light". An education that stressed this background was termed a "classical education", and had the commendable feature of striving to see the totality of life and society, rather than studying a few fragments called academic subjects. A classical education was used to maintain an elitist tradition, where the university concerned itself with moulding good citizens who became the leaders in public affairs and in the learned professions. This classical tradition has survived until recent times because, for example, students planning to attend Oxford University in 1971 were required to meet entrance requirements stressing knowledge of Latin. This Oxford tradition is significant for adult education, because the views of some of the university men who became interested in an extra-mural mission to the general public were formed in this classical mould, with Balliol men from Oxford University being particularly prominent.

The objections to the idea of liberal education have usually been rooted in the democratic idea of equality. A good summary of this opposition was provided by a committee at Harvard University who, in 1945, issued a report entitled General Education in a Free Society, which stated:

The opposition to liberal education - both the phrase and the fact - stem largely from historical causes. The concept of liberal education first appeared in a slave-owning society, like that of Athens, in which the community was divided into free men and slaves, rulers and subjects. While the slaves carried on the specialised occupations of menial work, the free men were primarily concerned with the rights and duties of citizenship. The training of the former was purely vocational; but as the free men were not only a ruling

but also a leisure class, their education was exclusively in the liberal arts, without any utilitarian tinge ... (but) Modern democratic society clearly does not regard labor as odious or disgraceful.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of emancipation had gone hand in glove with the diffusion of liberal education because a democracy needs educated citizens capable of making independent judgements.

Yet modern English adult education, developed in the Victorian age, seems to have become intertwined with the structure of social classes. The University Extension movement, launched by James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge, attracted audiences that were mainly middle class, with many women seizing the opportunity to emancipate themselves from their inferior status in society at large. Another educational movement among adults endeavoured to extend the spirit, if not the curriculum, of classical education to working men. In the process of trying to reach working men, the concept of liberal education underwent modification. A pioneer in this mission to the working class was Frederick D. Maurice who stated that "the country should look for salvation through the elevation of that class to a position of greater dignity".<sup>3</sup> Maurice sought to adapt education to needs as he saw them and, when he established the London Working Men's College in 1854, there was a clear recognition that:

Latin and Greek can never be the groundwork of a mechanic's education. The love of intellectual acquisition for its own sake exists only in a few ... (who) are transported from the working class into the scholar class. For such cases we do not wish to provide, if we could ... I would have a special lesson on words ... which occur in the most familiar conversation, as well as technical words.<sup>4</sup>

As a clergyman, Maurice was naturally concerned that his form of liberal education for the worker should be animated by a Christian spirit. For,

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2 Harvard University, General Education in a Free Society, Cambridge, 1945, p. 52.

3 W.E. Styler, ed. Learning and Working. Frederick Denison Maurice. London: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 16.

4 Ibid., pp. 142-3.

to Maurice, theology formed the basis of humane studies and he felt that it should be taught, "because I believe that God deserved Freedom and Order from us, and will help us to desire them and claim them for ourselves!"<sup>5</sup> The use of the word "order" in conjunction with the word "freedom" seems to fit the Christian Socialism with which Maurice was associated. It also had the flexibility of embracing men who were either Christians or Socialists and the significance of this development has been described in these terms:

Maurice was the first to give expression to a view at once Christian, Socialist and academic that has perhaps been the dominant influence in the development of British adult education ... I say academic because he asserted the importance of university men contributing their learning towards the task of educating their less fortunate countrymen.<sup>6</sup>

This concept that one of the purposes of adult education in England was to aid working men is important; not because it was necessarily true in practice, but because it provided a sound rationale for promoting the benefits of liberal education to a larger audience.

Maurice's conception of liberal study was that it should express the highest achievement of the human mind. Such a Victorian view was harmonious with that of Matthew Arnold who expressed a feeling that education had to be based on, "the best that has been thought and written in the world". Yet Maurice did not stop at philosophical speculation but implemented a curriculum at his Working Men's College. Emphasis was given to the study of history which became a distinguished feature of adult education. History was then conceived as past politics and it was hoped that by studying past traditions the student would gain in objectivity. Maurice planned to lead students from the contemporary scene, or what is now termed current events, towards the study of related subjects for, "all history and all literature exhibit God's education of mankind".<sup>7</sup> While the educational

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5 Ibid., p. 146.

6 Ibid., pp. 17-18.

7 Ibid., p. 17.



philosophy may have seemed sound, the future product seemed to exhibit the more secularistic socialist point of view; yet the influence of innovating the systematic study of politics for workers can hardly be overestimated. While political emancipation for both male and female was the immediate objective, this was merely the precursor of a desire for economic and social emancipation.

While the personal interests of F.D. Maurice were firmly rooted in history and theology, students who attended the Working Men's College appear to have displayed different leanings:

The most numerous attended classes were those on Languages, English Grammar, Mathematics and Drawing; while the weakest were the Humanities (history, literature, law and politics) and the Physical Sciences.<sup>8</sup>

The real significance of the work of F.D. Maurice was, however, that he saw the distinction, stemming from the motivations of the students, between technical education and liberal study. Maurice saw the difference between education that offered adults "the means of livelihood" and "the means of life".<sup>9</sup> This broad division between bread and butter issues and spiritual values would play an important part in the subsequent organization of adult education.

Another prominent Victorian who helped to clarify the nature of liberal knowledge in a nineteenth century setting was John Henry Newman. The Extension Movement had yet to be born when he expressed his thoughts On the Scope and Nature of University Education but this seminal thinker anticipated some of the problems that could be associated with the expansion of educational opportunity. Newman clearly distinguished between liberal education and vocational training:

8 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 186. Kelly cites as his source J.F.C. Harrison, History of the Working Men's College, 1854-1954, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, pp. 58-9.

9 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 189. Kelly attributes these words to Lord Goschen.

There are two methods of education; the one aspires to be philosophical, the other to be mechanical; the one rises towards ideas, the other is exhausted upon what is particular and external. Let me not be thought to deny the necessity, or to decry the benefit, of such attention to what is particular and practical, the useful or mechanical arts; life could not go on without them.<sup>10</sup>

Newman defended the concept of liberal training by declaring, "I am prepared to maintain that there is a knowledge worth possessing for what it is and not for what it does".<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Newman was not prepared to dilute standards in order to appear to be conveying the benefits of liberal education to a mass audience:

Do not say, the people must be educated, when, after all, you only mean amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humour, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusements, such occupations of mind, are not a great gain; but they are not education.<sup>12</sup>

Newman obviously believed that if a student was to derive any benefit from the process of education then intensive application was required.

A Victorian contemporary of Newman and Maurice was Matthew Arnold who left his impress on the philosophy of what constituted liberal education. For Arnold the word "culture" concerned the general state of intellectual development in society and was related to the idea of human perfection. As Arnold looked around the society of the nineteenth century he saw behaviour that contradicted his ideals. Arnold deplored the "Barbarians" who, as the aristocracy, was useless defenders of an older civilised order. Similarly, he castigated the "Philistines", the materialistic middle class, who believed England's greatness was proved by her being so rich. Unfortunately, the working classes merely aspired to becoming Philistines or became degraded. So Arnold sought the most effective way of spreading his concept of civilisation which, basically, meant the

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10 John Henry Newman, On the Scope and Nature of University Education, London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., N.D., pp. 103-4.

11 Ibid., pp. 105-6.

12 Ibid., p. 136.

humanization of man in society. In educational terms, according to Culture and Anarchy, the answer was to welcome the conjunction of the minority in each class of society who were led by a liberal outlook embracing a humane spirit and love of human perfection.<sup>13</sup> For an individual, Arnold sought the classical type of culture where experience could be interpreted as an intelligible, organic whole. Arnold's distinctive contribution was a recognition that, to the literary tradition had to be added science as, "a modern liberal education required both the study of man and the study of nature, the humanities and the sciences".<sup>14</sup>

The value of science was clearly recognised by leading Victorian thinkers. John Stuart Mill stated that "reasoning and observation have been carried to their greatest known perfection in the physical sciences".<sup>15</sup> T.H. Huxley told a House of Commons Select Committee, "I am of the opinion that physical science ought to be the primary instrument and literary culture secondary".<sup>16</sup> Huxley had his own interpretation of the meaning of liberal education:

That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained that his body is the ready servant of his will ... whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine ... whose mind is filled with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature ... who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art ... and to respect others as himself. Such a one and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education; for he is, as completely, as a man can be, in harmony with nature.<sup>17</sup>

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- 13 M. Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1901, p. 70.
- 14 W.F. Connell, The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950, p. 195.
- 15 F.W. Farrar, Essays on a Liberal Education, London: MacMillan and Co., 1868, p. 251.
- 16 C. Bibby, "T.H. Huxley's Idea of a University", Universities Quarterly, Vol. 10, 4, August, 1956, p. 381.
- 17 C. Bibby, T.H. Huxley, Scientist, Humanist and Educator, London: C. and A. Watts and Co., Ltd. 1959, p. 44.

This definition appears to reflect a reaction against the idea that liberal study implies an almost exclusive pre-occupation with the humanities, where one studies the feelings, history and language of man. Yet Huxley obviously felt that science, far from being inhuman and restricted to studying nature, developed the logical faculty in men and therefore has a vital role to play in liberal education. Moreover, Huxley lectured to working men as part of his contribution to educating the general public and was well known in Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester.<sup>18</sup>

When the formal work of University Extension began, under James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1873, the same cities plus Sheffield provided audiences for lectures on the History of Science. As the Extension movement blossomed in the late Nineteenth century, natural science continued to comprise a heavy proportion of a range of subjects that included history, literature and art.<sup>19</sup> Following the passage of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, Oxford and Cambridge co-operated with some of the County Councils and County Boroughs. By 1891-2 the volume of this technical education was considerable<sup>20</sup> and, in 1895, the Extension Secretary at Cambridge, R.D. Roberts, indicated that it had reduced the interest shown in traditional subjects like Literature and History.<sup>21</sup> The fact that

18 Ibid., See pp. 93-95.

19 In 1890-91, out of 457 courses arranged by Oxford, Cambridge and London, 191 were on natural science, 159 on history and political science and 104 on literature, art and architecture. See T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 224.

20 For a full discussion of this period see N.A. Jepson, The Beginnings of English Adult Education: Policy and Problems, London: Michael Joseph, 1973, pp. 225-230.

21 Ibid., p. 229.

grants were available from County and Town Councils to support scientific and technical subjects was a major factor in this situation.<sup>22</sup> While the University Extension authorities soon withdrew from the provision of technical education, possibly a legacy of this period was the idea that future development of the humanities might one day require a government subsidy.

An attempt was made at University College, Liverpool to interest students in semi-vocational evening classes but few students were attracted.<sup>23</sup> There is evidence that the Extension movement in Liverpool then deliberately encouraged liberal education. In 1889, a Liverpool Society for University Extension was founded as a voluntary body, mainly due to the enthusiasm of Ramsay Muir and the co-operation of the Liverpool Royal Institution. The Liverpool Society for University Extension aimed "to provide a general education for an adult well-informed, intelligent citizenship through the medium of lecture courses by members of the university staff on subjects non-vocational in character".<sup>24</sup> The students who attended these lectures

22 Ibid., p. 226.

The Local Taxation Act of 1890 empowered the Council of any County or County Borough to apply revenue derived from the new tax on spirits for the support of "technical education", as outlined in The Technical Education Act of 1889. What became popularly known as "whisky" money was a new factor affecting the provision of education for adults.

23 V. Williams, The History of the Society for University Extension in Liverpool and District 1899-1910, Dissertation submitted for the Diploma in Adult Education in the University of Manchester, 1959, p. 112.

24 Ibid., p. 111.

Ramsay Muir was just starting a distinguished academic career, as a lecturer at University College, Liverpool, and enlisted the support of colleagues in various academic disciplines.

The Liverpool Royal Institution located in Colquitt Street provided lecture rooms for the programme. The Royal Institute had been established "for the promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts". A royal charter had been granted in 1821 and, in the following year, a scholar named William Roscoe became the first President. See T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool, A Narrative of Two Hundred Years, Liverpool: Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Liverpool, 1960, pp. 14-15.

were mainly drawn from professional and clerical groups.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time, there was a concern in England about the need to educate the working class. One of the constant elements in the development of British adult education appears to be a theme of aiding an underprivileged group to secure social emancipation. From Balliol College came Arnold Toynbee who, in a spirit of noblesse oblige, helped Canon Barnett to crusade in the slums of East London. Toynbee Hall was founded in Whitechapel and rapidly established a reputation as an educational centre, although it should be noted that the students were neither predominantly working class nor drawn exclusively from the surrounding slums.<sup>26</sup> Canon Barnett had a keen sympathy for the University Extension movement and indicated his attitude towards University teaching:

The University teacher is one who stimulates curiosity - who stirs up the sleeping qualities of his hearers' minds ... The student of history, literature and philosophy, rightly taught, is helped to get out of the groove in which he is placed by his relation to his country, his class, or his creed. He will take wider views of life.<sup>27</sup>

A dynamic of much of Nineteenth century reform movements had been a paternalistic concern for the underprivileged: now, at the close of the century, one of the expressions of this dynamic came in the field of adult education, with university dons and clergymen dispensing "knowledge sweetness and light to the underprivileged".<sup>28</sup> Clerics like Charles Gore and William Temple followed in the tradition of Maurice and Barnett.

25 V. Williams, The History of the Society for University Extension in Liverpool and District 1899-1910, Dissertation submitted for the Diploma in Adult Education in the University of Manchester, 1959, p.115.

26 J.A.R. Pimlott, Toynbee Hall, p. 60. Cited in T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 241.

27 N.A. Jepson, The Beginnings of English Adult Education: Policy and Problems, London: Michael Joseph, 1973, p. 218.

28 W.E. Styler, "A Note on Adult Education Studies", The Tutors Bulletin, Spring, 1950, p. 9.

This activity of carrying liberal education to workers was very commendable and can be viewed as an expression of Matthew Arnold's hope that a minority of men in each class of liberal outlook could provoke a humane spirit. Furthermore, it might be added that this was a distinctively British achievement: for the Social Darwinism that was rampant in the United States coloured the thinking of virtually all of North American urban society.

At the heart of English liberal education was a belief that ordinary men and women should not be denied the opportunity to reflect upon the great philosophical questions pertaining to life. The universities' contribution had a particular value because they believe that the great questions are open questions and that, essentially, there can be no definite answers to any major question. All that one can do is to try to perceive truth. Mature students already had a background of experience of life, and could be encouraged to appreciate the fundamental values on which our society rests, while attempting to assess objectively the subject knowledge presented in an adult education class. Consistent with this educational philosophy, the two subjects that were most widely taught in Extension classes were History and Literature.<sup>29</sup> University Extension perpetuated the tradition of liberal education which, in turn, meant that there was more concern with, "cultural rather than vocational education, upon humanistic rather than technical studies, upon developing the faculty of thought rather than the power to absorb factual information".<sup>30</sup>

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29 N.A. Jepson, The Beginnings of English Adult Education: Policy and Problems, London, Michael Joseph, 1973, p. 236.

Jepson states that:

In the case of Oxford, courses in three subjects constituted almost three-quarters of the courses organised between 1889 and 1902. For the greater part of the period History was easily in first place, but by the turn of the century Literature was challenging it, and in the 1902-3 session actually overtook it.

30 Ibid., p. 216.

By the start of the Twentieth century the concept of liberal education in England had a number of strands. The exclusive public schools held to the concept of the classical tradition. Thought at the university level ranged from the classical tradition upheld at Oxford to a more secular, scientific, emphasis at the Victorian universities of Liverpool Leeds and Manchester. In the narrower field of liberal education for adults, there was a strong element of social concern about underprivileged groups. The evidence suggests that the educational opportunities provided by universities for adults tended to bring a response from the middle-class segment of society, particularly from women; and that the rationale of aiding large numbers of workers was probably more valuable in aiding the morale of those organising Extension work, than reflecting a true picture of what was actually being achieved. These elements seem to have gathered themselves into two main groups. First, the view that certain bodies of knowledge are considered liberal in intent and this places emphasis on the curriculum. Secondly, that there is a process of "liberating" which shifts the emphasis from what is studied to the individual, be he teacher or student. While the appeal along the lines of curriculum appears to have met with a limited response from members of the working class, there was a considerable attraction in the idea of liberation, either for a social class or an individual.

The stage was set for the contribution of the man who claimed to act as a catalyst in uniting the elements interested in liberal education for the working class. Albert Mansbridge, the founder of the Workers' Educational Association, gained the interest of the growing trade union movement as well as some clerics and academics. By 1909 Balliol College played host to representatives of the working class and the ideas of liberal education were endorsed in ringing phrases:

The time has come for the working man to demand a share in the education which is called 'liberal' because it concerns life, not livelihood ... By the avenues of



Art, Literature and History it gives access to the thoughts and ideals of the ages, its outward mark is a broad reasoned view of things and a sane measure of social values; in a word, it stands for culture in its highest and true sense. This 'liberal' education should be a common heritage.<sup>31</sup>

The 1909 Conference issued a report that dealt with the gulf in thought between the liberally educated scholar, and a worker that has received a technical training. This report attempted to bridge the gap in understanding between social classes and issued this admirable manifesto:

Technical and general education ought not to be distinguished on the ground that they are fit for different classes, but because they stimulate different sides of the same man; in our opinion a man who will throughout life work with his hands needs a general education ... in order that he may be a good citizen and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the world.<sup>32</sup>

This proclamation by some Oxford dons gave wide publicity to the concept that adult education had a large role to play in promoting good citizenship.

On the other hand, in 1909, the representatives of the Workers' Educational Association appear to have felt that Oxford University could, through liberal education, resolve most of the ills of society, as they

had a dim notion that the University possessed some secret of life which was the point of all learning and tradition ... and which would illumine and radiate through life and show, even to that puzzled generation, a way through the problems.<sup>33</sup>

The working man felt that he lacked political power, adequate educational opportunities and a fair reward for his labour; he looked to education to

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31. Oxford and Working Class Education, Being the Report of a Joint Committee of University and Working Class Representatives on the Relationship of the University to the Higher Education of Working People, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909, p. 52.

32. Ibid., pp. 50-1.

33. D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay. A Biography, London, Basil Blackwell, 1961, p.70.

equip him with the means to grapple with his problems either as a trade union leader, or political worker, or as a representative in local and national government. The outstanding success of R.H. Tawney's pioneering tutorial classes appeared to show the tremendous potential of co-operation between don and worker: although, it might have been wise to recognise that reproducing the calibre of that experiment on a mass scale would be difficult.

There seems to have been a feeling that the tutorial class was a tool for creating change in social, political and economic areas. Recent scholarship has suggested, however, that the mythology of "manual workers" forming an eager band of tutorial class students, which stems from the mystique of Tawney's pioneering classes, was based on distortion of the facts. Tawney himself reported that "The Longton class consisted of a mixture of teachers and work-people in about equal proportions".<sup>34</sup> The recent investigator commented that, "in an area where non-manual jobs were few and the mass of the population 'sold their labour' to the potter or mineowner, the tutorial class at Longton can be seen to be very unrepresentative".<sup>35</sup> Moreover, even the pioneer of tutorial class techniques had trouble securing adequate written work, as Tawney reported:

There is still room for improvement in the paper-work ... many students ... (have) had so little experience in writing essays ... Most of the students were new to the subject of lectures and had little practice in composition. The lecturer did not, therefore, think it wise to press them too hard to write papers.<sup>36</sup>

Because of subsequent developments, the nature of the alliance that Albert Mansbridge had forged needs to be briefly examined. Mansbridge was the right man at this particular point in time to urge an alliance between

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34 Linden R. West, "The Tawney Legend Re-examined", Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 4, 1972, p. 109.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 112.

don and worker, as he possessed personal qualities of enthusiasm and evangelicalism, exemplified by a favourite phrase, "The glory of education".<sup>37</sup> Certainly the idea of the universities reaching out to aid workers had considerable appeal, and, in 1909, an inter-university body was established to facilitate discussion of aspects of university adult education called the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes. The scope of this movement would be dependent on the unknown size of an intellectual elite among the working classes capable of profiting from university instruction, and the percentage of these potential students willing to devote their scanty leisure to a rigorous schedule. Another factor that need to be taken into account is that Balliol College had its own reasons for welcoming discussion at this time.

A.L. Smith and A.D. Lindsay were striving to get "Modern Greats" accepted, by combining philosophy with history or languages with sciences. The reactionary climate at Oxford can be judged from the fact that, when the "Science Greats" proposal was defeated, Professor Sidgwick, a teacher of Greek literature, commented:

Philosophy in Oxford on which more intellect, time and money are spent than in any other University, with less result, will remain uncontaminated by any contact with reality, and will continue to interpret the facts of nature not as they are, but as they were believed to be a century ago.<sup>38</sup>

In view of this intellectual climate, it is not surprising that A.L. Smith and A.D. Lindsay welcomed the down-to-earth language of the worker. With this background the subsequent actions of A.L. Smith become more intelligible. After the end of the first year of the tutorial classes taught by R.H. Tawney,

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37 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 263.

38 D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay. A Biography, London: Basil Blackwell, 1961, p. 51.

Smith claimed that twenty-five per cent of the essays examined by him were equal to the students who gained first class standing in the Final School of History. This statement was to bedevil the question of standards. Even if one allows for the prevailing academic climate at Oxford, or for the surprise of Smith that working-class students could do good work, or for his desire to encourage a movement by high praise - this judgement is still an amazing assessment. Unfortunately, Albert Mansbridge trumpeted this Oxford praise to a world eager to believe in worker-scholars. Mansbridge later revealed that some essays had been circulated among undergraduates in the final honours school, "in order that they may read and inwardly digest them". Mansbridge continued by admitting that the "spelling is often defective but it is not always very good among undergraduates".<sup>39</sup>

What was particularly important was the effect that the pronouncements of A.L. Smith had upon the Board of Education. Smith's reference to honours standard caught the imagination of Whitehall and influenced the whole character of university extra-mural teaching. In 1908, the Board of Education Regulations for Further Education in England and Wales provided for a higher grant per head (8s. 6d. instead of 5s. 6d.) for courses of not less than three years duration, on the condition that the standard of work had to correspond to that required for University degrees in History at an honours level. Once this idea concerning honours level became imbedded in the official mind it became sanctified. All subsequent regulations by the Board of Education repeated this condition until 1946. It was not that England lacked men capable of making a more realistic appraisal for the guidance of the Board of Education. Professor L.T. Hobhouse and H.H. Inspector J.W. Headlam submitted their report for the year 1909-10 with this assessment:

To compare the work actually done in these (tutorial) classes with that of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate is a method of doubtful value ... The best third year student would, we think, be

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39 L. Clark, The Kingdom of the Mind. Essays and Addresses 1903-37 of Albert Mansbridge, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1944, p. 29

quite in a position to read for the Oxford Diploma in Economics, and would probably, after a year's full work obtain it with difficulty.<sup>40</sup>

The volume of written work expected in these early tutorial classes was set at the incredible pace of twelve essays in each of the three sessions: that is one essay every fortnight from each student. One marvels not only at the quantity of work expected but also at the curriculum proposed by the Oxford Conference in 1909.

The curricula sub-committee included A.L. Smith with such prominent advisors as H.A.L. Fisher, L.T. Hobhouse, Ramsay MacDonald and R.H. Tawney. Among the proposed subjects were Economics, English Literature, English Political History since 1815, World History and General English. It is true that adults only studied one subject at a time, yet it is hard to visualise a large number of working-class men or women coping with the depth of study required. Tawney's pioneering tutorial classes, immortalised in W.E.A. circles, probably contained an intellectual elite that was as unique as their tutor. But such a state of affairs could not last indefinitely as economic and social conditions improved with a resultant widening opportunity for the education of bright children. Furthermore, there was a dichotomy of interest between the outlook of committees influenced by university dons and the interests of workers. For the subjects proposed by the Oxford Conference seem to incline towards a general programme suited to a well rounded liberal education of undergraduates. Yet attendance at tutorial classes sponsored by the W.E.A. was voluntary and the students determined the studies to be pursued. Most students were possibly interested in "liberal studies" less as an avenue to culture than as to how they could be applied to social and political emancipation. Therefore when the Board of Education Report for 1908-09 appeared it indicated that of thirty-five classes at work, practically all were studying economics and industrial history. There was, in short, a dichotomy between the "liberal

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<sup>40</sup> A. Mansbridge, University Tutorial Classes, London: Longmans Green and Co., 1913, Appendix IXIII.

studies" envisaged at Balliol College and the way the phrase was applied in the developing tutorial classes in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some idea of the different milieu in northern England can be gained by the reception accorded R.H. Tawney in 1912, when he visited Castleford to stir up interest. An eye witness described the setting, where the local brass band paraded through the town to try to collect an audience and bring them to the lecture hall.

The band collected all right; and immense crowds of miners, bottle makers and their wives, followed it up to the door, for it was Saturday night. But they didn't go inside because the band didn't ... instead of finishing the band stood at the open door and went on thundering the strains of 'Marching through Georgia' long after the meeting was due to begin. So the little half-dozen inside huddled up to the platform, and Tawney did his best to make himself heard ... the failure of that meeting was perhaps rather due to the strength of the bandsman's lungs rather than the weakness of the W.E.A.<sup>41</sup>

The missionary efforts of a man like Tawney were concentrated on the social objective of aiding the worker to better his lot.

A parallel influence was provided by the Christian element in the ranks of the W.E.A. The recruitment of bishops to the cause, whether existing like those of Hereford or Durham, or future ones such as Charles Gore or William Temple, seems to have been mainly the work of Albert Mansbridge. In his autobiography Mansbridge revealed that for him, "the spiritual alone is real. Mental and material forces are of no account unless they subserve the purpose of the Great Creative Spirit, whom we call God".<sup>42</sup> The zeal of the bishops that supported Mansbridge is commendable, yet a Workers' Educational Association that had William Temple as President between 1908-1924, with Bishop Gore, Chairman of a W.E.A. district, was rather removed from the interests of manual workers. By and large, the manual worker had long ex-

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<sup>41</sup> J. Dover Wilson, "Adult Education in Yorkshire" Journal of Adult Education, Vol. III, 1928, p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> World Association for Adult Education, Bulletin, XXIII, 2nd Series, November, 1940. Review of A. Mansbridge, The Trodden Road: Experience and Inspiration.

hibited secular tendencies<sup>43</sup> and, therefore, the social mission of the growing trade union movement had greater appeal. Yet it would be a mistake to discount the influence of Christian morality before 1914. A settlement such as Swarthmore at Leeds educated adult students, under the auspices of Quakers who also provided leadership in the Adult Schools of Yorkshire. The type of Christianity in which the Adult Schools were rooted was of the liberal, undenominational type that had evolved in the nineteenth century, with 80,000 students in attendance throughout the nation in 1914.

In the decade before the Great War, the Northern Universities developed tutorial classes under University Joint Committees. The universities were only marginally involved as the Honorary Secretary on the Joint Committee was usually a busy registrar and hence the administrative work was usually done by the W.E.A. Secretary. Manchester tended to dominate the W.E.A. as it was the centre of the North Western district that governed both Lancashire and Yorkshire. This situation could not last as there were differences in outlook between the two counties which were described by J.B. Priestley, at that time an inhabitant of Bradford, in these terms:

The working folk of Lancashire have much in common, of course, with their Yorkshire neighbours; but in my time we in Yorkshire considered the Lancastrians as people worth considering as people, real folk (not like the vapouring creatures from the South Country), but inclined to be frivolous and spendthrifts so that we shook our heads at the thought of their annual goings on in Blackpool.<sup>44</sup>

It is therefore understandable that an H.M. Inspector of adult education classes in Yorkshire was not happy about the direction of the Workers' Educational Association; because the Yorkshire district, "was being run, somewhat unhappily, by a Welshman living in Manchester, who, whatever qualities he might possess entirely failed to understand the Yorkshire

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<sup>43</sup> See J.A. Blyth, "The Origins of Secularism in Early Nineteenth Century Britain", Dalhousie Review, Summer, 1972.

<sup>44</sup> J.B. Priestley, English Journey, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1934, p. 254.

temperament".<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, Leeds University was actively co-operating in providing tutorial classes and Arthur Greenwood, the future Parliamentary Labour leader, was prominent as a lecturer. It was during this decade that a distinctive mood came over the adult education movement in Yorkshire, because, as a Board of Education enquiry revealed:

From 1905-1914, although University Extension was still carried on, adult education in Yorkshire became more and more identified with the spread of the new type of class organised by the Workers' Educational Association; and when the tutorial class had been established there was a strong tendency to regard it as the only class to be fostered.<sup>46</sup>

By 1914 over twenty-five branches of the W.E.A. existed in Yorkshire and a Yorkshire district was formed with headquarters in Leeds. In a sense this was just before zero hour, as six weeks later Britain was at war.

Meanwhile, the University of Liverpool had in 1911 established a University Extension Board, financed by the University, that took over the work pioneered by the voluntary organization known as the Liverpool Society for University Extension. While Extension lectures were a familiar institution, the new development of tutorial classes tended to place a different emphasis upon the type of subjects that were taught. Consistent with the social philosophy of the W.E.A. regarding working-class emancipation there was a concentration on economics and economic history. The term economics apparently often included industrial history and one can speculate that, as "liberal studies", these subjects were not the most suitable ones for leading to a detached, objective view of society. Over at Leeds, Arthur Greenwood taught four out of the ten courses in this subject area and, probably, found it difficult to wean students from a "them and us" terminology that reflected class warfare. In fact the difficulty of maintaining

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<sup>45</sup> J. Dover Wilson, "Adult Education in Yorkshire", Journal of Adult Education, Vol. III, 1928, p. 48.

<sup>46</sup> Board of Education, Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927. Educational Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O., 1928, p. 5.



an objective, non-political, presentation in those classes is well illustrated by the summary that, "Greenwood's enthusiastic personality and complete identification with the cause of Labour endeared him to his students".<sup>47</sup>

Swarthmore at Leeds has already been mentioned and a similar type of educational centre was established at Birkenhead in 1914. Encouraged by the University of Liverpool, the settlement of Beechcroft prospered as a centre of adult education. As a meeting place for local organisations, Beechcroft sought to provide, "a fellowship of all who are anxious for the betterment of society".<sup>48</sup> Among the groups that co-operated in administering Beechcroft were members of the School of Social Service which indicates that what is now termed "community development" is no stranger to Merseyside. The significance of Beechcroft lay not in the small number of people involved, but in the belief that some working men were prepared to co-operate in developing a home of adult education. When one considers the long hours of work, the absence of a statutory holiday, the deplorable housing conditions, then it was surely a hopeful sign that not all workers spent all their leisure time drowning their sorrows in the nearest public house. In the bleak vicinity of Cammell Laird shipyard there would be a natural inclination to down spirits rather than uplift spirits through long range educational schemes, and Beechcroft prospered in spite of, not because of, its environment. Some worker-students were in earnest and it is worthwhile looking at the overall national pattern of development concerning the studies pursued.

During the year 1913-1914, out of 145 tutorial classes, over 106 of them were in Social History, Economics, Modern History and Economics. The dichotomy upon what constituted liberal studies continued, with educa-

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47 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 284.

48 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, p. 264. The statement is attributed to the founder of Beechcroft, Horace Fleming, in 1914.

tors tending to gloss over the reasons as to why workers studied in tutorial classes. There was, for example, the view expressed in London that the figures just cited show that the subjects chosen "are usually called humane".<sup>49</sup> Yet it must be pointed out that there were seventeen classes in English Literature and a start had been made with such subjects as psychology and philosophy. When one studies the 3,234 students of 1913-1914, then it becomes apparent that the term "worker" has to be interpreted broadly. Despite the romantic tradition of physically exhausted manual workers able to dash off scholarly essays, as an alternative to sleeping, the definition of "working-class element" has to be handled with care. Manual workers comprised 47.5 per cent of the tutorial class students enrolled: while the balance comprised groups of clerks, telegraphists, teachers, housewives, shopkeepers and shop assistants.<sup>50</sup> If one excludes miscellaneous students, plus those engaged on nursing or domestic duties, then the balance of 86 per cent might be considered a working-class element, in terms of pre-1914 society. But there was a significant difference in this situation, where less than half of the students were manual workers, compared to the dictum of Albert Mansbridge that at least three-quarters of the members of the tutorial classes should be actual labouring men and women. Like the judgement of A.L. Smith on standards, this proclamation by the founder of the W.E.A. was to lead to

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49 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 53.

50 Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes, Annual Report for 1913-14. For discussion see R. Peers, Adult Education: A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, p. 79 and T. Kelly, Outside the Walls. Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 73.

difficulties. In order that the legacy of the years from before the Great War is clearly defined, it is necessary to briefly examine the position of Albert Mansbridge.

In his book Adventure in Working Class Education, Mansbridge had made his pronouncement on the need for a minimum of three-quarters of the students to be actual labouring man and women. The vision was expanded by a speech of 1912 in which it was claimed that university historians were being effected, because, "Professor Pollard, speaking to the Historical Association said that working people were forcing historians to study the lives of ordinary people".<sup>51</sup> It is true that the W.E.A. tutorial class pioneered by R.H. Tawney stimulated considerable interest in economic history but, in order to keep the total picture in perspective, possibly the announcement by Professor Pollard should be viewed as rather a rhetorical flourish. No evidence has yet been produced to show that large numbers of university historians felt themselves under pressure to burn the midnight oil, in order to learn about ordinary people. The wish seems to have been father to the thought. In fact, it complements the idea of those hallowed worker-scholars able to inspire undergraduates at Oxford, despite their mutual poor spelling. Yet, in a Britain that had not been involved in a major war for nearly a century, these pleasant illusions could be afforded. But if the social climate changed these announcements of the founder of the W.E.A. could appear to be deceptions, albeit unwitting ones. Such a change was about to occur..

The generation that went to war in 1914 were informed by the press that there was a need to defend the values on which their civilisation rested and, in particular, the idea of freedom. A Liberal government

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51 Leonard Clark, The Kingdom of the Mind. Essays and Addresses 1903-1937 of Albert Mansbridge, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1944, p. 32.

decided that Belgium had to be defended and, in its pronouncements to the British nation, appealed to the instinct for fair play. A legacy of some of the virtues of Victorian England included a belief in decency, chivalry and the inevitable triumph of right over wrong. It followed that, if the values extolled in British liberal education had any real meaning in a democracy, then the call to arms was justified. What could not be envisaged was that a war might drastically change the state of British society, including some of the liberal beliefs that made sense in 1914. Because of the lasting effects of the Great War upon adult education the essential outline of the struggle had to be considered.

The Britain that went to war on August 14, 1914 had traditionally had a business like approach to war. Economic power and sea power had been used to facilitate Britain's war policy. On the one hand allies were subsidised and provisioned, while on the other hand expeditions were launched against an enemy's vulnerable extremities. The shield of the Royal Navy was felt to be the only defence which was needed. But in the Europe of 1914 the armies quickly became locked into a static battle of attrition.

When Sir Douglas Haig was appointed Commander-in-Chief in France on December 15, 1915 the appointment epitomized the complete commitment to a continental style war. Haig had received a liberal education at Oxford and, in comparison to his contemporaries in the Army, deserves the title The Educated Soldier used by his latest biographer.<sup>52</sup> But Haig was also a textbook soldier and had complete faith in the eventual triumph of right over wrong. To produce the armies that Haig needed, the most respected soldier in the British Army, Lord Kitchener, allowed his face and beckoning finger to be reproduced on a poster that told young men, "Your Country Needs You!". The appeal fell in an England that possessed

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52 John Terraine, Douglas Haig the Educated Soldier, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1963.

patriotism despite great economic and social disparities. At the University of Liverpool, for example, the significantly worded "Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople" recorded that, in 1914-15, eighteen classes had been arranged of which thirteen studied Modern Europe History.<sup>53</sup> There was a belief in order and decency and the result was that Kitchener's volunteers assembled in large numbers "to do their bit". A concerned Lord Northcliffe pointed out that, "the voluntary method consumed the young, the patriotic, the generous, the brave ... wasting the best moral, social and political elements".<sup>54</sup> Among these volunteers were many from Lancashire and Yorkshire. J.B. Priestley recorded the situation in his native Yorkshire where "Most of the fellows I had known as a boy ... joined a Bradford 'Pals' battalion ... There were a number of these 'Pals' battalions and as a rule they were well above the average in intelligence, physique and enthusiasm".<sup>55</sup> A woman who later became a tutor for Manchester University, Stella C. Davies, recorded her impressions at that time when, "The Manchester 'Pals' were sent to reinforce the units on the Somme ... We ... stood and watched the Manchester 'Pals' marching down Cheetham Hill Road singing 'Tipperary' on their way to the train".<sup>56</sup> Among the Manchester Regiment, which was also on the Somme, was R.H. Tawney and, in his own inimitable way, he recorded his account of the attack in which he was wounded:

We attacked, I think, about 825 strong. I've no official figures on the casualties. A friend, an officer in 'C' company which was in support and shelled to pieces before it could start, told me in hospital that we had lost 450 men that day,

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53 University of Liverpool Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople, Report Book, No. 3, p. 10.

54 R. Pound and G. Harmsworth, Northcliffe, London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1959, p. 490.

55. J.B. Priestley, English Journey, London: William Heinemann Ltd. 1934, p. 165.

56 S.C. Davies, North Country Bred, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 138.

and that, after being put in again a day or two later, we had 54 left. I suppose it's worth it.<sup>57</sup>

Another historian serving on the Somme was Mark Hovell who had been a tutor for tutorial classes organised by the University of Manchester Joint Committee. Hovell was killed in action and his death illustrates the loss of talent, not only for adult education, but to the nation.<sup>58</sup> During that Spring of 1916 the British Army sustained 415,000 casualties and after nearly four months had not achieved the objectives set for the first day of the offensive. The repercussions have been felt to this day. For the generals decided to try to dupe not only the politicians but the British public. For reasons, which will become evident later, one finds it impossible to get a clear perspective on the scale of sacrifice of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Churchill claimed in a memorandum of August 1, 1916 that during the previous July the British casualties were over twice those of the Germans.<sup>59</sup> The War Office, however, insisted that the Germans must have lost more men and invented "allowances" to ensure that it would appear to be the case. Sir James Edmonds, the official historian, repeatedly juggled his figures until he retired in 1949; so it is not surprising that as late as 1948 the War Office claimed that it did not have the clerical power to check the figures.<sup>60</sup> Undeterred by the resistance of Lloyd George, the new Prime Minister, Haig planned a new offensive for 1917. The slaughter

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57 J.R. Willaims, R.M. Titmuss, F.J. Fisher, R.H.Tawney, 1960, p. 7.

58 The manuscript left by M. Hovell was edited and completed by Professor T.F. Tout after the death of Lieutenant Hovell on August 12, 1916. The resultant book M. Hovell, The Chartist Movement, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1918 has been reprinted through several editions, and remains the definitive work on the subject.

59 R. Blake, The Private Papers of Douglas Haig 1914-1919, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1952, p. 152.

60 L. Wolff, In Flanders Fields, New York: Ballantine Books Inc., 1964, p. 260.

was repeated at Passchendaele despite warnings from General Foch that the area North East of Ypres was a reclaimed swamp. Once more the casualty figures were "adjusted" with the result that British Military critics, such as Cyril Falls and Captain Liddell Hart, dismissed War Office figures as mythical.<sup>61</sup> The Canadian official historian, Colonel Nicholson, flatly rejects British figures on Passchendaele, as they received a nearly one hundred per cent adjustment.<sup>62</sup> Australia's official historian recorded, "that it was not as bad as the Somme in 1916 where British casualties were 481,842 to the German 236,194."<sup>63</sup> A disgusted Lloyd George noted that, "an elaborate attempt is being made to gerrymander the casualty returns ... both British and German ... so as to present a more favourable balance sheet".<sup>64</sup>

This slaughter of the Great War undermined one of the ideas that supported the concept that an individual derived benefits from a liberal education. An individual was supposed to be free to weigh various possibilities and determine for himself his line of action: but this voluntary principle became a casualty of the War. In order to maintain a flow of recruits for the battlefield, the Liberal government introduced conscription in January, 1916 for the first time in British history. In effect, the Liberal government was admitting that the voluntary principle had failed and that the idea of self determination, the ostensible reason for going to war to aid Belgium, was no longer true for individual Britons. Lloyd George recognised that this power of the State could, also, be evoked to ensure that, after the War, there was some degree of equality of opportunity and had established, as early as 1916, a committee for all

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61 M.J. Williams, "Thirty Per Cent; A Study in Casualties", Royal United Service Institution Bulletin, 109, February, 1964, p. 51.

62 G.W.L. Nicholson, Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918, Ottawa: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War, 1962, p. 329.

63 L. Wolff, In Flanders Fields, New York: Ballentine Books Inc., 1964, p.233.

64 D. Lloyd George, War Memoirs, IV, London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934, p. 421.

round reconstruction. One of the major facets of reconstruction would be in education and, thinking specifically in terms of adult education, it is worth noting that the idea of voluntarism, so dear to the heart of the Y.M.C.A. and the W.E.A., was not now as hallowed as it had been in 1914. Lloyd George's interest in education was, however, but one aspect of the many interests of a busy Premier and before there could be any reconstruction, the War had to be won and the Army generals brought under control.

By 1918 Lloyd George had reluctantly come to the conclusion that he could not dismiss Haig, as this would amount to an admission that we were losing the war. Furthermore, Lloyd George was leading a coalition government which did not provide him with a strong political base; while Haig courted King George V and could hardly be attached while strongly supported by the fount of national loyalty. But the struggle between the general and the politician, or "brasshat versus frockcoat", continued unabated. One pawn in the game would be the matter whether the development of education in the British Army should be credited to brasshat or frockcoat. For sooner or later there would be a post mortem on the war, held in full view of the public, and both camps wanted to appear in a good light, through the help extended to the rank and file. Until 1918 wartime educational activity had been developed by a Y.M.C.A. committee which had William Temple as President and Basil Yeaxlee as secretary. On May 17, 1918 the Y.M.C.A. were designated the agent for carrying out the Army Education Scheme to the Lines of Communication. Basil Yeaxlee recorded his delight at the sudden surge of interest shown by Field Marshal Haig and politicians such as Prime Minister Lloyd George and Winston Churchill.<sup>65</sup> What Yeaxlee possibly did not realise was the jockeying for position to gain public esteem that was a feature of the British internal

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<sup>65</sup> T.H. Hawkins and L.T.J. Brimble, Adult Education. The Record of the British Army, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1947, pp. 54-5.



war of 1918. Lloyd George had managed to force Haig to dismiss his Chief of Intelligence, Brigadier-General John Charteris, whose ability had been subject to controversy since the disaster of the Somme. In turn, on May 7, 1918, the Director of Military Operations, General Frederick B. Maurice, published his letter accusing Lloyd George of starving the Army in France of manpower. Lloyd George survived this attack by out-maneuvring Maurice who, after being compelled to retire from the Army, subsequently rendered distinguished service to adult education, following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Frederick D. Maurice.<sup>66</sup> Lloyd George had been interested in the possibility of using education as a means of post-war social reconstruction and had, in fact, appointed H.A.L. Fisher, Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University, as a member of his cabinet. Moreover, Lloyd George wished to illustrate that the values for which men had been fighting were meaningful and therefore, encouraged the launching of the Army Education Scheme of 1918. A recognition of the competition between the politicians and the Army generals helps to explain the rapid expansion of educational facilities in the British Army between 1918-1919, and equally rapid decline of interest. At the same time this situation does not detract from sound work done throughout the war and, as this produced a legacy, the nature of the activity should be examined.

From 1915 onwards the Y.M.C.A. arranged lectures. The creation of a Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee, which included representatives of universities and voluntary bodies, meant that prominent university professors came to France to give lectures to the troops. Some educators expected a large number of post-war students to evolve from the interest

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66 Major General Sir Frederick B. Maurice subsequently became Principal of the Working Men's College, 1922-33. Maurice then became Principal of Queen Mary College at the University of London and was Chairman of the Adult Education Committee, Board of Education, from 1928. Source: Letter of Lady Nancy Spears to J.A. Blyth dated February 19, 1973.

shown in this wartime scheme. However, there were several factors militating against such a development. In the first place the troops, generally speaking, knew the lack of imagination displayed by their leaders in the "over the top" attacks. There was probably less faith in the ability of liberally educated leaders to objectively study problems involving man and his environment and offer constructive proposals. It is worth recalling that in the Conference at Balliol College in 1909 working-class representatives had sought liberal education: but during World War One the idea of cultural values did not seem so relevant amid mud and blood. However, visiting lecturers were briefed by headquarters and therefore lacked insight into the mentality of rank and file. Consequently there was a lack of reality about some of the large national views presented to the troops. Basil Yeaxlee witnessed an incident that illustrates this aspect:

Two men were passing the door of a recreation hut one night just as the orderly was putting a placard up announcing a lecture. One of the men drew his companion's attention to the notice only to elicit the response, given in a grunt and without a glance at the placard, 'H' m - more b- Empire, I s'pose!'<sup>67</sup>

Then why did the troops attend such lectures? The explanation appears to be the demand for education was stimulated by the fact that soldiers were excused parades if they attended lectures.<sup>68</sup>

The agent for adult education was the Y.M.C.A. and its active secretary, Basil Yeaxlee, never disguised that his main interest was

67 B. Yeaxlee, An Educated Nation, London: Oxford University Press, 1920, p. 32.

68 T.H. Hawkins and L.T.J. Brimble, Adult Education, the Record of the British Army, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1947, p. 45.

in the spiritual values in adult education.<sup>69</sup> Bishop William Temple was President of the Y.M.C.A. committee while, on the home front, Albert Mansbridge saw the W.E.A. as virtually a divine instrument. Between 1914-16, Mansbridge served on a number of important church committees and repeatedly "stressed the need for well organised and informative religious education".<sup>70</sup> Mansbridge was pleased to report that a meeting of principals of theological colleges were informed about, "a successful class at Leeds. Tentative efforts were also reported at Liverpool".<sup>71</sup> By February, 1918, Mansbridge was preaching in Salisbury Cathedral, and said, "The workers of England are members of the body of humanity. They are potential members ... of the Church, the body of Christ".<sup>72</sup> In the same year, William Temple recorded in the W.E.A. Education Year Book that the real root of social problems is spiritual. While a soldier could respect the right of men such as William Temple, Albert Mansbridge or Basil Yeaxlee to express their faith, there was probably a feeling that this spiritual approach was more suited to those days of innocence back in 1914. Yet, in viewing the overall picture of adult education in the British Army, there were two positive elements emerging. By the end of 1918 there had been a development of printed material supplied to unit instructors and these, "outline lectures ... anticipated the A.B.C.A. pamphlets of World War II".<sup>73</sup> Also, Winston Churchill, as Secretary of State for War, an-

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69 The published Ph. D. thesis of Dr. Basil Yeaxlee is entitled Spiritual Values in Adult Education, two vols., London: Oxford University Press, 1925. While this piece of scholarship seems a little abstruse, there is no doubt whatsoever that what is being proposed is that religion or theology should comprise a major element in the curriculum of adult education.

70 Leonard Clark, The Kingdom of the Mind Essays and Addresses 1903-37 of Albert Mansbridge, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1944, p. XV.

71 Ibid., p. 41.

72 Ibid., p. 69.

73 S.G.J. Curtis, Education in Britain Since 1900, London: Andrew Dakers Ltd., 1952, p. 275.

nounced in August, 1919 that the provision of education was to be a permanent feature of army life.

In order to bring the post-war period into focus, the overall human cost of the war needs brief examination. One significant aspect of the casualty returns was the high proportion of officers killed leading suicidal attacks. These young men were usually the liberally educated future leaders of Britain. The War Office returns of 1922 for Passchendaele reported a loss of 23,316 junior officers versus 6,913 Germans.<sup>74</sup> Admittedly, by 1948, these figures had been 'revised' by General James Edmonds, the official historian, to show the improbable situation that the ratio was completely reversed in the British favour. But the earlier official War Office returns had been substantiated by Winston Churchill, whose studies revealed that the casualties among British Officers compared to German Officers in the entire period April, 1915 to October, 1918 was about five to two.<sup>75</sup> Anyone who has, for example, ever paid a visit to the quadrangle at Eton public school cannot fail to be impressed with the proliferation of war memorials that indicate the scale of this sacrifice. Possibly, also, the war memorials which list individual names are symbolic of the determination of the generals to prevent the public learning about the terrible slaughter. For, to this day, it is virtually impossible to get statistics relevant to particular areas, such as Lancashire or Yorkshire. Apart from the military's unwillingness to talk in terms of numbers rather than isolated names, there is the difficulty that reinforcements for county regiments were made up of men normally resident in other areas. While this seemed wise at the time in order to spread the impact

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74 L. Wolff, In Flanders Fields, New York, Ballentine Books Inc., 1964, p. 241.

75 W.S. Churchill, The War Crisis, 1, London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1927, p. 51.

of the casualty rate of a particular unit over a large geographical area, it also had the convenience of making comparisons more difficult. Arthur Marwick in The Deluge has calculated that for Britain the 745,000 dead comprised about nine per cent of all men under forty-five, while the gravely mutilated accounted for twice this percentage. In short, this indicates that approximately three out of every ten young men were physically effected. But this is a conservative estimate in terms of the impact on Britain. It is probably not generally recognised in Britain that the Dominion troops contained a very high proportion of British born immigrants. The so-called "Canadians" of 1914-1916 comprised mainly returning Britons. Out of the approximately one million British born immigrants in Canada in 1914, 237,644 recruits enlisted in the Canadian divisions.<sup>76</sup> An example of this response is recorded at the former Dr. Barnado's home for orphans on Myrtle Street, close to the University of Liverpool.<sup>77</sup> There are two weather beaten stone plaques by the doorway which record the names of seventy-three men and one woman, with the inscription reading, "These tablets are erected to the enduring memory of old boys of this home who came over with the Canadian Divisions and laid down their lives at the call of truth and honour in the Great War 1914-1919". It should be noted that the Canadian view of the Great War differs from the British view and will be indicated separately as, in turn, this affected the subsequent development of Canadian adult education. To sum up then, Britain's manhood had by 1919 been through a traumatic experience. And as men such as Sergeant R.H. Tawney and Captain Robert

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76 N.W. Rowell, The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VI, Canada and the Empire 1884-1921, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933, p. 756.

77 The building is located at the intersection with Mulberry Street and is presently occupied by the Liverpool Polytechnic Faculty of Art and Design.

Peers, M.C. and Major Frank Milligan, M.C., M.M.<sup>78</sup> made their readjustment to civilian life, they had to assess that had happened during the years they had been away.

In Yorkshire, the drive of G.H. Thompson, the District Secretary, had increased the number of tutorial classes from thirteen in 1914-15 to twenty in 1918-19. Thompson thought of the tutorial class as the spinal column of the W.E.A. movement and, "a branch without a tutorial class at its heart he despised as something almost frivolous ... a tutorial class out of touch with a branch he dreaded like a schismatic conventicle".<sup>80</sup> Thompson stimulated what he termed "District Patriotism" by stressing distinctive features of Yorkshire life. Also, by 1917-18 women comprised a third of the students in Yorkshire tutorial classes. In addition the W.E.A. branches organised one year courses and study circles for women in such domestic subjects as cooking and home nursing which continued, in some cases, to the Second World War.<sup>81</sup>

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78 Frank Milligan was to become Warden of Beechcroft Settlement at Birkenhead from 1924, after attending Birmingham University and being a W.E.A. tutor. Source: B. Groombridge, The Wincham Experiment. Frank Milligan and the Unemployed, unpublished manuscript, 1972, p. 2.

79 G.H. Thompson became District Secretary in 1914 and, because his personality was to strongly influence adult education in Yorkshire, it is revealing to recall a description by J.F.C. Harrison in Living and Learning, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, pp. 290-1.

All the strength, integrity, narrowness and intolerance of sectarian non-conformity were expressed in his faith in the W.E.A. ... George Thompson's spirit ruled adult education in Yorkshire ... (and after retirement) even from the grave.

80 J. Dover Wilson, "Adult Education in Yorkshire", Journal of Adult Education, Vol. III, 1928, p. 50.

81 W.E. Styler, Yorkshire and Yorkshire North, The History of the Yorkshire North District of the Workers' Educational Association 1914-1964, Leeds: Workers' Educational Association, 1964, p. 11.

Compared to Yorkshire, adult education in Lancashire seems to have been more badly affected by the Great War. The tutorial classes organised by the University of Liverpool fell from nineteen in 1914-15 to fourteen in 1917-18: while those organised by Manchester declined from seventeen to twelve in the same period. The university records reveal two problems concerning tutorial classes, about which much more would be heard in the future, were already familiar issues. The first issue concerned the recruitment of suitable students and, on receiving the report of a subcommittee on students who had failed to qualify for the Board of Education grant, because of poor attendance or not submitting written work, the Secretary of the W.E.A. North Western District commented, rather testily, "It would be interesting to know their definition of what they think to be suitable (students) ... Possibly they would like all teachers".<sup>82</sup> A wartime annual report recorded some comments about the second difficulty, which related to the failure to secure the submission of adequate written work:

it has been much more difficult to obtain written work from the students. It is questionable whether, in any case, the deficiency is due to slackness. Very frequently, it is definitely due to a lack of time, either because of greater pressure in their ordinary occupations, or because they are taking part in voluntary work of one kind or another.<sup>83</sup>

One of the members of the Manchester Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes was Mr. Frank Garstang<sup>84</sup> and it is apparent that these problems related to

82 University of Liverpool, Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Work People, Report Book, No. 3, p. 34. The letter from the Secretary of the W.E.A. North Western District is dated March 30, 1915.

83 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, Report on the Seventh Year's Working, 1915-16, p. 7.

84 Frank Garstang moved to Liverpool in 1919 to become the W.E.A. Liverpool Branch Secretary. In the following year he became Secretary of the newly formed West Lancashire and Cheshire District, a post he retained for the next thirty-six years. Source: W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Jubilee Gazette, Session 1970-71, p. 4.

obtaining suitable students and written work were familiar to him, long before he moved to Liverpool in 1919. But if the tutorial classes encountered difficulty during wartime, this was relatively mild compared to the impact on the older Extension work for, "At Manchester, it almost died out, in 1917-18 the University's work in this field was limited to one terminal course of six lectures!"<sup>85</sup> On the positive side, the University of Manchester, was fortunate in 1918 in the appointment of Eli Bibby as District Secretary, North-Western District, W.E.A. Bibby formed a close working relationship with H. Pilkington Turner, Secretary of the University Extension Committee, and this partnership endured until the eve of the Second World War when the latter retired in 1938.

Viewed in national context, there were certain trends concerning the type of subject that was studied in tutorial classes. Economic, Industrial and Social History, collectively, remained the largest staple item and continued in 1918-19 to provide approximately half the total number of classes.<sup>86</sup> There had been a surge of interest in European History in 1914-15 with thirty-two classes which declined drastically the following year to ten classes, possibly as a reaction to the casualty lists from the Somme appearing to make pre-war Europe seem less relevant. Psychology and Philosophy more than doubled in popularity from a total of nine classes in 1914-15 to twenty classes in 1918-19. But possibly the most interesting growth was the expansion of Literature, in various forms, to constitute twenty-seven classes in 1918-19. This type of subject reorientation was undoubtedly partially the result of the influx of women students.

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85 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls. Sixty Years of University Extension. 1886-1946. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 69.

86 Central Joint Advisory Board on Tutorial Classes, Tutorial Classes, 1914-22. Comparative Statistics, Subsequent discussion on the re-alignment of subject interest in Psychology, Philosophy and Literature is derived from these figures.



Certainly the most noticeable feature of the wartime pattern was an increase in the percentage of women attending classes, who increased from approximately twenty-three per cent in 1913-14, to approximately forty-one per cent in 1917-18.<sup>87</sup> This trend reflected a changing social scene as, during the war women had been recruited to fill jobs in business or industry that had previously been the preserve of men. Lord Haldane had become conscious of this trend in wartime Britain, while promoting the need for adult education, with the result that he noted:

I went to many centres ... to urge on the academically minded and on the public the claims of possible extra-mural students. The places which were perhaps the most striking in their responses were towns in which there was no academic centre such as Warrington and Lancaster. There the working class people were emphatic, the women more than the men, in their desire for better chances of mental emancipation than they themselves had.<sup>88</sup>

By 1918 women aged thirty were admitted to the parliamentary franchise which reflected the changed social milieu that had developed. Also, women began to assert their ideas in the field of education and it is noticeable that the Canadian idea of Women's Institutes was imported at the same time. Furthermore, Mrs. Huws Davies who had experience in organising classes for working-class women was recruited to serve on the 1917 Adult Education Committee.

This Adult Education Committee was one of the many special sub-committees set up under a Reconstruction Committee presided over by Lloyd George, who later gave way to Christopher Addison. Early in 1917, the Master of Balliol, A.L. Smith, was reported as having stated that "Unless we educated our democracy there would be the greatest social and political trouble at the end of the war".<sup>89</sup> Not long afterwards Smith was recruit-

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87 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, 1919, p. 191.

88 R.B. Haldane, An Autobiography, London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1929, p. 295.

89 The Times Educational Supplement, January 4, 1917. Cited in B. Simon Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1918. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965, p. 344.

ed to chair the committee concerned with adult education. The terms of reference given by Lloyd George to A.L. Smith, were, "to consider the provision for and possibilities of adult education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain and to make recommendations". Arthur Greenwood became one of the secretaries, while the committee members included Albert Mansbridge and R.H. Tawney. While the committee pursued their investigations the educational climate was becoming more favourable.

H.A.L. Fisher designed the Educational Act of 1918 and, as a university scholar who had exhibited interest in workers' education, was receptive to the idea of continuing education. Fisher's plan to secure a minimum school leaving age of fourteen was adopted but not, unfortunately, the allied idea of compulsory "continuation schools" for part-time education up to the age of eighteen years. But the Fisher Act declared in Section One that it should be the duty of every Local Educational Authority to contribute to the establishment of a national system of public education, "available for all persons capable of profiting thereby". Schemes submitted by voluntary bodies could be approved and thus a link was forged between the L.E.A.s and the voluntary bodies. There was no statutory obligation to provide adult education but a new era opened up through the idea of voluntary bodies having their schemes approved by a Local Educational Authority. For what was termed a deficiency grant enabled L.E.A.s to recover from the Exchequer part of any expenditure used to support voluntary bodies. These new conditions enabled the West Riding of Yorkshire to stimulate adult education by the L.E.A.s co-operating with the W.E.A. There was obviously a drastic change in Yorkshire where, prior to 1914, there had been much activity by rich manufacturers, such as the Rowntrees at York, promoting peace and reconciliation. After 1918 this approach seemed to smack of paternalism. There was a feeling that if the state could demand great sacrifice and spend huge sums on a war, then it could find lesser sums to promote improved education. Parents were demanding secondary education for their

children and from Leeds came the statement that, "it seems impossible to meet adequately the demand for secondary education".<sup>90</sup> Moreover the demand was widespread, as can be assessed by this summary:

Manchester, Salford, Bradford, Stockport, Liverpool, Wallasey, Wakefield ... to mention only a few towns out of many - all call attention to the increased number of applicants for admission to secondary schools and the present shortage of accomodation.<sup>91</sup>

There was certainly room for improvement. In 1918-19 less than ten per cent of the children attending public elementary schools in England went on the secondary schools. Yet the Departmental Committee on Scholarship and Free Places stated that seventy-five per cent of the children are "intellectually capable of profiting by full-time instruction up to or beyond the age of sixteen".<sup>92</sup> This position had long been known to the organisers of university tutorial classes.

Public attention was focused on adult education when the Adult Education Committee published its final report in 1919. A number of earlier reports had been made which shed a great deal of light upon aspects of adult education, but it was the final report that caught the imagination. Yet, before considering the details, attention should be directed to the circumstances in which the Adult Education Committee reported. The Education Bill of H.A.L. Fisher had encountered heavy opposition, particularly from Lancashire cotton manufacturers, who objected to the proposal to eliminate the half-time system and ensure children stayed at school until fourteen years of age. R.H. Tawney commented with his incisive form of irony that:

Europe is in ruins, and out of the sea of blood and tears the Federation of British Industries emerges jaunty and unabashed, clamouring that whatever else is shaken, the vested interest of employers in the labour of children of fourteen must not be disturbed by as much as eight hours

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90 R.H. Tawney, ed., Secondary Education for All, A Policy for Labour, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., n.d., p. 38.

91 Ibid.

92 R.H. Tawney, Education, the Socialist Policy, London: Independent Labour Party, 1924, pp. 27-31. Tawney cites a Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarship and Free Places, 1920, (Cmd.958).

a week.<sup>93</sup>

Enthusiasm for educational reform was diminishing in Parliament. Some years later, when Fisher recalled the throngs of excited people who had packed halls up and down the country, during his campaign for his Educational Bill, he wrote, "Alas for these good folk. They expected from an Educational Bill what no Bill on education or anything else can give, a new Heaven and a new Earth".<sup>94</sup> The Parliament elected in the Coupon Election of December 14, 1918 was notable for what Lloyd George described as "hard faced men" and their interest was in trying to provide an economic climate in which Great Britain could regain her pre-war industrial position. There was less interest in reform than in the possibilities of retrenchment in domestic affairs. The Ministry of Reconstruction was phased out as a wartime ministry no longer needed and, in June 1919, the adult education committee was terminated. The Committee however, insisted on issuing its report, which meant that adult education was publicised not because Parliament was interested, but in spite of political indifference. Under these circumstances the Chairman, A.L. Smith, sent the final report direct to David Lloyd George with a covering letter. It was not only the chairman who displayed a no-nonsense attitude towards the discharge of his duties. The report is usually considered to have been drafted by R.H. Tawney and, as an Ex-Sergeant of the Manchesters, conscious of the sacrifice that men had just made, Tawney drafted the proposals in vigorous prose.

Before considering the details of the Final Report of 1919, it is worth studying the covering letter that the Chairman A.L. Smith wrote, when he forwarded the report to Lloyd George. There can have been few occasions when a Prime Minister heard the case for adult education argued so strongly. Smith's letter grasps the entire picture regarding the need

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93 B. Simon, Education and the Labour Movement 1870, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965, p. 335.

94 Ibid., p. 345.

for adult education and, also, conveyed the mood in which the committee had deliberated. Recognition of wartime sacrifice had constituted a major factor in the way the committee conceived their responsibilities for, in Smith's words:

Only by rising to the height of our enlarged vision of social duty can we do justice to the spirit generated in our people by the long effort of common aspiration and common suffering ... We stand at the bar of history for judgement.<sup>95</sup>

At the same time, Smith was a realist in the way he appraised English society and the milieu in which education was forced to compete. As one reads the following apt summary, written in 1919, the description sounds vaguely familiar to our ears.

Long ago some foreign critics pronounced us a profoundly uneducated people who knew no foreign languages, worked short hours, substituted 'good form' for efficiency, depreciated teachers, had no respect for knowledge, were given to sport and games, holidays and 'weekends', not to mention strikes and drink.<sup>96</sup>

At least the last word must have struck a chord with Lloyd George. For during the war that had just ended, Lloyd George had declared that drink was a greater enemy than Germany, and ensured that the municipality at Carlisle took over the local public houses. While Smith was wise enough when making his indictment to credit it to foreign critics, he did, to his credit, see the other side of the coin:

it is true that the great mass of the people in the modern industrial world cannot study Blue Books or become students of history, geography, or economics ... yet it also a truth ... that there is latent in the mass of our people a capacity ... to rise to the conception of great issues ... They only require teachers and leaders they can trust; and here, as always, the successful working of democracy depends upon 'the natural aristocracy that is among any body of men'. it follows that the thoughtful and studious ... can never be more than a few thousand, yet the millions of the rank and file can certainly get ... educational essentials ... (including) the development of an open habit of mind, clear

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95 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 6.

96 Ibid., p. 1.

sighted and truth loving, proof against sophisms, shibboleths, claptrap and cant.<sup>97</sup>

Smith's view of the national capacity has been quoted at length because the flavour would be lost by a truncated version that eliminated the context. One is immediately struck by the re-statement of the earlier belief of men like Matthew Arnold that the studious leaven of society will always be a small minority. Yet even more intriguing is the frank way Smith addresses a master politician about the need to train the masses to resist claptrap and cant. The well publicised Ministry of Reconstruction had already been officially axed by the man he was addressing, so Smith, whose committee was really living on borrowed time, took the opportunity to emphasise his conclusion by having it printed in capital letters:

ADULT EDUCATION MUST NOT BE REGARDED AS A LUXURY FOR A VERY FEW EXCEPTIONAL PERSONS ... BUT ... ADULT EDUCATION IS A PERMANENT NECESSITY, AN INSEPERABLE ASPECT OF CITIZENSHIP, AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE BOTH UNIVERSAL AND LIFELONG ... THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ADULT EDUCATION SHOULD BE SPREAD EVENLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY ALL OVER THE COMMUNITY.<sup>98</sup>

This declaration displays breadth of vision. Over half a century later, these words would still comprise a good inscription to appear over the portal of any establishment associated with adult education. Essentially, Smith declared that adult education is interwoven with the life of the community: or, to use the words of another part of the report, adult education, "rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service".<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, the committee contained enough experienced adult educators for it to realise that the majority of the working class saw adult education in rather different terms.

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97 Ibid., p. 5.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid., p. 168, para. 330.

For the word education implied attendance at classes and formal instruction, and the enthusiasm of workers for adult education could not be gauged with any degree of accuracy. The committee made this position quite clear in the statement that:

There is a large outer fringe who get something from it, but who are unwilling or unable to give more than a little to it in the way of solid work. The question is what relation that outer fringe bears to the core of serious interest and patient effort without which no movement can be expected to survive. We cannot answer that question with confidence.<sup>100</sup>

One of the underlying problems was lack of leisure. For as the committee had pointed out in an earlier report entitled Industrial and Social Conditions in relation to Adult Education the only case of statutory limitation of hours was to found among the miners. A member of the committee who had signed that report was Ernest Bevin the trade union leader. Before having to resign from the committee, before the final report was drafted, Bevin also signed another report called Education in the Army. One of the recommendations that emerged from this report concerned the military situation, on which Basil Yeaxlee, a committee member, could speak with authority, and proposed that an educational corps be instituted. This proposal was eventually implemented as the Army Educational Corps and gave permanence to the wartime growth which H.A.L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, had termed a miracle of improvisation.<sup>101</sup> Possibly the regimented life of the army permitted educational ideas to be enforced as mandatory, but, obviously, the situation in civilian life was different.

The Final Report was influential in resisting some draft proposals from the Board of Education that would have led to a complete and systematic reorganization of adult education. In February, 1917, the Board had circularised to interested parties "Proposed Revised Regulations" whereby

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 46, para. 77.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 349.

a grant would have been calculated on the work of an area and paid to the Local Education Authority.<sup>102</sup> The effect of these proposals would have been to make voluntary bodies, such as the W.E.A., dependent upon the goodwill of the L.E.A.s;<sup>103</sup> but because of the resistance of the Adult Education Committee in 1919, these proposals were abandoned.

Throughout the report there is strong emphasis on the need for voluntary co-operation in building a better society. This underlying theme that adult education is virtually a form of social service is well argued yet, it must be noted, this emphasis is different from the earlier idea that liberal education increased the intellectual powers of individuals with leisure. The social purpose of adult education was made crystal clear in the statement that students should be, "encouraged ... to consider the aid which education may offer to raising the general level of society, than to seek through education opportunities of securing higher payment or greater comfort, or even a wider culture for themselves".<sup>104</sup> While the concept of a national social advance is commendable in itself, it would seem that the idea of a student's self abstinence and dedication was asking a lot of those workers to give up their leisure hours. Admittedly there was no doubt about the dedication of many trade union leaders or of a scholar such as R.H. Tawney. But Tawney was unique. There seems to have been genuine idealism displayed throughout his lifetime, which even caused some of Tawney's colleagues to marvel at what seemed to some to be naivety. For

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102 S.G. Raybould, "Voluntary Responsible Bodies in English Adult Education", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 1, May 1953, p. 145.

103 Ibid.

104 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 56, para. 96.



as one official of the W.E.A. remarked, "I believe he (Tawney) thinks Heaven will be populated exclusively by manual workers".<sup>105</sup> In 1919 Tawney sat as a member of a committee that drafted a final report on adult education, but the composition of that committee made it unlikely that the committee would see social improvement as a synonym for class warfare. For there was a strong Christian element represented on the committee including Basil Yeaxlee, Albert Mansbridge and the Reverend R.St.J. Parry who was Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Parry described his position regarding University Extension classes and Tutorial classes by saying that, "(the) moral or, I would rather say spiritual quality, which so constantly attends these efforts, is obviously beyond price in social and national life".<sup>106</sup> Such missionary zeal concerning moral uplift was not usually, however the point of view of the socialist. Yet obviously the theme underlying the final report envisaged more than noblesse oblige or paternalism, as it was proposed that the power of the State should be used to help finance voluntary effort by bodies such as the W.E.A. and Y.M.C.A. Matthew Arnold had proposed an advance along these lines but had emphasized the cultural advantages. The 1919 Adult Education Committee were less concerned about virtues of a classical liberal education and more perturbed about the deficiencies of educational arrangements in a modern industrialised state. One is led towards the suggestion that their new society was to be created by a form of Benthamism, where the sum total of individuals collectively striving to change the social fabric would produce, "the greatest good for the greatest number". Therefore, consistent with their approach, the committee examined liberal education by comparing technical education with the role of humanities.

Echoes of the views of Matthew Arnold were expressed, such as, "tech-

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105 J.B. Williams, R.M. Titmus and F.J. Fisher, R.H. Tawney, 1960, p. 30.

106 R.St.J. Parry, ed., Cambridge Essays on Adult Education, London: Cambridge University Press, 1920, p. 7.

nical education is necessary and beneficial: but unwisely directed, it may sometimes result in a sordid materialism".<sup>107</sup> Students were seen as taking technical training for vocational reasons, which tended to produce a narrow, illiberal view of education. The committee proposed to liberalise the technical curricula by adding subjects that would enable the student to relate his own occupation to the industry of which it is part; and, then, to seeing the place of that industry in the economic and social life of the nation. Subjects such as economic history and sociology were mentioned as suitable for providing training in achieving a broad view of social values. Up to this point there can be little doubt that the goal seems an attainable one. But, the Report goes on to suggest that, in order to break down the sharp demarcation between technical and non-technical studies, the technical students should study general educational subjects only remotely connected with his vocational training. The intent is commendable but to achieve this goal in practice had been found to be very difficult, although the committee did provide a philosophical framework for integrating technical studies within general education.

The committee started from what might be termed a post-industrial view of the Aristotelian premise concerning the basis of a liberal education, by stating: "Whether an education offers a liberal culture or not depends on the purpose to which it is directed and the spirit in which it is carried on, not the medium which it employs".<sup>108</sup> This point of view seems to recognise that training wage slaves for modern industry was an illiberal form of education. However, while Aristotle had viewed all work performed by slaves as illiberal, the committee saw the cultural value of craftsmanship. The hand of economic historian R.H. Tawney can be seen in the view that there had been ages in which the pioneer of culture was the craftsman rather than the author. In this older view, the manual worker

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107 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 59, para. 100.

108 Ibid., p. 87, para. 155.

might be a vehicle of culture. But the onset of industrialism had produced a concern with techniques for mass production which discouraged individual craftsmanship. Formerly, the apprenticeship system had provided at least some of the essentials of a liberal education but the advent of machinery robbed work of its completeness and creative craftsmanship. One could not, however, wave a magic wand in order to return to the pre-industrial days. So, in view of the committee, the key to integrating vocational training within general education lay in inculcating a spirit of co-operation so as to minimise the differences. A position was taken that it is not possible to draw a rigid division.

between education which is professional or technical, and education which - to use the conventional antithesis - is liberal or humane. The most severely technical of subjects is capable of being treated in a humanistic spirit, so as to give a broad and liberalizing significance to the work for which it is a preparation: and if a humanistic education is successful, it ought to make the student more competent to deal with all the problems which confront him, including those of his own profession.<sup>109</sup>

To encourage students to co-operate in developing the necessary attitude towards harmony, the committee felt that freedom of choice of subject and freedom of discussion were indispensable. Students were, moreover, to be encouraged to discuss subjects that were controversial, such as those pertaining to political, social or industrial conditions; while a collegiate atmosphere for technical institutes was to be encouraged.

Turning to general education, the Report analysed the reasons why students pursue this type of education, The following quotation is

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 53, para. 92.

a long one but provided the full context of how the committee viewed this aspect.

The interests which lead men to seek a general education ... are various ... There is the man who in his leisure has used local records to trace the history and growth of his own village or town, and who finds in history the satisfaction of an appetite already strong within him ... But (this is), of course, the exception. A strong and conscious inclination for some particular field of intellectual work is not more common among adults than it is in any other miscellaneous group of people in this country. The majority consists of men and women who seek education for the increased happiness which is the exercise of mental powers brings with it, or for the light which knowledge may throw upon the problems of their daily lives. Most of them do not form any clear forecast of the kind of benefit which they will get from study. They begin it usually with some diffidence, influenced by the example of friends who have already undertaken it; their purpose becomes clearer as they proceed; and it is only after the lapse of time they are able to say that they have gained.<sup>110</sup>

The stress in general education is therefore on individual effort, with an overall summary of the total benefit being very difficult. With this

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 56, para. 95.

view of general or liberal education was linked the idea that voluntary bodies were meeting a large need, for the report stresses that, "the fact that the considerable body of voluntary educational effort finds itself more than fully occupied in meeting the demand for 'liberal' education is a proof that such education meets a wide demand".<sup>111</sup> In the continuous effort to harmonise non-vocational training with vocational training the committee pointed out the inherent danger of using popular terminology:

non-vocational and 'humane' studies ... may be a means of economic advancement ... (and) may produce pedants and the ... (non-vocational) men of wide interests and sound judgement ... true education is a matter of method and spirit rather than curriculum.<sup>112</sup>

The committee seems to have reluctantly accepted distinctions between vocational and non-vocational training because the distinction existed in the public mind and had taken root in practice. From this broad distinction between the two types of education, the report descended to the curriculum that might be offered. It was felt that a positive gain was achieved by working-class students discussing controversial subjects such as history, economics and political science. These subjects were, of course, standard fare in university tutorial classes and the particular approach needed there was discussed:

To the working-class student much academic teaching of history and economics has appeared to be biased, because the aspects which it neglected were often precisely those, which are of immediate interest to working-class students. To the academic visitor the economic discussions of working class students sometimes seem to be equally one-sided, because the assumptions from which they start are unfamiliar.<sup>113</sup>

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111 Ibid., p. 55, para. 94.

112 Ibid., p. 149, para. 228.

113 Ibid., p. 80., para. 140.

One is confronted here with the difficulty of reconciling academic theory with the experience of life which mature students acquire in the school of hard knocks. R.D. Waller who studied the 1919 Report made some relevant comments on the gap between the scholar's knowledge and experience acquired in everyday life:

It could reasonably be argued that the humanities have been more alive outside the walls than inside the Universities, for outside the walls they cannot be taught at all without understanding of their importance and relevance to everyday life. Extra-mural experience has in fact warmed and enriched all those university teachers who have had some share in it.<sup>114</sup>

There would seem to be merit in this argument. It has been known for example, for undergraduates to complain about the presentation of an intra-mural lecture. A lecturer has been known to shuffle around a podium, while mumbling about a field of scholarship, and conveying an impression to his audience that the whole exercise is a bore. On the other hand, a tutor who has taught adults may be more likely to look a student in the eye and, in fact, cannot survive without communicating in a way that permits his ideas to be complemented by the residue of experience of life held by his students, Waller could see that extra-mural experience had the beneficial effect of enabling the university teacher to examine his own premises, by exposure to a critical, but not unfriendly audience.

When it referred to subjects suitable for adult students, the report implicitly endorses the view of Matthew Arnold that science should be taught. The reason for promoting the methods and spirit of science was similar to the earlier reason given as to why students should pursue controversial subjects. Training in dispassionate examination and weighing the facts would lead towards wisdom. Another aspect of the complete spectrum of education which was advocated concerned the development of music, either as choral singing or ensemble playing, or of discussions on musical taste and appreciation.

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<sup>114</sup> R.D. Waller, A Design for Democracy, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd. , 1956, p. 38.

Modern languages and literature were other subjects suggested. However, possibly because a departmental committee of the Board of Education was investigating "The Teaching of English in England", the final report did not have much to say on this particular subject. But certainly the overall range of subjects that were considered suitable showed that the Final Report saw the need to go beyond a social purpose, conceived merely as requiring the study of history or economics, which was regarded as a too narrow range of subject matter. This broad approach to considering subject material was concluded with this thought, "In other words, adult education should cater for the varied needs and tastes of the people".<sup>115</sup>

The view expressed by A.L. Smith in his covering letter to Lloyd George about the need to train the people to resist claptrap was further spelled out in concern over encouraging good citizenship. A positive value was envisaged for students because:

The desire to use education to strengthen and inform the civic spirit is a worthy one. That men should be conscious that they require knowledge to form an enlightened opinion upon public issues is at once evidence of mental receptiveness and the best guarantee of sanity in public life.<sup>116</sup>

In other words, in order to ensure a healthy democracy, there is a need for as many citizens as possible to be liberally educated.

As the Adult Education Committee deliberately refrained from considering the use of the English language as a subject, it is revealing to look at the report of the 1919 Board of Education Departmental Committee that reported, on May 2nd, upon The Teaching of English in England. Speaking of the teaching of literature in Workers' Educational Association classes, the departmental committee criticised, "The tendency of some literature teachers to examine literary forms seems to establish the erroneous view that literature is divorced from life ... It matters little to

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115 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd., 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 169, para. 332.

116 Ibid., p. 59, para. 100.

the worker if a poem is a lyric or an epic, whether it is in trochees or iambs. He wants to know what it means, how it interprets life."<sup>117</sup>

Witnesses appearing before the committee said that:

the working classes, especially those belonging to organised labour movements were antagonistic to, and contemptuous of literature ... Literature, in fact, seems to be classed ... (as) 'middle class culture' and, as a subject of instruction, is suspect as an attempt to sidetrack the working class movement.<sup>118</sup>

The committee went on to say that literature courses found their audiences chiefly among women of the middle class. Mrs. Huws Davies, a member of the Adult Education Committee, had made the revealing observation that the reason women studied "bookish" subjects was that they wanted a complete change from domestic affairs.<sup>119</sup> Allied to this student demand was the literary tradition engendered by the early Extension classes, which represented a pervasive influence originating from Oxford and Cambridge. One of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee was, therefore, to encourage English departments at provincial universities to develop an approach to working-class students, and, "to make it obvious from the outset that literature is alive ... in short it is flesh and blood and not stucco ornamentation".<sup>120</sup> There was a need for such re-thinking about a way to present our mother tongue and cultural inheritance in social terms that would appeal to workers. To illustrate this need it would be hard to improve upon the following summation:

They (young workers) see education mainly as something to equip them to fight their capitalistic enemies. In the words of one young worker: 'Yes, what you say is alright - but will that sort of stuff bring us more bread and cheese?'<sup>121</sup>

117 Board of Education, Report of the Departmental Committee, The Teaching of English in England, May 2, 1919, H.M.S.O. p. 274.

118 Ibid., p. 252.

119 R.St. John Parry, ed., Cambridge Essays in Adult Education, London: Cambridge University Press, 1920, p. 145.

120 Board of Education, Report of the Departmental Committee, The Teaching of English in England, May 2, 1919, H.M.S.O., p. 276.

121 Ibid., p. 254.



This statement illustrates a difficulty concerning the recruitment of young workers into adult education classes. While it is true, as the 1919 Adult Education Committee said, that the essence of liberal education concerns largely the spirit in which the teaching is carried on, it is also partially dependent on the receptiveness of the students to put aside prejudice and approach study with an open mind. In the England of 1919, a period notable for labour unrest, there were young workers who felt hostility towards the establishment. Given these circumstances, then many young workers might be more inclined to seek material benefits in the near future, rather than forgo their indignation about the inequity of England's class structure, and spend their leisure hours studying the cultural inheritance of humanity.

The Adult Education Committee of 1919 did what it could to strengthen the link between the universities and the general public by proposing administrative changes. After reviewing the low status of extra-mural work, the 1919 Adult Education final report claimed the provision of a liberal education for adult students should be regarded as a normal and necessary part of their functions. Then followed the well known proposals to establish at each university a department of extra-mural education with an academic head, along with the idea that these proposed Departments of Extra-Mural Education should supervise the Tutorial Classes Joint Committees and Extension Boards. Moreover in a delightful touch the proposed extra-mural authority was called the eyes and ears of the Universities. The implementation of these proposals at Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester will be considered later.

Once again, the wartime sacrifice was remembered when it was pointed out that, "a considerable number of young men who were engaged, or might have been engaged in teaching work have lost their lives in the war".<sup>122</sup> There was a tone of confidence that the price paid had not been in vain and a better world would result. When the committee considered their pro-

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<sup>122</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 127, para. 237.

posals for providing tutors, they may well have been motivated by the desire to provide the best possible instruction for returning veterans, while, at the same time, maximising the advantage to be gained by the universities. In any event, the Final Report sought to have tutorial teachers combine some intra-mural teaching, because, "It brings into the Universities a body of teachers who have had a wider experience of the concrete problems of industrial life than can easily be obtained by those who spend their whole life in intra-mural teaching".<sup>123</sup>

On the controversial issue of standards A.L. Smith's committee was rather cautious and no flourishes on "honours standards" or "worker-scholars" emerged. The pith of the comments on standards was the statement that, "The quality of the work done in tutorial classes varies with the quality of the tutor and the time that he can give to each class".<sup>124</sup> As the Adult Education Committee studied this matter of standards, what had formerly been an emphasis on "tutorial standards" was adroitly shifted to "university standards". In view of the controversy that would later develop during the 1950's, it is advisable to consider how the 1919 Final Report dealt with standards when it said:

Without presuming to define what is meant by 'university standards' it is, perhaps true to say that the essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence no longer makes them tenable, to suspend judgement upon matters upon which certainty is unobtainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear differences of opinion.<sup>125</sup>

While this sheds much light on the academic spirit it does not clarify the

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123 Ibid., p. 132, para. 249.

124 Ibid., p. 62, para. 107.

125 Ibid., p. 64, para 110.

idea of standards. However, this is not a simple matter. In addition to the differences in the ability of individual tutors, there exists a variable in the calibre of the students, which can vitally effect standards. The Final Report tended to gloss over problems associated with expanding tutorial classes, when there is an emphasis upon the recruitment of working class students. Probably the discussion would have been more enlightening if R.H. Tawney had discussed University Standards by reference to his own terms, which would have required him to, "face facts, to discuss cherished theories when fuller evidence no longer makes them tenable". But, as already suggested,<sup>126</sup> Tawney appears to have had a blind spot concerning the demerits of the working classes. For example, R.H. Tawney, produced a flourish of praise, containing a note of exasperation about any implied criticism of the political views of the workers, with eloquent defence of tutorial students.

Nor indeed is there any disposition among the students ... to make the classes a sounding board for any particular body or doctrine. Those who desire oratory attend public meetings attended by orators ... If they agree to attend a class regularly for three years, to read books, and to write essays, they do so, not because they are in love with propaganda, which can be had in abundance unalloyed by the inconvenience of study, but because they are in love with knowledge.<sup>127</sup>

It is not difficult to see why Tawney gained the affection of his students and a wider circle of admirers. But his view, that a subject as industrial history could be discussed in industrial areas by working men free of bias, did not square with the opinion of other academic observers. And as the tutorial class movement expanded, and tended to draw in marginal students, a tendency to substitute oratory for writing essays might become more pronounced. Furthermore, the growth of secondary education envisaged by the Fisher Act of 1918 would progressively narrow the intellectual elite of the

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126 See footnote No. 105 concerning the comment of a W.E.A. official on Tawney's attitude to manual workers.

127 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O. 1919, p. 65, para. 112.

working class interested in attending tutorial classes. While there were undoubtedly students "in love with knowledge" it was, as the Final Report clearly stated, difficult to assess the size of this group. Such an aristocracy of labour clinging to Aristotle's view of liberal education was definitely an asset but, it had yet to be demonstrated that this motivation inspired most tutorial class students. With "love of knowledge" usually went the desire to apply that knowledge to effect social change. Students in Yorkshire could not fail to notice that Arthur Greenwood, a secretary of the 1919 Adult Education Committee, had not hesitated to use oratory in the cause of the Labour Party. Similarly, the father of the tutorial class, R.H. Tawney himself, was not above manifestos proclaiming socialist doctrine.

If one assumes, however, that all tutorial class students had objectivity and the love of knowledge for its own sake, as proclaimed in the 1919 Final Report, then the students managed this despite the left wing inclinations of many of the tutors who taught controversial subjects. Certainly if these students automatically applied a commonsense that, in turn, corrected any bias shown by the tutor, this was remarkable. If industrial workers accomplished this feat amid the frequently deplorable conditions under which they lived, worked and studied, this surely makes them as praiseworthy as the description in the Final Report. But it would be premature to pass a final conclusion upon the validity of this description of tutorial class students. For, to do so, would prejudge later developments which applied the test of experience to the views expressed in the 1919 Report.

The 1919 Adult Education Committee was favourable to developments that had stood the test of experience. It was for this reason that they were concerned about the Board of Education proposals that might leave the W.E.A. and other independent bodies at the mercy of the Local Educational Authorities. The proposed solution was to have "responsible bodies" receiving public money and, essentially, this cleared the way for financing

the continuation of the co-operation between such responsible bodies as the University Joint Committees and the W.E.A. districts. It might also be noted that this suggestion of responsible bodies had a political overtone. In commenting upon the Final Report, the Times Educational Supplement of November 27, 1919 drew attention to the committee's suspicions about Local Education Authorities.

It is within our (Adult Education Committee's) knowledge that there are town councils where the word 'economics' is synonymous with Socialism. The story is told of the committee of one local authority who, in replying to the request of a tutor for a room in which a class of students could meet said: 'If we let you have the room you will make the place a den of anarchists'.<sup>128</sup>

This local authority obviously had reservations about tutors such as R.H. Tawney or G.D.H. Cole and evidently disagreed with Tawney's view that students were non-political when they attended classes. The Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.s) referred to throughout the Final Report were those established by a Conservative Government by the Education Act of 1902. Although some L.E.A.s were not dominated by local members of the Conservative Party, the overall national picture reflected a considerable Conservative influence. Local authorities established under Conservative auspices were not likely to enthusiastically embrace the educational philosophy of the W.E.A. So, until the Labour Party matured as an alternative parliamentary choice, political wisdom possibly made the idea of responsible bodies an attractive proposition. Moreover, as Beatrice Webb noted, the Board of Education had no liking for the Adult Education Committee which it viewed as a threat, particularly after the Adult Education Committee had the temerity to criticise the 1918 Education Bill.<sup>129</sup> Yet the Adult Education Committee saw clearly that the Local Education Authority had a

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128 Times Educational Supplement, November 27, 1919, p. 593. The article reviews the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee.

129 B. Webb, Diaries 1912-1924, pp. 86-7. Cited in R.D. Waller, A Design for Democracy, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd., 1956, p. 19.

tremendous potential for developing liberal education for adults.

One recommendation was that libraries and museums should be administered by the Local Education Authority. Furthermore, it was envisaged that the resident tutor, representing the extra-mural department of his university, would take an active role in aiding other forms of non-vocational training. The broad vision of liberal education outlined by the Adult Education Committee anticipated that L.E.A. programmes could meet a variety of needs, as, for example:

an introduction to the philosophical, economic and political studies which are so prominent a feature of adult education may appear to the more precocious; ...for a larger number it appears to us that music, folk dances, and literature and the drama, on the one hand, and creative handwork, on the other, will provide appropriate opportunities for self expression.<sup>130</sup>

There seems to have been a feeling that the L.E.A. could make a considerable culture contribution, so long as it did not intrude upon the organisation of tutorial classes.

How does one finally assess a Magna Carta for Adult Education? A magnificent piece of humanitarianism? It was certainly a manifesto for producing the good life by means of liberal education. Expressed in Tawneyesque prose that mobilised the English language, the Final Report deserves to be reprinted and a copy placed in every centre of adult education. Possibly it could be chained to the senior administrator's desk, as were those early Bibles in churches that guided men in another faith. Yet it needs to be emphasized that the document was a product of its' time. The 1919 Report represented the pinnacle of optimism that followed the end of a Great War. Yet given the fact that Lloyd George, who had commissioned the investigation, lost interest before the Committee had a chance to draw final conclusions, the Report was not a document that excited public enthusiasm. With the onset of the industrial depression, and the mounting unemployment of 1920, the implementation of all the numerous ideas of the Final Report became unlikely.

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<sup>130</sup> Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 116, para. 208.

## CHAPTER 2

### ENGLISH ADULT EDUCATION IN THE 1920'S

After interest in adult education had been stimulated by the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee in 1919, there came a period in the early 1920's when its recommendations were largely ignored by the Government of the day. The first part of this chapter will examine the background of national events that helped to shape an attitude of indifference towards adult education. At the same time it has to be recognized that progress was being made in consolidating adult education, principally because of the individual effort of pioneers such as R. B. Haldane and R. H. Tawney. As the decade unfolded, the growing strength of a Labour Party at Westminster helped to produce the Board of Education Regulations of 1924 and 1929, which provided a framework in which adult education could develop. The events of the decade reveal diverse activity in the field of education and this period can be viewed as a period of transition.

In the early 1920's, there were significant changes occurring in the national life that would seriously effect the pattern of educational growth. The economic prosperity of Northern England, and indeed the nation, was based upon the staple industries of coal, iron and textiles. These industries were already having difficulties securing foreign markets before 1914. A return to a peacetime economy showed that, during the Great War, the markets had been further eroded because of competition from Japan and the United States. A great deal of concern was shown over technological obsolescence during the 1920's but, unfortunately, the problem was one of a permanently diminished demand for these staple products. A trade recession meant a tightening of the belt, but the impact of this setback was not evenly distributed. A vigilant R. H. Tawney described in his book Equality the Condition of England, in the early 'Twenties.

Rather less than two-thirds of the wealth was owned by .8 per cent of the population ... a large body of Englishmen are almost propertyless ... for example the not inconsiderable number of miners who have been obliged to mortgage such property as they possess - probably do not own wealth to the value of the kit that they took into battle at Passchendaele or on the Somme.<sup>1</sup>

Tawney was heavily involved in adult education at this time. Recent scholarship has indicated that Tawney was released from the Army in 1917, in order to work for the W.E.A.<sup>2</sup>; and, the following year he became Honorary Secretary of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes.

There were distinctive regional differences in the England of the 1920's and George Orwell, as a Southerner, penned this description:

When you go to the industrial North you are conscious, quite apart from the unfamiliar scenery, of entering a strange country. This is partly because of certain real differences which do exist, but still more because of the North-South antithesis that has been rubbed into us for such a long time past. There exists in England a curious cult of Northerners, a sort of Northern snobbishness ... the industrial work done in the North is the only 'real' work, that the North is inhabited by 'real' people, the South merely by rentiers and their parasites ... Hence the Southerner goes North, at any rate for the first time, with a vague inferiority complex of a civilised man among savages, while the Yorkshireman ... comes to London in the spirit of a barbarian out for loot.<sup>3</sup>

But the popular imagery was not confined simply to the North-South division of values. Possibly only a Yorkshireman could describe fellow Northerners in these terms:

Liverpool is simply Liverpool. Its people - or at least the uneducated among them - have an accent of their own; a thick adenoidy, cold in the head accent, very unpleasant to hear. Once you touch Manchester or any of its satellite towns you are really in Lancashire. The people talk with a Lancashire accent, and if you are a Southerner you may imagine you have landed among a million music hall comedians.<sup>4</sup>

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1 R.H. Tawney, Equality, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938, p. 56.

2 D. Crow, A Man of Push and Go. The Life of George MacCauley Booth, London: Rupert-Hart-Davis, 1965, p. 60.

3 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, pp. 10-11.

4 J.B. Priestley, English Journey, London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1934, pp. 252-3.



At the same time it is a sobering thought that Liverpool had lost almost 40,000 young men<sup>5</sup> in the recent war. However, as already discussed, the "Revenge of the Generals" prevented national and local understanding of the scale of sacrifice. Also, post-war revulsion against militarism provided a climate where there was little enthusiasm for post-mortems. It was more fun to propagate illusions about the inhabitants of other parts of England, so much of the wartime earnestness disappeared, like the abortive Ministry of Reconstruction. Yet, despite an economy drive, some profound changes were taking place in an educational system that looked changeless.

The dream of H.A.L. Fisher to have a million adolescents taking continued education was postponed, which was a setback to the plans of adult educators. The total educational scene in England still displayed strong aristocratic tendencies. In 1921-2 there were only 30,000 English undergraduates which worked out at 8.4 places per 10,000 of the population: in contrast, Scotland had a ratio of 21.4 places per 10,000.<sup>6</sup> Scotland had long valued university training and this attitude was known and respected in Canada. The Scots tradition of bright boys, from humble surroundings, becoming graduates, contrasted to the sad apathy in England where, "the dullard may receive a university education up to twenty-one because his parents can buy it for him, the potential scientist, poet or statesman may be employed in sticking labels on bottles in a mineral water factory"<sup>7</sup>. Hopefully such a bright boy might eventually find his way into a university tutorial class. But, even then, he might find his lack of educational preparation constituting a major hurdle. For the possibility of obtaining a

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5 Information supplied in a letter from Liverpool Cathedral to J.A. Blyth dated July 31, 1972, in response to an enquiry as to the number of names recorded in The Book of Memoriam.

6 R.H. Tawney, Education, The Socialist Policy, London, Independent Labour Party, 1924, p. 49.

7 Ibid, p. 3.

a secondary school training was quite bleak. In Lancashire for the year 1918-1919 the ratio of secondary school students in the population was 8.7 per 1000 of the population.<sup>8</sup> For England and Wales, in the year 1919-1920, a total of 21,210 children qualified for secondary training but were excluded, either because of lack of accomodation or lack of free places.<sup>9</sup> A fierce competition existed for places in secondary schools, partly attributable to the declared belief of psychologists that they could predict ability at the tender age of eleven. So that frightening experience of the "scholarship examination" loomed large and R.H. Tawney illustrated what was involved, "Remember Mary! a father was heard to say to his daughter of eleven, as he conducted her in the ordeal, 'your whole future depends upon the result of this examination".<sup>10</sup> Even if a child managed to get to a secondary school, there was no guarantee that the instruction provided would be excellent. Over forty per cent of the teachers staffing secondary schools in England in 1921 were not university graduates.<sup>11</sup> At this point in time, the tuition in a university Tutorial Class was probably much better although, as the level of graduates increased for secondary schools, this comparative advantage would diminish. But the majority of potential recruits for Tutorial Classes were those adults who had received only an elementary education. Most of these children were from the working-classes and probably envied the fortunate few who had "passed the scholarship" and "obtained a free place". This situation was to prevail, in varying degrees, throughout England until World War Two and helped to mould the attitude of R.H. Tawney towards the provision of secondary education. Those upper-class parents, or successful scholarship

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8 R.H. Tawney, ed., Secondary Education for All, A Policy for Labour, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., n.d., p. 16.

9 Ibid., pp. 8-9. This figure consolidates the numbers that Tawney cites from the Report of the Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places (Cmd.968), 1920, Appendix 1, Table D.

10 R.H. Tawney, Education, the Socialist Policy, London: Independent Labour Party, 1924, p. 38.

11 Ibid.

contestants, who stressed that opportunity existed for the lower orders received a blast from R.H. Tawney. With devastating logic, Tawney examined the social philosophy that a worthy few would always arise above their original station.

It is possible that intelligent tadpoles reconcile themselves to the inconveniences of their position, by reflecting that, though most of them will live and die as tadpoles and nothing more, the more fortunate of the species will one day shed their tails, distend their mouths and stomachs, hop nimbly on to dry land, and croak addresses to their former friends on the virtues by means of which tadpoles of character and capacity can rise to be frogs. This conception of society may be described, perhaps, as the Tadpole Philosophy, since the consolidation which it offers for social evils consists in the statement that exceptional individuals can succeed in evading them ... As though the noblest use of exceptional powers were to scramble to shore, undeterred by the thought of drowning companions.<sup>12</sup>

Adult educators believed in helping all tadpoles, and a notable addition to the ranks of those adult educators had been R.B. Haldane, a man of massive intellect.

R.B. Haldane became interested in adult education after suffering the wartime experience of being condemned as Pro-German by hysterical, self-proclaimed patriots. Considering that, before 1914, he had taken charge of the British Army for the Liberal Government in order to make it efficient, and, that subsequently, the British Expeditionary Force helped to stem the German advance as planned, it was remarkable that he should have been branded a traitor. Yet the mob that assailed him did a favour for the cause of adult education. Haldane's talents were now directed towards creating what he conceived as something like the planning services of a

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12 R.H. Tawney, Equality, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938 pp. 114-15.

general staff, to coordinate the attack of adult education on ignorance. A philanthropist, Sir Ernest Cassels, put up half a million pounds to aid the creation of the British Institute of Adult Education. Haldane outlined in a speech the approach planned for liberal education of the nation.

What we aim at is the creation and diffusion through the people of the sense of new intellectual and spiritual values ... The new conception of education ... a power liberating from the fetters of ignorance. It must aim at opening up to those who can receive it new worlds ... in which the society will be that of the greatest writers and artists that the history of the world has produced. The idea of leisure must change. It should be a period in the life of a workman continuous with his daily life ... For the best this will mean that the hours left over after enough has been earned to maintain home and family will in part at least be devoted the larger outlook due to higher knowledge.<sup>13</sup>

The vision was too far advanced for men of his generation, But Haldane's words would seem to have meaning for our generation, as discussion continues as to how workmen who become technologically obsolescent may employ their leisure.

Haldane saw the role of the universities as crucial to adult education and commented:

A nation's stature is closely bound up with its enlightenment, and without work from the Universities that enlightenment cannot come. What we rely upon is the passion which the working classes, like other classes, have for what is of high quality. That passion manifests itself only in a comparatively small class of individuals. But, their numbers tend to grow, and leadership naturally passes to those men. They influence not only those around them in their own homes, but others with whom they come in daily contact. The general standard tends to rise appreciably.<sup>14</sup>

Haldane became very active in promoting adult education. He was appointed President of Birkbeck College and secured admission of the college as a school of the University of London in 1920.<sup>15</sup> Once Haldane had the British Institute of Adult Education functioning, he threw

13 British Institute of Adult Education, The Way Out. Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education, London: Oxford University Press, 1923, pp. 14-15.

14 Ibid., p. 12.

15 Frederick B. Maurice, Haldane, 11, London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 1938, p. 70.

his weight behind the proposal to establish an Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education. In April 1921 the Board of Education established this Adult Education Committee on which both voluntary bodies and L.E.A.s were represented. Among the leading committee members were William Temple, Lord Gorell who had organised Army education, Albert Mansbridge, A.L. Smith, R.H. Tawney and Pilkington Turner from Manchester University. The influence of this Committee was considerable and, down to World War Two, "the trend of opinion ... tended to emphasize the importance of voluntary non statutory bodies and to favour co-operation between equals".<sup>16</sup>

By the early 1920's, the exertions of Lord Haldane had strengthened the national organization of adult education. Furthermore, Haldane had not finished yet, for he persuaded his former cabinet colleague, Viscount Grey of the Foreign Office, to join the cause of adult education. Grey defended the idea of liberal education in a speech of February 3, 1923, in which he said:

To sum up the past, I would observe that one of the great dangers to democracy is the lack of interest, lethargy and therefore absence of public opinion ... The other danger is the great activity on the part of a section of public opinion, an activity which is ill informed and therefore misdirected, an activity which is based on the assumption that they know everything, when as a matter of fact, they may know very little. The greatest corrective of that is education, particularly adult education.<sup>17</sup>

Haldane's efforts on behalf of adult education would seem to be commendable. But it would also seem that his thinking outstripped the ideology of the Worker's Educational Movement, as symbolized by G.H. Thompson in Yorkshire. Thompson obviously believed in Tawney's tadpole philosophy where a worker should help to raise his social class, rather than rise out

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16 Ministry of Education, The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O. 1954, p. 7, para. 17. This paragraph contains a brief history of the Adult Education Committee of 1921-1939.

17 British Institute of Adult Education, The Way Out. Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education, London: Oxford University Press 1923, p. 5.

of it. Therefore Thompson commented:

A great deal of tosh is written about education. Haldane's view, for example, that it is a bridge from one class to another is rot. We don't want our children to remove from one class to another. We want them to stay where they are.<sup>18</sup>

This view was a rejection of the belief held by men, such as Matthew Arnold and Albert Mansbridge, that education could be a means of class reconciliation. Thompson was less concerned about the benefits to an individual of a liberal education than he was about promoting industrial and social emancipation: therefore in his view, certain subjects were particularly useful and he declared, "Economics, Social Theory and related studies must be considered of prime importance".<sup>19</sup>

The British Institute of Adult Education made many studies on the meaning and purpose of adult education. One of the most incisive analyses concerned the deficiencies of the reading habits of the English public which, the study, suggested was due to not having learned how to read:

'To read, mark, learn and inwardly digest' is not a mere trick to be learned at the primary school: it is an art ... There is plenty of good sociology in Tit-Bits or in the Police News, if you know how to find it; and conversely, it is possible to read and read big books and little books and bulky tomes, and to remain an ass.<sup>20</sup>

In that era, the printed page was the main medium of mass communication and, therefore, the point was significant. The application of critical intelligence is obviously required in interpreting any form of published material. What strikes one about this analysis is that the stress was not on the type of good literature which should be read but, rather, on how to read. What was applicable to reading also appears to have extended to writing, judging from the frequency of the discussion about the inadequacy of the written

18 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 297.

19 Ibid., p. 298.

20 British Institute of Adult Education, The Way Out. Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education, London: Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 42.

assignments completed in tutorial classes. As adult students were frequently not conditioned to note taking, clear thinking or reading, the argument in favour of a short course to introduce students to a subject, and prepare for a tutorial, appears to have been valid.

It so happened at this time that Britain was harnessing the critical faculties of her people on a vastly enlarged scale. The emergence of the female student in considerable numbers was really the corollary to the loss of young men killed in France. Yet, more than that, this was a social revolution which impinged heavily on the entire scene of adult education. Some men did not welcome the change. Interestingly enough, the working-class male appears to have been less egalitarian in outlook than his middle class brother, as regards to the emancipation of women. Mrs. Huws Davies, a member of the 1919 Adult Education Committee contrasted these attitudes:

In the servantless households of middle-class people ... there is an increasing tendency for a man to help his wife as far as he can with household tasks; but in working-class families the idea seems to be largely unknown, and was indeed, greeted with amazed surprise by two distinguished Trade Union leaders in a discussion on the subject.<sup>21</sup>

Obviously trade union brotherhood stopped short of the tea table. Another adult educator of the time, Elizabeth S. Haldane, who assisted her prominent brother, saw that, "education is not confined to book learning ... Art so called is ... far too much divorced from ordinary life ... Art galleries and museums are little made use of. In dancing, which is popular, we have the sense of beauty and rhythm".<sup>22</sup> Many trade unionists probably disapproved of participating in this dancing lark as a form of adult education. For Miss Haldane noted that, "Neither music nor dancing have hitherto had much chance in this country as popular educative forces". Women were expanding a role that had long been recognised, for they had formed the backbone of

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21 R.St.John Parry, ed., Cambridge Essays on Adult Education, London: Cambridge University Press, 1920, p. 149.

22 British Institute of Adult Education, The Way Out. Essays on the Meaning and Purpose of Adult Education, London: Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 100.

the University Extension courses. Now they began to move into tutorial classes providing thirty per cent of the total enrolment for 1921,<sup>23</sup> but approximately fifty per cent of all courses on literature, and were in a majority in many classes on the subject. The expansion of women into the formerly male dominated tutorial classes posed problems for them. A reluctance to join in discussion was noted by several tutors.

The habits of life and the experience of women, even of women teachers are different. They often feel themselves to be inferior in point of knowledge and experience ... When they do contribute they often fight shy of the abstract and speculative, and concentrate upon the concrete and 'local'.<sup>24</sup>

For working-class women the timidity was even more pronounced as "Women ... feel their lack of education more keenly than do men, and are more sensitive about exposing their ignorance". This seems a commendable trait and well in tune with the objectives of liberal education, but, the commentator continued, "they (working-class women) hesitate to measure themselves against men and against each other".<sup>25</sup> What seems to have been a major factor in the shyness of capable women to participate in tutorial classes was the industrial setting. In a mining community the students were drawn from the same industry and, "the proportion of women is smaller than in an area like Liverpool, where men drawn from a variety of occupations, none of which predominates".<sup>26</sup> This situation is understandable. In a closely knit community, such as a mining village, it might be disastrous for a miner's wife to point out in discussion the fallacies voiced by a miner. Loquacious men were one thing: but uppity women would be tolerated. On the other hand, in Liverpool, where the class dispersed, a woman did not have to be concerned about being ostracised by the community.

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23 Board of Education, The Development of Education for Women, Paper No. 4, of the Adult Education Committee, H.M.S.O., 1922, p. 3.

24 Ibid., p. 6.

25 Ibid., p. 4.

26 Ibid.



Many women were reluctant to join a University Tutorial Class, partly owing to the necessity of undertaking to attend for three years. A woman's domestic circumstances was more likely to change in that period of time than would be the case with men and, also, tutorial classes were held in the evening, which was a difficult time for mothers of young children. On the other hand, women showed an interest in "One Year Classes" and these expanded rapidly, as the W.E.A. saw the demand. During the year 1919-1920, there had been an increase of one year classes from 145 with 2,173 students to 328 with 7,118, of whom 3,230 were women.<sup>27</sup> By the following year the students had increased to 12,474, with literature steadily gaining ground over the more traditional economics. This development caught the attention of the Board of Education which commented for the year 1919-20 that:

One form of education ... deserves special mention, namely the large and growing number of classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association, which are called for convenience 'One Year Classes' ... In some cases they serve as a preparation for a full three years' course, but more generally they satisfy a demand for a less continuous and intensive method of study ... (than) a full three years' course.<sup>28</sup>

This growth of short courses attributable, to a large extent, to the preference of women for one year courses, was officially recognised when the Board of Education drafted their new regulations for Adult Regulations in 1924.

The new 1924 Regulations need to be placed in their own context. It should be pointed out that, since the termination of World War One, adult education had been rapidly recovering. By 1919-20, University Tutorial Classes in England and Wales numbered 226, or twice the total of 1913-14.<sup>29</sup>

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27 H. Edmund Poole, "English Literature as a Subject in W.E.A. Classes Adult Education, Vol.XII, 1940,p. 169. Poole cites W.E.A. Annual Reports as his source: The Seventeenth Annual Report, 1920 and Eighteenth Annual Report, 1921.

28 Board of Education, Report for the Year 1919-20, Cmd., 1451, H.M.S.O. 1921, p. 41, para. 130.

29 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O. 1927, p. 25.

In the following year, 1920-21, the University of Liverpool had the largest total of adult classes with forty-one, followed by the University of Leeds with thirty-five; while Manchester organised twenty-four.<sup>30</sup> Liverpool continued to be the pacesetter by expanding the number of classes for adults to forty-eight in the subsequent year.<sup>31</sup> There appears to have been a demand in the classes conducted by the University of Liverpool for a certificate to confirm that a student had successfully completed a tutorial class. In 1921 the University Extension Board recommended that the University of Liverpool should award a certificate to a candidate who attended a Tutorial Class for three consecutive sessions and had satisfied his tutor as to written work.<sup>32</sup> The reverse side of the coin, the following year, was the decision to ask the West Lancashire and Cheshire District of the W.E.A. to consider, "the possibility of strengthening the pledge given by the students on joining the Tutorial Classes to attend regularly ... and to do the written work required by the Tutor".<sup>33</sup> Obviously the tutor could not take it for granted that a student would honour his pledge and, furthermore, this situation suggests that a lowering

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30 Board of Education, Report for the Year 1920-21, p. 41.

31 Ibid. The Central Joint Advisory Board figures show that, for 1921-22, the University of Liverpool provided forty-eight tutorial classes, the largest in the nation. Leeds University provided thirty-six tutorial and Manchester University, thirty tutorial classes.

32 The University of Liverpool, University Extension Board, Minutes 1918-1931. p. 36. Minutes of meeting held March 4, 1921.

33 The University of Liverpool, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople, Minute Book No. 2, p. 126. Minutes of meeting held on May 18, 1922.

of standards could result from an attempt to maintain a steady expansion in the number of tutorial classes. At the same time, there were new developments that indicated a healthy post-war growth of adult education. An analysis of the popular subjects in tutorial classes, on a national level, shows a gradual shift away from Economics, Industrial and Social History which comprised the traditional pre-war fare. While these inter-related subjects provided by far the largest group, they were gradually losing ground in relative terms to such subjects as English Literature, Psychology and Philosophy. Also, the one year course was becoming increasingly popular. By 1921-22, the One Year course numbered three hundred and twenty-nine, which was four times the number of 1913-1914.<sup>34</sup>

The overall national picture for adult education was healthy and it seemed apparent that post-war expansion would have continued at a high level, had not economic conditions produced an austerity drive at the Treasury .. In 1921 the Geddes axe<sup>35</sup> fell and the word "economy" replaced the word "reconstruction": grants for adult education for 1921-22 were frozen at the level of the previous year. By the end of 1922 the Conservatives had turned out Lloyd George and this meant that H.A.L. Fisher was out of office. But before departing as President of the Board of Education, Fisher managed to induce the Treasury to allow his department to exempt from the provisions of a restrictive circular, "classes conducted solely for the liberal education of adults".<sup>36</sup> Due to Fisher's action the development of adult education was not retarded and, contrary to the retrenchment policy in operation elsewhere, an increase of twenty per cent

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34 Department of Education, Adult Education Committee, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O. 1927, p. 3.

35 Sir Eric Geddes chaired the Committee on National Expenditure which proposed to cut expenditure in many public sectors, thus acquiring the popular description of being the Geddes axe. Among other public servants, school teachers accepted a five per cent salary cut.

36 M. Stocks, The Workers' Educational Association. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1953, p. 94.

was allowed for 1922-23. By January, 1924, a minority Labour government had assumed office and, bearing in mind the left wing orientation of many prominent members of the W.E.A., it was possible that the friends of adult education sitting in Parliament might protect the movement from the desire to retrench in public expenditure. It is significant that one of the few major actions of the short lived government of Ramsay MacDonald was to pass regulations pertaining to adult education.

When preparing to frame the new regulations the Board of Education were guided to some extent by a confidential Report on University Tutorial Classes in England. Three of H.M. Inspectors wrote a report that is worth quoting at some length because it sheds light upon the attitude of some well informed observers towards provision of adult education. The report noted that standards had deteriorated during the First World War and that the third year of a tutorial often required the infusion of "added students" in order to maintain its vitality.<sup>37</sup> The inspectors stated that, "We are not satisfied that the organization of Tutorial classes fits the circumstances at the present time"<sup>38</sup> and went on to declare that the Tutorial class had to be seen in relation to other forms of adult education.<sup>39</sup> A brief summary of the situation was outlined:

A great deal of preparatory work requires to be done before the number of students capable of profiting by the strenuous three years' course can be rapidly increased. Indeed, if all financial difficulties were removed it is doubtful whether the rapid increase in the number of the classes formed would be a great advantage. It is easy to start new classes: it is difficult to maintain either the required standard of attendance or the standard of work. We cannot, however, adopt the view that all that is required is an increase in the number of what are called One Year classes ... Many of the One Year classes are excellent, but most of them fail to supply just what is wanted ... The remedy it seems to us, lies in the adoption of three kinds of classes or

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37 Board of Education, Report on University Tutorial Classes in England by H.M. Inspectors Mr. J. Owen, Mr. J. Dover and Mr. W.S. Dann, 1922, p. 3, para. 1.

38 Ibid., p. 25, para. 48.

39 Ibid.

courses in addition to the present type of university Tutorial class. The first is the lecture course conducted on the lines of an old University course ... The second corresponds to the present W.E.A. One Year Class ... The third would be in all respects a Tutorial class without the condition of three years' attendance.<sup>40</sup>

It is apparent that H.M. Inspectors were not convinced that the Tutorial class could or should be regarded as the complete answer to expanding the growth of liberal education among adults. Moreover, the objections to viewing the Tutorial class as virtually a divine instrument for spreading liberal education included an exposition on the unsuitability of the Tutorial for an expanding curriculum, because the report stated:

with the widening of the range of subjects the three years' course is found to be less adapted to the end in view ... it has failed to attract students in history; it is not well adapted to the teaching of literature; it is not necessary except for a small proportion of students of music. It is eminently adapted to the teaching of economics and any subject of a strictly philosophic character: it is also adapted to the needs of students who desire to take a strictly academic course in any of the subjects forming part of a degree course.<sup>41</sup>

This sober assessment tends to remove some of the mystique that seems to have surrounded the word "tutorial". Furthermore, the Board of Education were told that, "Except in the subject of economics, it is probable that in many centres a better continuity would be secured by means of a succession of One Year courses than by the three years system".<sup>42</sup> With this background it is possible to understand more fully the provisions made under the Board of Education Regulations that took effect on August 1, 1924.

These new regulations were quite liberal in character, and endorsed the view of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction that adult education should be eligible for grants as long as it was non-vocational. It is worth reflecting that, as S.G. Raybould has pointed out,

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 25, para. 48.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 26, para. 50.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 27, para. 51.

the whole pattern of adult education in England came to mean liberal education because grant money was available only for that purpose.<sup>43</sup> Yet, in terms of the 1924 Regulations, this is understandable because the terms of reference that Lloyd George gave to the committee that wrote the 1919 Report excluded vocational training. The latter came under the general heading of technical training for which a grant structure had been evolved which, incidentally, prior to 1924, included grants-in-aid to University Extension classes: by the terms of the 1924 Regulations these Extension courses were now placed, quite logically it would seem, under the same regulations as governed tutorial classes. One can understand the deliberate decision of 1917 to make the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee concentrate on general education. The terms of reference were given by a politician who was doubtless aware of the political danger of encouraging vocational training at the expense of the state. William Temple, the President of the National W.E.A. between 1908-1924, outlined the purpose in stressing non-vocational study when he commented that:

It has been our policy in the W.E.A. to avoid the 'vocational' subjects ... Our aim has been the education (the word you will remember means nourishment) of a complete personality with a view to fulness of life as citizen and as individual. If at an earlier stage we have included 'vocational' subjects in our scope, this aim would probably have been obscured by the commercial advantages to be won through our courses ... also there was the firmly rooted suspicion that increases efficiency of working folk would be exploited in the financial interest of others.<sup>44</sup>

It would seem that Temple was expressing the underlying reason for equating liberal education to non-vocational training. The reason has less to do with educational philosophy than in the negative political reason of preventing employers from training their work force at the expense of the taxpayer. Given the conditions of the 1920's, when belief in voluntarism was strongly held in adult educational circles, while the State had no intention of

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<sup>43</sup> S.G. Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England 1945-62, A Study in Finance and Policy, London: Michael Joseph, 1964, pp. 20-1.

<sup>44</sup> The Archbishop of York, "The Need for a New Culture", The Highway, Vol XXVII, October, 1934, p. 3.

educating large numbers of people to staff the framework of a welfare state, then the equating of the words "liberal" and "non-vocational" would seem to be justifiable.

What was probably not envisaged in the instructions to the Adult Education Committee of 1919 was that the terms of reference, restricting the committee to liberal education, might place adult education in a strait jacket where it was synonymous with liberal study, but had to survive in a society that tended to think in more utilitarian terms. Liberal education is concerned with abstract ideas but "practical" men often disdain ideas as a treacherous substitute for experience. But so long as adult education remained a relatively small aspect of education, there was unlikely to be much opposition to supporting a movement that had the blessing of the Labour Party, which passed the Regulations of 1924.

In 1924, a national administrative framework was conceived where universities would develop liberal education at an advanced level, under Chapter Two of the Regulations. A recommendation of the 1919 Final Report was adopted for designating the bodies responsible for university tutorial classes as "responsible bodies", while to distinguish the work performed by non-university associations the phrase "approved associations" was used, and the less advanced nature of their courses placed them under Chapter Three of the Regulations. This distinction between the work performed by university extra-mural departments and voluntary bodies, such as the W.E.A., seems to have been a commendable attempt to define the functions of the two main agencies. It was also anticipated that L.E.A.s would aid in providing elementary and introductory courses, a move that was viewed with suspicion by the W.E.A. Mrs. M. Stocks, the historian of the W.E.A., has pointed out that.

The new regulations provided the Board (of Education) with a motive for economizing administrative costs by encouraging local education authorities to take its place in grant-aiding W.E.A. classes and this, in 1925, became its declared policy. It was

not a policy the W.E.A. liked. Local education authorities, especially the more reactionary county authorities, were on the whole less capable than the Board's officers of understanding the aims and the nature of W.E.A. class work.<sup>45</sup>

Definitions used in the 1924 Regulations were to play a vital role in the subsequent development of adult education. First of all, there were the distinctions made concerning the provision of the popular short courses. For Chapter Three work, there were two types of short courses described as "terminal" and "one year", both of which required meetings of not less than one and one-half hours per week. But whereas the terminal course only met for 12 weeks and was unique in not requiring written work, the one-year course lasted for twenty weeks. Both styles of short courses had proved popular with the W.E.A. which did not, however, receive carte blanche approval for continuous expansion. While the W.E.A. had long been accustomed to being the only voluntary body receiving grants from the Board of Education, the term "approved associations" now covered other associations such as the Y.M.C.A. and Educational Settlements Association. Furthermore, the financial arrangements were not to be permanent but subject to review in five years time on July 31, 1929. These restrictive conditions seemed to place the W.E.A. in rather a vulnerable position, and tended to inhibit any plans that envisaged a virtual monopoly on providing popular culture. Moreover, another factor that affected the plans of some W.E.A. Districts was the provision for short courses of a more advanced nature, under Chapter Two, which recognised University Extension Courses that had to last for twenty-four weeks. There is little doubt that what the Board of Education had in mind was the familiar Extension lecture for a large audience, followed by a discussion period for a smaller group of interested

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<sup>45</sup> H. Stocks, The Workers' Educational Association, The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1953, p. 96.



students. But the regulations were framed so as to base the grant upon the number of students in attendance at the discussion and thereby, inadvertently, a loophole developed. Because Chapter Two work was rewarded at a higher rate of grant, there was temptation to make University Extension courses compete with those offered by voluntary bodies. The temptation was increased by the fact that now Extension Courses could be arranged so that the lecture audience and the discussion group were identical. Extension classes could be made virtually indistinguishable from One Year courses, but, of course, such a practice tended to confuse the issue of what constituted advanced or university standards.

The overlap between the W.E.A. and the universities was also confused, as S.G. Raybould has pointed out, when:

The Board (of Education), originally as a temporary measure, granted Chapter Three powers to the University of Birmingham and Nottingham University College, it was influenced by the argument that ... such a step was desirable in order to stimulate the development of adult education by pioneer activities ... The concession was never revoked, but later extended.<sup>46</sup>

In the light of this development the comment of G.D.H. Cole, when he recalled the 1920's, becomes understandable.

There were real difficulties as some of the new extra-mural bodies in the Universities began to take up the organization of shorter courses as well as of tutorial classes and thus become competitors in what the W.E.A. had regarded as its own preserve. The long running fight about where 'working-class' education stopped and other kinds of adult education began set in.<sup>47</sup>

So long as this rivalry with the W.E.A. was restricted to merely a few areas then it was not a serious issue, but it did portend what could happen as the field of adult education grew. For the well established Joint Committees at the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, there was no problem. In each case the Secretary of the local W.E.A. District was principally responsible for organising classes in close

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46 S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1951, p. 102.

47 G.D.H. Cole, "The Tutor", The Highway 44, April, 1953, p. 281.

co-operation with the university. In any event, the belief that the tutorial class was the special province of university teaching minimized the danger of conflict with the W.E.A.

Under the 1924 Regulations, Tutorial classes were encouraged under the auspices of "responsible bodies" which, in practice, meant the universities and the W.E.A. In addition to the basic three-year course, provision was made for preparatory classes which lasted twenty-four weeks. The grant for tutorial classes was increased to £ 60, or in special cases £ 75, with the full grant reaching up to three-quarters of the salary paid to the tutor. Because the grant paid by the Board of Education for tutorial classes was higher than for the shorter courses, with the tutor being better paid, there was a strong inducement to get a tutorial class going, if the claim to one could be plausibly justified. At the same time, according to the Regulations "honours standard" was to be achieved; a condition that continued to ignore the difference between an internal undergraduate and an external part-timer. Moreover, the tutorial class was really a substitute for secondary school education for individuals who had only received an elementary school training. Not the least of the problems was that tutorials were housed in a great variety of premises ranging from the excellent facilities at Universities, down to schools, churches, cafes, libraries, clubs. There was thus a great variety in the degree of suitability of the physical environment in which students were to be encouraged to reach "honours standard".

View in their entirety, the 1924 Regulations gave a boost to development of liberal education. In fact, one could argue, the Exchequer grants were the life blood and adrenalin of liberal education, because courses were arranged to meet the Board of Education definition of what constituted adult education. In England and Wales, the year after the Regulations came into effect, University Extension Courses leaped from ten to fifty-six; short courses of Chapter Three standard from three hundred and fifty-nine to five hundred and twenty-six, while tutorial classes

expanded from a total of three hundred ~~and seventy-seven~~ to four hundred and forty-three.<sup>48</sup> The impact of the 1924 Regulations was felt in Lancashire and Yorkshire and, in order to focus upon the North country educational scene, a brief review is needed.

After the 1914-1918 War, the W.E.A. created a sub-division of West Lancashire and Cheshire which, in 1920, became a full district. This district was fortunate enough to have a high calibre of district secretary in Frank Garstang, who would serve as Joint Secretary of the Tutorial Class-  
es Committee for the next thirty-six years. A rough boundary between the respective educational spheres of Liverpool and Manchester was the Preston-Crewe railway line.<sup>49</sup> In Manchester an Extra-Mural Department replaced the old Extension Committee, with H. Pilkington Turner in charge as External Registrar. By 1922 a conference of the new Manchester Extra-Mural Committee was imaginatively seeking to expand co-operation with L.E.A.s and professional groups which, while the suggestions were abortive at the time, showed that the pulse of the community was being taken. In the tutorial classes the working-class element diminished to some extent, but this was partially due to the social upheavals in the fabric of society. Teachers were elevated from their pre-war status, as workers equated with clerks, the the more dignified position of professionals with the middle-class status.<sup>50</sup> One can detect here the impact of the emancipation of women and can only hope that, with this higher self esteem, children received a higher quality education. Tutorial class students at Manchester still has a positive outlook towards their responsibilities for written assignments in 1921-22. One class of thirty-one students produced two hundred and twenty-eight essays.<sup>51</sup>

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48 Board of Education, Report for the Year 1924-25, p. 127.

49 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls, Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 42.

50 Ibid., p. 73.

51 Ibid., p. 74.

Yet change was in the air due to the growing popularity of such subjects as literature and music and as some H.M. Inspectors reported:

in their judgement greater care was requisite in the selection of students (for music classes) ... elaborate treatment may be too abstract for those whose capacity may not have been tested by previous courses of instruction ... A satisfactory Tutorial Class in music was likely to be satisfied in rare instances.<sup>52</sup>

The inspectors recommended short popular courses or preparatory classes for the majority of the students. University Extension Lectures were obviously a better mode of instruction for as one lecturer remarked, "Paper-writing about music is only moderately profitable".<sup>53</sup> On the other hand many students were encouraged to develop their musical inclinations by the books or scores issued by the Henry Watson Library at Manchester. The teething problems with music illustrated that methods developed for the humanities and social sciences were not universally applicable to all subjects. Adult students had experienced life and could relate to the humanities or social sciences with understanding, as abstract ideas could be correlated with their own human experiences. By the same token, as the educational level rose and broadcasting introduced superior music to that of the barrel organ, adult students would also be able to relate to musical experience.

Liverpool was leading the nation in the largest number of tutorial classes and it is worthwhile considering the reasons. There was close co-operation between F. Garstang and E. Hickinbotham who became Secretary of the Extension Board of Liverpool University in 1923. By 1924, F. Garstang had arranged for E. Hickinbotham to become a member of the W.E.A. District Council<sup>54</sup> which, incidentally, created a precedent for the successors of

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52 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Paper No. 5, British Music, 1924, pp. 52-3.

53 Ibid., p. 51.

54 W.E.A. Liverpool Branch, Minute Book, May 1919 - June 1928, p. 198. Minutes of District Executive Meeting held February 23, 1924. A resolution was passed that the Constitution be amended as follows "that the Joint Committee Secretary be a Member of the District Council".

Hickinbotham, as Secretary of the Extension Board, to receive the same appointment.<sup>55</sup> The University of Liverpool, also, showed considerable interest in social service by creating, in 1904, a School of Social Studies which was principally concerned with training social workers. Later, the interpretation of Social Studies was expanded to include students from governmental, professional or industrial backgrounds. Such a close connection with community leaders was likely to produce recruits for tutorial classes. Furthermore, the social concern was in tune with Beechcroft at Birkenhead which became a centre of tutorial studies and then an "approved association" under the Chapter Three Board of Education Regulations. The Warden of Beechcroft was Frank Milligan, a returned soldier, who set a cheerful example by ignoring his permanent disabilities.<sup>56</sup> Milligan had been a W.E.A. tutor in the area, and his enthusiasm helped to bring about the reputation for drama that resulted in the formation of the Beechcroft Players. Another effort to aid the cause of liberal education came in 1924 when the School of Education at the University of Liverpool welcomed the Bishop of Ripon who delivered a lecture about liberal education. After tracing the Hellenic roots, the Bishop surveyed the contemporary scene and distinguished two characteristics of a liberal education, "the love of truth and the capacity for disciplined self control".<sup>57</sup> These virtues had long been appreciated in university circles, but it was probably appropriate, amid the frustrations of the 1920's, to recall that a democratic society

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55 E. Hickinbotham had been Sixth Form Master in History at the Liverpool Institute, and part-time tutor for Liverpool Tutorial Classes prior to his appointment as Secretary of the Extension Board in 1923. The successors to Hickinbotham, after his retirement in 1936, were L.J. Edwards and A. McPhee, both of whom served on the W.E.A. District Council.

56 E. Hutchinson, Personal and Professional Values in Adult Education and Community Work, the Fifth Frank Milligan Lecture, given in Rutherford Hall, University of Kent at Canterbury on the 17th July, 1971.

57 World Association for Adult Education Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, May, 1926, p. 30.

should value citizens who displayed these characteristics.

Although Extension lectures had become eligible for Board of Education grant in 1924 there seems to have been little enthusiasm for them. For a few years the Local Lectures Committee provided courses on the history of architecture and similar themes for the Almagamated Society of Woodworkers, and courses on economics and industrial history for the National Industrial Alliance.<sup>58</sup> The latter organisation was in a way a rival of the W.E.A., which operated mainly through the backing of large employers and, in 1924-25, the Extension Board of the University of Liverpool supplied ten courses each comprising twenty lectures for the Alliance.<sup>59</sup> This Extension work steadily dwindled away during the 1920's. One of the difficulties in expanding Extension work lay in the fact that Oxford and Cambridge had been first in the field and had enclaves in northern England. Therefore, Crewe appears to have been seen as an Oxford centre of influence, while Southport was a Cambridge stronghold. One suspects that the mystique of Oxbridge appealed to some students, such as many of the ladies of Southport, who, otherwise, might have been in attendance at lectures conducted by the University of Liverpool.

The educational environment for adults was different in Yorkshire which displayed certain unique features. First of all, the W.E.A. virtually dominated the university tutorial scene as Leeds University had not established a Department of Extra-Mural Studies. Yet by the end of the Great War the University of Leeds was supervising more tutorial classes than either Liverpool or Manchester.<sup>60</sup> Then why was there a delay in establishing

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58 T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool. A Narrative of Two Hundred Years, Liverpool, Published by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Liverpool, 1960, p. 43.

59 Ibid.

60 Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, Final Report, Cmd. 321, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 192.

The figures for tutorial classes:	1917-1918	1918-1919
Leeds	17	20
Liverpool	14	18
Manchester	12	11

a department of extra-mural studies at Leeds. One of the major obstacles appears to have been the objections of the Workers' Educational Association.

In (W.E.A.) Annual Reports for the early years, there is no mention of the new Departments and no welcome for the newly appointed Heads. With few exceptions, the Officers and District Secretaries of the Association made no secret of their dislike of this new enterprise of the universities ... There is no doubt ... that this initial antagonism was one of the influences which delayed the creation of university extra-mural departments in those areas in which the W.E.A. was strong.<sup>61</sup>

In the West Riding the W.E.A. was very strong and this situation requires examination. George Thompson the District Secretary was a socialist with evangelical fervour for creating the new Jerusalem through the medium of tutorial classes. Thompson had been a working-class tutorial student and brought to his administrative role the strengths and weaknesses of such a background. In describing the educational climate of the area, J.F.C. Harrison, who later worked in adult education at Leeds, used the phrase "Secular puritanism".<sup>62</sup> This spirit was rooted in the Nonconformist tradition of the West Riding and in the widespread popularity of Adult Schools. However, although Swarthmore in Leeds continued to train leaders for Adult Schools, there was a trend towards becoming a secular settlement such as Beechcroft in Birkenhead. The ramifications of the W.E.A. were deep as, from the early days, the branches were encouraged to become involved in the social life of the community. So, "Whether it was lodging-houses for women or playgrounds for children ... or the Lord Mayor's War Memorial Committee, the W.E.A. was involved".<sup>63</sup> When in 1920 the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee established a district this became, more or less, identical with the W.E.A. district, with the same secretary in the form of George Thompson. Thompson promoted short courses lasting

61. R. Peers, Adult Education, A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Paul, 1958, p. 90.

62. J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 299.

63. Ibid, p. 286.

six meeting for mining communities with the aid of a grant from the Miners' Welfare Fund, and again, this shows the really deep roots of the W.E.A. within the life of the community. Furthermore, the West Riding was almost unique in methods of financing adult education, as the Local Education Authorities took full financial responsibility for one year and terminal courses, while the organisation was provided by the W.E.A. The W.E.A. power structure extended to the university, because at Leeds and Sheffield the University Tutorial Classes Joint Committees had one-third of the membership nominated by the W.E.A. and one-third by the County L.E.A. This meant in effect that the W.E.A. virtually controlled two-thirds of each University Tutorial Joint Committee, with G.H. Thompson being a Joint Secretary of both the Leeds and Sheffield Joint Committees. J.F.C. Harrison has analysed this situation where, for example, a number of staff-tutors were appointed to work for the University Joint Committees but were to all intents and purposes organized and administered by Thompson. Harrison wrote that:

From the universities' side the arrangement was acceptable for two reasons; it reduced the university's involvement to a minimum, which suited those who were opposed or indifferent to adult education and the W.E.A.; and it enabled the Association's views to prevail which was what the W.E.A. supporters (a minority only of the university staff) wanted anyway. The effect of all this was that decisive control of the Joint Committees lay with the District Secretary of the W.E.A. rather than with the universities.<sup>64</sup>

All tutorial class students were normally members of the W.E.A. to whom they paid a subscription to the branch or district. So, for the "earnest minority", as R. Hoggart called them in The Uses of Literacy, all roads for social emancipation seemed to lead towards the Leeds headquarters of the W.E.A. As the Yorkshire North Secretary, George Thompson was a devoted man, but with rather fixed opinions about the value of culture.

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64 Ibid, pp. 292-3.



(By culture) I mean the older concept of culture as that quality of mind and understanding which comes through effort to extend and improve the range of knowledge by undergoing mental and moral discipline ... full self development is only attainable if adequate time is given to the subject studied, and if the student works and makes his maximum contribution.<sup>65</sup>

This pronouncement of Thompson conveys a sense of purpose in his philosophy, although one detects the type of fervour used by a sergeant-major to advise recruits that his firm of discipline is necessary for their own good. But the comradeship associated with the chapel in Yorkshire provides a remarkable bond,<sup>66</sup> and Thompsonian exhortations were probably welcomed as an expression of wisdom. Moreover, the approach of the W.E.A. in Yorkshire was well attuned to working-class aspirations, for it complemented trade union activity, and this aspect has been well summarised:

The W.E.A. was not concerned with bread and butter trade union issues and to this extent since they offered education 'for life not livelihood' they approximated to a working-class version of a liberal education.<sup>67</sup>

At the same time, one of the distinctive features of some Yorkshiremen seems to have been an inclination towards spreading the illusion that they were all hard-headed pragmatists. There is little doubt that they brought experience of life to tutorial classes. One element liked to stress how they taught things to the tutor, with a complementary image being the "worker-scholar" inaugurated by A.L. Smith's eulogy on honours standard. To his credit, George Thompson would have nothing to do with this type of romanticism.<sup>68</sup> Another element was the dedicated social approach

65 G.H. Thompson, "What Sails Shall be Set?", The Highway, February, 1940, p.11.

66 During World War Two, the writer lived for a time in a Methodist Chapel at Halifax which had been converted into an army barracks. One could sense the feeling of local people in George Thompson's home town for "th' chapel"; although, at that time, no saints were visible inside the building.

67 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 298.

68 Ibid., p. 299.

of some students which was indicated by a tutor ~~at~~ Leeds Conference of Tutors in 1922, "My experience is that very many students who ask for 'Economics' really want 'Social Theory' or 'Social Philosophy', but are not clear about the classification of the Social Sciences".<sup>69</sup> This approach to study would seem to indicate that "economics" served the purpose of equipping some workers to play an active role in the trade union or co-operative movements. One gets the impression that a student in an economics class was frequently expected to study economic and social history, which might well have undertones of the "wrongs committed against my brethren". A student who did not accept this social gospel was probably seen as a heretic, who needed to recant or suffer excommunication.

Into this Yorkshire situation came the 1924 Regulations for adult education. Thompson later saw the year 1924 as a watershed. In that year university tutorial classes amounted to thirty-nine per cent of the Yorkshire North picture,<sup>70</sup> while eight Terminal One Year courses were launched, which remained the annual quota until the outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>71</sup> The new regulations gave opportunities for the W.E.A. to develop short courses and classes comprising twelve meetings became popular, as well as the One Year and Terminal courses. By 1925, adults in Leeds were able to study a wider variety of subjects, including international affairs, history, literature and biology. The field of adult education in Yorkshire was obviously expanding by 1925. However, before pursuing educational developments in the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire further, into the second half of the decade, it is important to consider the national mood in the late 1920's.

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69 B. Yeaxlee, Spiritual Values in Adult Education, II, London: Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 17.

70 G.H. Thompson, "Progress and Aims in Adult Education", The Tutors Bulletin, April, 1945, p. 4.

71 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 282.

A realization was slowly dawning that the economic recession was not a temporary trough at the bottom of the trade cycle, induced by the adjustment from war to peace, but might be a permanent feature of life in the North. Unemployment in the staple industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire continued to stay at a high level and, inevitably, led to much personal suffering. The scholar who was the working man's friend, R.H. Tawney, was eloquent on the need to eliminate inequality within Britain. Tawney promoted the need for economic equality with reasoned arguments, which, in turn, could appeal to educated members of his audience, who were expected to be reasonable. An unemployed miner, who had survived the strikes of 1921 and 1926, was far more likely to be embittered: this attitude would colour the approach of miners to the study of economics in a tutorial class. Another segment of the population who tended to be cynical were ex-servicemen who did not forget the hollow promise that Lloyd George had made in 1919, to make a land fit for heroes. In the wave of revulsion about the wartime slaughter there had developed a feeling against all martial virtues.<sup>72</sup> A tutor of a university class voiced the disgust of many ex-servicemen to the way the artistic leaders of society appeared to be reversing the scale of values.

We naturally resent the praise now lavished on those who had 'moral courage' to stand aside from the War, and the belittlement of the 'physical courage' of the men who took part in it. It is rather a large assumption that everyone who failed to take part in the War displayed the highest kind of courage. It needs an expert to distinguish moral courage from the qualities of vanity and complacency which so often pass for it and enable a man to be indifferent to social ostracism.<sup>73</sup>

The resentment of unemployed men and veterans was understandable and was part of the social malaise of the late 1920's. It is hardly surprising that despite the boost provided by the 1924 Adult Education Regulations,

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72 It is noticeable that memoirs of men who actually lived in the trenches did not appear until the late 1920's. For example, Robert Graves, Goodbye to All That.

73 C.D. Doule, "The Education of the Soldier", The Journal of Adult Education, Vo. II, September, 1927, p. 7.

the missionary endeavours of adult educators did not produce impressive results. For example, in 1925-26, out of twenty-four million persons between the ages of eighteen and seventy residing in England and Wales, the total number engaged in serious courses of study was approximately 100,000 of whom 26,806 were recognised under the Adult Education Regulations.<sup>74</sup> A study of the major W.E.A. Districts for the period 1920-26 showed that, in Tutorial classes, the subject of Economics was still the most popular study, followed by Language and Expression: while for One Year Classes, over the period 1923-26, the position was reversed with Language and Expression providing the leading subject.<sup>75</sup>

The most rapidly expanding area of adult education were the activities associated with the Women's Institutes, which since its inception during the Great War, had grown to a British membership of 230,000 by 1927.<sup>76</sup> Essentially a movement for village women and concentrating on domestic subjects and handicrafts, there were frequently lectures on history, literature, music or drama. In addition, nearly all the L.E.A.s were making some provision for liberal education, although the accommodation that was utilised was often unsuitable because:

Elementary schools are often, as at present furnished, most unsuitable for adults. The desks induce cramp, the lighting is often deplorable especially in rural areas, because it had been assumed by the managers that the school children will never be there at a time when lighting is

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74 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 29.

75 John J. Hader and Edward C. Lindeman, What Do the Workers' Study? An analysis of Workers' Education, 1920-27, New York: Workers' Education Bureau, n.d., pp. 20-1. The survey covered the following W.E.A. Districts: London, East Midland, West Midland, West Lancashire and Cheshire, Western and Yorkshire. For three year tutorial classes, over the period 1920-26 the subject of Economics accounted for 32.8 per cent of all classes, followed by Language and Expression, with 20.8 per cent. For the One Year Classes, Language and Expression accounted for 32.4 per cent of all classes, followed by Economics with 18.2 per cent.

76 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 15.

needed. We are informed by one District Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association that in his area some tutors have been known to provide electric torches for the purpose of seeing their notes.<sup>77</sup>

Yet as the activities of the W.E.A. continued to expand, there were problems more serious than classes being held in poor accommodation. An expansion in liberal education could not take place while trying to uphold existing standards of excellence concerning the level of achievement. A debate about standards was starting that would rage for many years.

Barbara Wootton, Director of Studies for Tutorial Classes in London, indicated some of the basic problems associated with adult education. Miss Wootton was quite frank in her appraisal of the legacy of high standards achieved by exceptional students in the early days:

From these very high standards arose the fiction (why not call a spade a spade?) that the Work of University Tutorial Classes was ordinary equivalent (or, more cautiously, comparable) to that of a University Honours Course - a fiction, by the way, which either flatters the intelligence of working people or condemns the teaching at Universities.<sup>78</sup>

The mythology was further compounded by the way that students were recruited.

The methods by which classes are ordinarily recruited permit ... of the next to no grading of students according to their standard of ability or previous educational attainment. A student chooses a course because the time and place is convenient for him ... The chief immediate need is a greatly increased provision of courses of different types ... the elementary and the advanced student now run in unequal harness because there is only too often only one class for them.<sup>79</sup>

If this was true in the nation's capital then obviously, it would be true for other centres catering to smaller groups of students. Miss Wootton criticised the confused objectives of adult educators. There was, for example, the attempt to make up for deficiencies in adequate schooling which led to the situation where, "Grammar and logic are acquired via social history and biology". The confusion in objectives on the part of adult educators was summarised:

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77 Ibid., p. 34.

78 B. Wootton, "The Need for Differentiation", Journal of Adult Studies, Vol. II, 1927, p. 62.

79 Ibid., p. 55.

We are trying simultaneously to compensate for the shortcomings of school, to interest and entertain the seeker after a pleasant evening, and to help the earnest student on his path; nor to mention our efforts to cope with the few students who nearly always turn up in any class under the impression that it will help them to 'get on'.<sup>80</sup>

This analysis by an administrator supervising the instruction of a considerable number of students provide some illuminating insights. To take up the last point provides an insight into one of the basic problems that faced educators promoting liberal education.

Those students who actually articulated their hope of "getting on" probably represented a larger group who had vocational aspirations. No criticism in intended of students who dissembled about their vocational motivation. A nation that had welcomed Samuel Smiles Self Help contained some ambitious people; whether a clerk aiming to be a manager, or a young lady studying drama and elocution to emulate Eliza Doolittle, or a worker or foreman hoping to catch the eye of the boss. But "getting on" was a vocational aspiration which, therefore, could not be considered under the liberal education prescribed by the Adult Education Regulations. Furthermore, there was no way for a tutor or the Board of Education to divine the motivation of each student. In practice, liberal education was not completely "non-vocational", particularly in the case of the increasing white collar segment of the working population. Liberal education involved handling abstract ideas and defining terms, which were useful assets for a man bent on promotion at the office. There was a shining example of the benefits to be gained from liberal education in the person of Albert Mansbridge, who had started his career as a clerk attending Extension Lectures. Mansbridge by the late 1920's was now hob-nobbing in distinguished company, on a world wide basis, and his career demonstrated that Samuel Smiles was not wrong. On the other hand, it would be an error to assume that the element concerned, with what Miss Wootton called, with a note of exasperation,

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80 Ibid., p. 61.

"getting on" were ever a dominant force in adult education. Presumably, a worker would attend technical or vocational instruction if his goal was to improve his skills. In short, students come not only in all sizes and shapes but also with mixed motives. Fortunately for liberal education the dominant motive had to be a desire to learn as otherwise a class would never be formed in the first place. As a final observation on this discussion it seems significant that many of the students in literature classes were women. The view of Mrs. Huws Davies has already been cited, about women wanting a complete change from domestic duties. The study of literature has a creative aspect in the interpretation of character and, therefore, shares something in common with other subjects that were popular with women such as art, music and dancing. Such subjects have a high recreational value and, as women are probably less perturbed about the possibilities of "getting on", these courses were possibly popular for reasons that were unquestionably "liberal" in the classical sense of that term.

There seems to be fairly general agreement that the quantity of written work diminished in tutorial classes, possibly encouraged by the growth of terminal classes that did not require written assignments. The development of short courses as a rival to tutorials was a possibility not foreseen by the 1919 Final Report on Adult Education. One result of this development was that questions were raised as to whether short courses encouraged students to go on to tutorial classes. In turn, this line of reasoning raised further questions as to whether the general standard of adult education were being diluted. There was a tendency within W.E.A. circles to measure standards by the yardstick of the early classes. But, obviously, within a vastly expanded programme not every tutor was an R.H. Tawney, nor the students an elite of manual workers such as those of Rochdale and Longton. Furthermore, as the standard of living rose, pertinent changes occurred in the social fabric because, as one of the original students commented, "By the late 'twenties a proportion of the 1908 type of W.E.A. students had been through secondary schools and some through the

universities. They were no longer manual workers".<sup>81</sup> Any discussion of standards therefore had to take into account the factor of social mobility. As the pool of earnest manual workers of high intellectual calibre began to dry up, great interest began to be shown in defining the meaning of "working-class". Evolving a satisfactory comprehensive definition of this term was difficult, particularly in view of the increasing proportion of white collar workers. The answer to the conundrum when was a worker not a worker, seemed to be, when he is not a manual labourer. But such a dictum drawn from Albert Mansbridge did not square with the facts. There was a type of inverted snobbery about restricting the use of the word "worker" to one section of the community. As the Board of Education Adult Education Committee reported in 1927:

With One-Year Courses and Terminal Courses, there are no available statistics, but there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the men are drawn in the main from the ranks of skilled workers and clerical workers, while the women are for the most part teachers or engaged in home duties. In the North of England the industrial element is much stronger than in the South where clerical workers and teachers predominate.<sup>82</sup>

The Northern scene will be developed extensively later in this chapter but, in order to provide the national context and provide a yardstick, the overall pattern on tutorial classes needs to be examined. Whether short courses led students into tutorial classes is difficult to determine, because favourable pronouncements by administrators that arranged short courses obviously have an element of vested interest.

Tutorial classes continued to provide the serious student with the main channel for individual growth. The volume of written work diminished, but whether other standards were lowered is a debatable subject. Each

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81 G. Horwill, "The W.E.A. Past, Present and Future", The Tutors' Bulletin, Autumn, 1950, p. 8. Mr. Horwill was one of the original students of R.H. Tawney.

82 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 28.



class was an individual creation and generalisation is dangerous. Yet taking a broad view, the opinion that the "standard remained as high as ever"<sup>83</sup> seems a reasonable deduction. What assisted the maintenance of standards was the development of state aid which enable the universities and W.E.A. to consolidate their position. Extra-mural officers informally co-ordinated activity through meetings which, in 1926, crystallised into the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee (U.E.M.C.C.). As the earlier Central Joint Advisory Committee issued annual reports that contained statistics about tutorial classes, the U.E.M.C.C. resolved to confine its own annual statistics to University Extension Courses.<sup>84</sup>

During the inter-war period voluntary organisations such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Co-operative movement preferred to support the efforts of the W.E.A., rather than weaken the adult education movement by competing in the provision of duplicate facilities. Another trend that tended to aid the maintenance of university standards was the weakening of the pre-1914 forces of social reform and religious service, which gave fresh vigour to the motive of seeking personal culture.<sup>85</sup> This demand produced a varied response from the universities. Due to the prestige of tutorial classes, there was a tendency at the newer universities to use tutorials as, "universally applicable to all the main purposes of Adult Education".<sup>86</sup> This discouraged the expansion of Extension work in the Northern Universities, so that London, Oxford and Cambridge continued to supply the bulk of Extension activity.

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83 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 270.

84 This policy is being noted here merely to record this decision. After the Second World War there was a different attitude taken towards whether the C.I.A.C. or the U.E.M.C.C. published available statistics; this change in attitude will be considered later in this thesis.

85 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 286.

86 B. Pashley, University Extension Reconsidered, University of Leicester, 1968, p. 24.

In comparative terms, the development of Extension work was slow, although a study by B. Pashley notes that, "towards the end of the 1920's ... provincial universities ... tended to show a greater willingness to take advantage of the Regulations for obtaining grant than did the older universities".<sup>87</sup> Yet, undoubtedly, the Tutorial class held the spotlight.

There were more tutorial classes during the late 1920's than any other type of class that came under the 1924 Adult Regulations, as indicated by Table One in the Appendix. In 1927-28, there were 11,894 students in tutorial classes<sup>88</sup> who must have included some of the most able adult students in the country. Certain trends were clearly developing in the popularity of the subjects. The group of social subjects grouped around Economics declined, as it fell from comprising approximately half the total classes of 1914-15 to 28 per cent in 1929-30: during the same period, Language and Literature rose from 10 per cent to 24 per cent.<sup>89</sup> Science did not fare very well, possibly because the new style of teaching emphasized the experimental method which required laboratories and expensive equipment. The difficulty of obtaining expensive equipment was one of the main reasons why tutorial classes were virtually confined to instruction in biology, botany and geology. There was also prejudice to overcome. A Board of Education committee investigating science was told by an older man that in his youth, "the Humanities were known as polite learning", the inference being that Science was impolite.<sup>90</sup> Obviously Victorian attitudes died hard yet the scientific method of teaching a student to distinguish between speculation and ascertained fact was important to the spectrum of liberal studies.

87 Ibid., p. 23.

88 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, The Scope and Practice of Adult Education, Paper No. 10, H.M.S.O., 1930, p. 77.

89 See Table 2 in the Appendix for raw figures.

90 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Natural Science in Adult Education, Paper No. 8, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 2.

Similarly, the instruction in history tended to be hampered by access to facilities enjoyed by the university scholar. European studies accounted for approximately ten per cent of the total tutorial classes and the difficulty was that, as the depth of the study increased, the student ceased to be a mere receptacle for knowledge, and needed to research into original sources. On the other hand, the tutorial student did not have the opportunity to make his own interpretation of the facts available from history books.

Compared to the days before 1914, it is noticeable that there was less emphasis upon the idea of securing a place for religion in tutorial class offerings, and that the influence of men such as Basil Yeaxlee and Albert Mansbridge appears to have diminished. Admittedly the W.E.A. was supposed to be non-political and non-sectarian. Yet there appeared to be certain elements within the ranks of the W.E.A. that made these objectives difficult to attain. One is struck by the political orientation of many of the leaders towards the Labour Party and it is worth recalling that the passage of the 1924 Adult Education Regulations and the review of 1929 both took place when a minority Labour Government was in power for a short period. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was President of the Board of Education on these occasions, outlined the political background of the demand for adult education, when he said:

The origin of the demand for adult education comes from organised labour, and it has been fostered and supported by the British trade unions. It has had a double effect - a double and marked effect, upon our natural life. I stand here as a member of the Labour Government and I say this, - that I very much doubt if the Labour movement would have been as strong as it is if it had not been for education, and above all for the adult education movement.<sup>91</sup>

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91 World Association for Adult Education, World Conference on Adult Education, Cambridge, 1929. London: 1930, p. 7.

There is little doubt that adult education was tinged with Left Wing political associations. Similarly, the claim of the W.E.A. to be non-sectarian, while ostensibly true, did have the difficulty of requiring an explanation for the presence of Bishops and Nonconformists who seemed to view their role as missionaries. Possibly it was this continuation of the Christian Socialist tradition that encouraged Albert Mansbridge to make speeches that may have been more suited to the pulpit than a public platform. For example, on March 7, 1927, Mansbridge addressed the London Day Training College for teachers and declared:

the urge is real, the hunger is real, the work lies ahead, the City of God here on earth is not yet built ... The three supreme vocations of men are parenthood, teaching and prophecy; if these are fulfilled adequately the forms of human expression will comprise, as the pieces in a beautiful mosaic, the complete and enduring city.<sup>92</sup>

Such rhetoric from the founder of the W.E.A. was hardly favourable publicity in a secular world. The prophet of the W.E.A. was going off into the wilderness when he took this approach. The history of British Education indicated that any effort to promote sectarian beliefs led to strife, so it was unlikely that any formal creed could be studied in tutorial classes.

The main difficulty with developing a liberal education for an individual was the piecemeal approach to the study of subjects. In 1929, The Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes made a study of the range and correlation of class study. The committee noted that a comprehensive scheme of study for students could not be planned by a university joint committee. Students usually studied only one subject, which tended to give a lop-sided view of the total picture, whereas an undergraduate had a balanced diet of subjects covering the whole range of education. There seems to be justice in this analysis of the difficulties of presenting liberal education to adults in self contained packets of

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92 Leonard Clark, The Kingdom of the Mind. Essays and Addresses 1903-37 of Albert Mansbridge, London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1944, pp. 101-2.

subjects extending over three years. Scraps of knowledge do not add up to a disciplined approach to the field of knowledge. But given the circumstances of the students and the relatively low priority accorded for support of adult education, the question is not what was wrong, but rather why so much was right. In other words, the fact that so much was being accomplished for adults is a compliment to the combined efforts of the universities and the W.E.A.

Voices were beginning to become heard, however, about the need for a change in philosophy in the presentation of liberal education. The concept of continuing education was advanced by such men as L.P. Jacks, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford who said:

The transforming of education from a passing episode into a lifelong process ... is the central idea of the adult education movement ... We are not going to get continuity if the public fails to back us up. We need the help of employers of labour, of producers of goods and services, of bankers, of financiers, lawyers and doctors and of workers in all grades in every branch of industry.<sup>93</sup>

While the need for securing the co-operation of many segments of society is obviously a sound philosophy, the idea of "education for life" had connotations that require examination. L.P. Jacks was head of a Unitarian college at Oxford and his particular interest in adult education was different from that of Balliol College. Jack seems to have been impressed by the educational philosophy of John Dewey at Columbia University whose ideas on Progressivism was being eagerly promoted by disciples. Deweyism advanced the view that an instructor should "teach the student and not the subject". Implicit here was a lower regard for academic excellence which tended to be at odds with the orientation of liberal education in England. In 1925 Jacks had explained the new outlook, in a lecture delivered at the University of Liverpool, to the first World Association

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93 British Institute of Adult Education, Adolescent in Relation to Adult Education, Addresses given at the 8th Annual Conference, Balliol College, Oxford, 1929, p. 9.

for Adult Education Conference. Some of the salient points that were made included the statement that:

Broadly speaking, there are two views of what life is ... There is the view that people take when they are looking forward from the threshold - the view of the young ... The second (view) is the view that people take when they are looking backward from the brink ... I imagine that adult education, with its motto of education for life, will have, sooner or later, to include in its curriculum a study of the great questions that confront the human soul then it stands on the brink.<sup>94</sup>

Having caught the attention of his audience, Jacks examined the new adult education that should take place on the road of life. An attempt to bridge the gulf between the worlds of thought and action followed:

Wisdom and skill are two names for the same thing at different stages of its growth. What we call wisdom when we look at it from the side of knowing becomes skill when we look at it from the side of doing. Skill is simply wisdom in action.<sup>95</sup>

After linking this view to the concept of education for life, Jacks advanced to his educational philosophy:

We are asking for an education that adult men and women can translate into the art of wise living, thereby raising the aims of education and not lowering it, as some people accuse us of doing. Art is simply wisdom in action and the greatest of all arts ... is the art of wise living..Give us the wisdom that leads up to that. Give us education for life. <sup>96</sup>

This Progressive philosophy claimed to improve upon Matthew Arnold's statement that culture was "getting to know the best that has been thought and said". Thomas Carlyle was cited as a man who believed that there was only one way to learn anything and that is to do it. In a word, what Jacks was proposing was pragmatism. Such a philosophy was not likely to make much headway in an England that had evolved adult education in an academic mould. Although, admittedly, there were weaknesses in the English educa-

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94 L.P. Jacks, Education for Life, World Association for Adult Education Bulletin, November 1925, p. 5.

95 Ibid., p. 6.

96 Ibid.

tional pattern, such problems were unlikely to be solved by the importation of Progressivism. England was thus spared the full fury of the subsequent upheavals over progressivism that were a feature of the American scene where leather boondoggling or basket weaving became activities that excited a great deal of controversy. English adult education continued to concentrate upon liberal education in the traditional sense with emphasis on accepted academic subjects. Fortunately for the present day researcher, the Board of Education made contemporary official reports on the educational scene in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Therefore, a fairly comprehensive picture can be developed of the adult educational scene in the late 1920's. Lancashire's adult education will be discussed first and then contrasted to the Yorkshire scene.

For the year ending July 31, 1928, an interesting situation existed in the North West. Tutorial classes in Lancashire and Cheshire accounted for twenty per cent of the national total while, for the shorter courses, the percentage was only ten per cent of the national total.<sup>97</sup> This situation reflected the district policy of the W.E.A. who regarded terminal courses as primarily a preparation for one-year and tutorial classes. Such a policy led to the Board of Education noting that:

What is noteworthy about the Lancashire experiment (relative to the country as a whole) is that it has been a praiseworthy attempt to maintain a high standard in a branch of work which is exposed to the risk of degenerating into recreation or propaganda. The close association with the Tutorial classes has had a stimulating effect on the character and nature of the work.<sup>98</sup>

Certainly the statistics reveal that the number of classes increased as one moved from the elementary to the more advanced classes. There were six terminal courses of twelve lectures; nine terminal courses of twenty-four lectures; thirty-two one-year courses and to crown this inverted

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97 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Lancashire and Cheshire for the Period ending on 31st July, 1928, Pamphlet No. 73, H.M.S.O., 1929, p. 45.

98 Ibid., p. 46.

pyramid, fifty-five tutorial classes. There appears to have been an aspiration after high achievement by some students, judging by a resolution of the Preston branch of the W.E.A., which proposed "that the Central Joint Advisory Committee should consider the question of a provincial University granting external degrees to W.E.A. Tutorial class students after examination".<sup>99</sup> Although the District Council of the W.E.A. defeated the motion, it is revealing that, in an age long before there was the discussion of an Open University, some individuals were thinking along the lines of external degrees.

The most popular subject in terminal courses was Public Speaking, which could lead on to the popular one-year courses of Industrial History and Drama, thus providing a clear route to tutorial classes. One exception to this overall pattern was the Literature class, which was popular but, as this subject tended to appeal more to middle-class women, there was a tendency for the demand to be restricted to the shorter courses. Similarly, the L.E.A.s provided classes in other subjects for students who did not want an intensive three year tutorial class, such as the demand for art, physical training or leatherwork.

A wide range of subjects were available for the earnest scholar. Economics and Industrial History continued to be prominent and accounted for approximately one-third of the total offering. Keeping in mind the earlier Board of Education praise for the quality of tutorial teaching in Lancashire, it is revealing to examine the weaknesses in the teaching of History. A recent recruitment of many comparatively inexperienced tutors outside the universities was considered to be a weakness, as so many of them devoted too much time to a popular treatment of the list of wrongs suffered by the working classes. Instead of discussing cause and effect

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<sup>99</sup> W.E.A. Liverpool Branch, Minute Book, May 1919 - June 1928, p. 296. Minutes of District Council Meeting held on Saturday, March 19, 1927.



relationships, there was a tendency to narrate about such topics as the Poor-Law, Factory Acts, Chartism, and trade union history. The result was that this background carried over into studies pursued in Economics, where certain vital changes were not discussed: these changes included economic reorganisation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries and the search for world markets, in the face of the growing power of Germany and the United States.<sup>100</sup> As economic studies enrolled the largest group of students, and thus comprised the chief medium for training tutorial students in systematic thought, this situation was unfortunate, particularly as "a considerable proportion of the students are somewhat immature".<sup>101</sup> History without a preceding adjective, such as social or industrial, was not too popular. General history usually covered a survey of Europe over the past two centuries but, "the lack of general historical knowledge is a hindrance to many of the studies to which the majority of students are attracted".<sup>102</sup> But the difficulty of teaching general history to adult students also concerned the very concept of liberal education. After viewing many of the tutorial classes in a variety of subjects, the Report on Lancashire and Cheshire stated:

Adult students come to the study of economics and the social sciences generally, and even to philosophy with a lively expectation that they will get light on matters that already have aroused a deep interest ... What history has to offer such seekers is too vague and impalpable to arouse enthusiasm. Only after long experience can its fruits be gathered. It is neither science nor religion and interest in it 'for its own sake' is one of the last developments of culture.<sup>103</sup>

While defending the inclusion of history as an important part of the equipment of a citizen the Report recorded that, "it is not so clear, however, how the desire for this important branch of liberal culture can

100 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Lancashire and Cheshire for the Period ending on 31st July, 1928, Pamphlet No. 73, H.M.S.O., 1929, p. 25.

101 Ibid., p. 24.

102 Ibid., p. 41.

103 Ibid.

be more widely stimulated".<sup>104</sup> By contrast to History, the teaching of Literature was discussed in much less critical terms.

Students in the Literature tutorial classes had acquired, in most second year classes, the habit and power of critical appreciation. The general level of teaching continued to rise. The majority of the students in both counties were women - either clerical workers, teachers or housewives - and, what was even more important, a considerable number of them had had a secondary school education.<sup>105</sup> This appears to be a case of tutorials taking able students on to university standards, but was obviously very different from the manual worker-scholar mythology immortalised in W.E.A. circles. This seems a new step in the process whereby tutorials educated the educated. Originally tutors had descended from the heights of cloistered academia down to the earthy atmosphere of working-class discussion. The benefits of adult education seemed to be developing from the top downwards, for, by the 1920's, the lady school teacher of secondary school background was the latest beneficiary.

Another subject that was growing in popularity was Psychology. Yet it was not easy to turn a superficial interest in this subject into a genuine desire to devote considerable time to making a detailed scientific study. In the national scene Psychology had been found to be a subject in which it was very difficult to predict the probability of success for a class. Failures had been numerous. When organising Psychology classes the Liverpool area displayed less foresight than that of Manchester, producing a less satisfactory report from educators familiar with the classes:

It is perhaps not without significance that in the Manchester group only five out of ten classes in Psychology were organised Tutorial classes, while in the Liverpool group as many as eight out of ten were so organised. Upon a survey

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104 Ibid.

105 Ibid., p. 28.

of the work attempted it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the students in the Manchester classes had been selected with more regard for the nature of the task before them. Some of the Liverpool group would have been better advised not to embark upon so exacting a course without a fuller preparation.<sup>106</sup>

It is not apparent why Mancurians should have been superior to Liverpoolians in planning Psychology classes. On the other hand, reflection upon the nature of Psychology helps to explain why the classes often failed. One can visualise a harrassed Psychology tutor trying to erode the persistent belief that much of life can be explained by commonsense. For commonsense is not amenable to scientific investigation. Yet one of the self-proclaimed virtues of the working man was his possession of lots of commonsense. Possibly the students who stayed the course with Psychology were from that familiar core of housewives and white collar workers. Certainly in the case of Philosophy this was the case, "as relatively few artisans or manual workers (were) members of these classes".<sup>107</sup> In the teaching of Philosophy, an historical approach starting from the Greek background was usually found most satisfactory: and, certainly such an approach was in the best traditions of liberal education.

While Liverpool was at this time less efficient than Manchester in organising Psychology classes, the reverse was true in the case of Music. Liverpool was a national pioneer in developing Music Appreciation as, "a high proportion of all the Music tutorial classes in the country was given on Merseyside".<sup>108</sup> In 1927-28, all seven tutorial classes in Music were given in the University of Liverpool area under highly competent instructors. But there was a basic problem concerned with Music, because as the Report concerning Lancashire pointed out, "the question which was raised more than ten years ago when this subject was first introduced into tutorial classes is apparently no nearer being answered. Is

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106 Ibid., p.38.

107 Ibid., p.33.

108 A. McPhee, A Short History of Extra-Mural Work at Liverpool University especially during the Second World War, Liverpool, 1949, p. 8.

the tutorial class with small numbers and its rigid conditions the most suitable medium for such teaching?"<sup>109</sup> Certainly the trend seems to have been towards shorter courses with a recreational bias rather than an academic orientation. In the case of Liverpool's success the availability of good tutors appears to have, at least partially, overcome the tutorial class restrictions. Moreover the organisation of approximately eight music classes annually helps to explain why the number of tutorial classes held under the auspices of Liverpool consistently outnumbered those of Manchester in the Twenties. What aided interest in music on Merseyside was the success of the Beechcroft Community Centre in Birkenhead, where music and drama were very popular attractions. In fact, in 1927, Beechcroft felt sufficiently encouraged to build a hall in the grounds of the Settlement House where public lectures could be held.

There was a noticeable difference between the types of students who attended tutorial classes in the Liverpool and Manchester areas. Liverpool had three times as many office workers as Manchester, while, the inland city, had 163 textile workers compared to six for Liverpool.<sup>110</sup> Such differences are consistent with the different economic roles of the two cities. Liverpool traded in many commodities in world markets, while Manchester was the heart of the cotton industry. Furthermore, looking at the occupational breakdown for all tutorial students in Lancashire and Cheshire, it is noticeable that over half the students were clerks, secretaries, teachers or housewives.<sup>111</sup> The W.E.A. in the North West must have been inclined to accept the definition of a worker as anyone who earns wages or a salary. Even if one considers the most optimistic picture, out of the 1812 students in the Manchester and Liverpool areas, only about 500

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109 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Lancashire and Cheshire for the Period ending July 31st, 1928. Pamphlet No.73, H.M.S.O. 1929,p.44.

110 Ibid., p. 23.

111 Ibid., p. 23, See Table V.

students worked in the staple industries of cotton and iron. Students for the Workers' Educational Association classes were recruited from diverse social classes that naturally made the word "Worker" somewhat misleading, if it was interpreted in the Mansbridge-Tawney tradition of manual workers. There was also a change in student attitude towards the requirement of written work during the decade of the 1920's. Kelly has noted the decline in the Manchester area where, "in 1921-2 the classes were producing essays at the rate of about 200 a year ... (but) by 1929-30 seldom exceeded twenty-thirty per class".<sup>112</sup>

A recovery in University Extension work confirmed the trend towards recruiting students from all sectors of the community. During 1927-28 Liverpool organised eight courses, some in Architecture and some in Economics, that were hardly distinguishable from tutorial classes. These classes were conducted by the Extension Board and not by the Tutorial Classes Joint Committee. Manchester also organised one course in Architecture but, more importantly, the Extra-Mural Department reached out to give lectures to pupils in Secondary Schools. Over seventy lectures were delivered in various parts of Lancashire, chiefly by member of the University staff, on various topics in history, geography, literature and science. Also, with the co-operation of the Lancashire Education Committee, a few short courses were provided for teachers. This activity supplemented the revival of Extension work at Manchester that had started during the previous year of 1926-27. In that session thirty-three courses had been arranged plus a number of single lectures on topics of general interest by notable authorities in Science, Art, Philosophy and Literature. Another enterprising venture was the provision of lectures and short courses at Strangeways Prison.<sup>113</sup> This wave of activity by University lecturers points up a feature of the Lancashire scene that should be briefly considered before

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112 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 270.

113 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1950, p. 71.

examining the educational picture in Yorkshire. Generally speaking, the co-operation of the Lancastrian universities in aiding the developments of tutorial classes had been excellent. Both Liverpool and Manchester had made their premises available every evening for Tutorial and other classes, while some University professors and lecturers took part in the teaching as:

More than half the Manchester tutors and eight of the thirty Liverpool tutors are also engaged, in teaching within the university ... (by contrast) in the Yorkshire area more than fifty per cent were taught by full-time tutors.<sup>114</sup>

This indicates that the Yorkshire scene needs to be reviewed in its separate context before any comparisons can be drawn. To bring the situation into focus it has to be pointed out that, as revealed by the previous census, the population of Lancashire and Cheshire was just over seven million, while Yorkshire had just under five million inhabitants. But while Yorkshire represented only about one-ninth of the population of England and Wales, the extent of its adult educational enterprise made it account for about one-fifth.<sup>115</sup> An example of this energy was provided by the number of One Year Courses because, while the more populous Lancashire and Cheshire had organised fifty-eight courses during 1927-28, Yorkshire had organised 147 courses.<sup>116</sup> It has already been noted for the earlier part of the decade that the W.E.A. was a very strong educational factor in Yorkshire. In fact the Report of H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education for the period ending July 31, 1927 indicated that, "the W.E.A. is much more powerful here than in any other part of the country ... also ... it is viewed with less suspicion by the outside world".<sup>117</sup>

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114 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Lancashire and Cheshire for the Period ending July 31, 1928, Pamphlet No. 73, H.M.S.O. 1929, p. 16.

115 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending the 31st July, 1927, Educational Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O., 1928, p. 3.

116 Ibid., p. 5.

117 J. Dover Wilson, "Adult Education in Yorkshire", Adult Education, Vol. III, 1928, p. 53.

Acceptance by the general public was an important factor in the position of power that the W.E.A. enjoyed within the Yorkshire educational structure. Although the branch membership was a declining proportion of the total student enrolment, the impression of dominance of the W.E.A. remained. In 1928 when the branch membership at Leeds was 153 it was estimated that some 2000 people had been reached by classes and lectures during the year. These figures place the W.E.A. in its social perspective as a minority that appealed to the earnest student in the city.<sup>118</sup> But the strength of a movement cannot be gauged by mere numbers. The possibility that a social gospel would be promoted by the W.E.A. was strengthened by the administrative arrangements for adult education, because the W.E.A. recruited the tutors for Tutorial classes and numerous shorter classes. One W.E.A. Yorkshire Branch recruited a few university lecturers for 1927-27 but the bulk of the work was performed by thirty-five Secondary schoolteachers and thirty Manual Workers without degrees.<sup>119</sup> Certainly the feeling at Leeds seems to have been to keep involvement in extra-mural work to a minimum, which is a striking contrast to the attitude at Manchester and Liverpool.

Until 1925, the Yorkshire scene had George Thompson as the primary organiser of the tutors for both Sheffield and Leeds Universities. When Thompson emigrated overseas, his successor was Ernest Green who became the key figure in Yorkshire until 1929. In that year Green moved up to become a national W.E.A. official, while Thompson returned to take charge of the newly formed Yorkshire North district. Yorkshire thus had a strong voice at the national level, as well as a strong character in charge of the northern half of Yorkshire based on Leeds. Thompson's influence at Leeds University was obviously due to the fact that supporters of the W.E.A.

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118 J.F.C. Harrison, Living and Learning 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 287.

119 Board of Education, Pioneer Work and Other Developments in Adult Education, Paper No. 9, H.M.S.O., 1927, p. 47.

at the university were content to accept his direction. Aided by the financial support of the L.E.A.s, particularly the West Riding authority, "the Workers' Educational Authority made itself the agent and organiser of the demand for almost every form of popular culture".<sup>120</sup> But above all, the belief of George Thompson about the over-riding value of Tutorial classes gave these classes a position of status in the community.

Whether the standard of Tutorial classes in North Yorkshire was as high as that of Lancashire can obviously be a sensitive subject of discussion. For reasons already noted, the calibre of tutor recruited in Yorkshire contained fewer university lecturers and would tend therefore to be less attuned to university standards. In the words of the Board of Education Report Adult Education in Yorkshire that discussed tutorial classes:

No harsh criticism is implied in the statement that comparatively few tutorial classes are entirely successful from the academic point of view. For example it is practically impossible to cover the ground adequately in any of the subjects selected unless the student can give ten hours a week in study ... a large number of students find it impossible to devote so large a portion of their scanty leisure.<sup>121</sup>

Furthermore, apart from the lack of leisure hours, there was a disinclination on the part of the students to apply themselves as diligently as an earlier generation. H.M. Inspectors remarked that:

there is some evidence to show that whilst the present generation have had a better educational preparation, they are not quite so willing as their predecessors to make sacrifices for their tutorial class. With some of the older students also the novelty has to some extent worn off and, owing to long familiarity with tutors and fellow students, they are apt to be too much at ease in Zion.<sup>122</sup>

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120 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O. 1928, p. 5.

121 Ibid., p. 27.

122 Ibid., p. 24.



But the problems are not solely one of the subjects officially requiring the attainment of university honours standard. The prestige of the Tutorial class encouraged a situation where, "many groups choose subjects far beyond the capacity of the weaker members", with the result that, "far too many classes have attempted tasks which were unsuitable, when with a simpler object they might have been extremely useful".<sup>123</sup>

The difficulties did not however, all stem from the type of student enrolled in tutorial classes, as was made clear by a study entitled The Tutor in Adult Education. According to this survey, the characteristics of the ideal tutor required a blend of many qualities. An exhaustive study resulted in a report in which the investigating committee wrote:

Without any special prestige or authority ... the tutor has to win the confidence of his class and to enlist in a corporate effort men and women of very different age, temperament, associations and experience ... He has ... to possess not only the scholarship and power of exposition of the competent University lecturer, but also the quick perception, the tact and stimulating method of approach by which a ... 'master of ceremonies' makes a party 'go' and 'draws out' whilst drawing into the social circle even the shyest of his guests.<sup>124</sup>

This looks like a tall order for any tutor. But the real rub lay in the lack of incentive for tutors to go all out in their educational effort, because, as the Report noted:

There is at present very little prospect of promotion within the Adult Education Movement ... The average length of service under the Joint Committees is probably no more than three or four years and there is no doubt that this is partly accounted for by the lack of prospects.<sup>125</sup>

Given this situation it is not surprising that tutorial classes did not always exhibit the type of scholastic excellence often imputed to the

123 Ibid, p. 16.

124 The Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, The Tutor in Adult Education, A Report of a Joint Committee appointed by the British Institute of Adult Education, Edinburgh, 1928, pp. 9-10.

125 Ibid., p. 31.

pioneer classes of R.H. Tawney.

When surveying the total picture in Yorkshire, the Inspectors of 1927 noted that the L.E.A.s concentrated on pragmatic courses such as handicrafts, home nursing, ambulance and First Aid, and commented:

It is clear that these classes are reaching a body of people whose requirements are not met in any other way. It is a mistake to assume that all adults desire or would profit by the courses involving a large element of 'book-learning'.<sup>126</sup>

While this seems a sensible appraisal, the conception of education held by the populace seems to have rated 'book-learning' as superior to pragmatic courses. This was partially due to the academic origins of the Tutorial class reinforced by the social dreams of men such as Arthur Greenwood or G.H. Thompson. Yet the acceptance of such a point of view meant that the working-class element were helping to perpetuate a distinction between liberal education and vocational skills. Such rigid distinctions encouraged by the W.E.A. seems ironic, because they were obviously inequalitarian and conflicted with the social aspiration of elevating the status of the manual worker. Yet the W.E.A. were forced to insist on their role being one of promoting liberal humane studies. For in the wings was the Marxist oriented group that had founded the Central Labour College and accused the W.E.A., "of being subservient to 'capitalists' from whom it received funds".<sup>127</sup> The response of the W.E.A. was that it was concerned with genuine education not propaganda, and that its liberal tradition was rooted in the humane philosophy of the universities where, "truth was one, and ... differences could be resolved by impartial study and discussion".<sup>128</sup> Certainly the Marxist philosophy was bound to have an appeal to some members of the working class

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126 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O., 1928, p. 49.

127 J.F.C. Harrison, Living and Learning 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 288.

128 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 258.

in Yorkshire, but never seems to have been influential enough to divert the W.E.A. into proclaiming the class struggle. Furthermore the working class were a diminishing force in Tutorial classes as the post 1918 social pattern affected Yorkshire. Literature classes expanded as women began to develop their intellectual interests. Obviously this subject was less socially oriented than the traditional economic studies that appealed to trade union members. When a census was taken of about 1600 tutorial class students the results indicated that 56.6 per cent were not manual workers.<sup>129</sup> This situation may have been partially due to the economic depression which reduced the incentive to improve one's mind; although one District Annual Report of 1927 recorded, "We could mention several cases in which the whole of the students in a class were and are at present totally unemployed".<sup>130</sup> But such unemployed men would likely take short courses rather than the intensive three year Tutorial class.

More surprisingly, was the fact that few former pupils of secondary or technical schools made their way to Tutorial classes. And most surprising of all was that there were few teachers of elementary or secondary schools who took the opportunity to study. Out of thousands of certified teachers, only two hundred and twelve made use of Tutorial classes to pursue their cultural interests or improve their grasp of subject material.<sup>131</sup> This situation seems to contrast to Lancashire's experience where teachers appeared to have less reluctance to attend Tutorial classes.

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129 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O., 1928, p. 18.

130 W.E. Styler, Yorkshire and Yorkshire North. The History of the Yorkshire North District of the Workers' Educational Association 1914-1964, Leeds: Workers' Educational Association, 1964, p. 15.

131 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O. 1928, p. 18.

Possibly a factor that entered into this situation was that Tutorial classes in Lancashire were more frequently taught by university lecturers and, hence, those classes had more of an appeal to teachers seeking to upgrade their knowledge. Possibly, also, the frequent tendency to regard Tutorial classes as a working-class vehicle for promoting social change, through the study of economics and social sciences, did little to encourage teachers to attend classes. This bias about a social mission was particularly evident at Leeds. For of the four universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, that gave Extension courses in Yorkshire during 1927 it was notable that Leeds was the only one offering economics, with three courses in that subject, while all the rest were concerned with literature, art or music.<sup>132</sup>

An enquiry into the subject taught in Tutorial classes in Yorkshire produced some insights. Keeping in mind the social mission associated with much of the W.E.A. activity, it is revealing to learn that in some cases Literature was treated as involving a discussion of social problems, and the inspectors of the classes involved tartly noted, "Oliver Twist' is not a scientific treatise on Poor Law Reform".<sup>133</sup> Another subject that received scrutiny was History, and here, there was experience similar to that noted for Lancashire. Possibly the comparative neglect of general history was characteristic of a war weary generation. In Yorkshire, a number of different approaches were tried to try to popularise general history, but difficulties were encountered, even with students who had previous Tutorial class experience.

The reluctance of students ... to, enter upon courses of 'mere history' has led some tutors ... to devise methods of approach calculated to appeal to students whose outlook is affected by their previous studies of

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<sup>132</sup> Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O. 1928, p. 46.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

economics or social philosophy or by their pre-occupation with practical problems or even by their crude prejudices. Some of the experiments have not been entirely successful. In one instance, an attempt to view world problems - competition, war, nationalism, democracy, empire, internationalism and so forth, could hardly be expected to succeed ... courses of this ambitious type are in danger of encouraging that habit of facile speculation and superficial generalisation which it is one of the purposes of the study of history to correct.<sup>134</sup>

One can sympathise with a tutor seeking to interest students in objective historical appraisal, yet seeking, also, to make his subject attractive. In an age when instructional films were not readily available, the study of History was essentially a matter of reading. But reading requires leisure time which the students did not generally possess. Furthermore, university history books were usually written either with undergraduates in mind, or were written because of interest in the subject "for its own sake". Neither of these intra-mural considerations helped the extra-mural instructor with his problem of encouraging communication within his History class, when he recommended "suitable reading". On the other hand, books written by men who had been workers were apt to be more subjective than university standards required. In short, A.L. Smith's unfortunate remarks on the scholars of history to be found among the working classes were apt to be a weight around the neck of a later generation.

Psychology attracted ten classes during 1926-27. The problem associated with converting popular curiosity into scientific research was a familiar one. Yet the Report on Yorkshire recorded that "the best (classes) have succeeded in initiating the student into scientific method to a degree which is not often achieved in the more familiar subject of economics".<sup>135</sup> This appraisal not only reveals the evolution of a high standard for Psychology, but gives a good indication that Economics classes were not al-

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134 Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O. 1928, pp. 30-1.

135 Ibid., p. 35.

ways distinguished by an objective search for knowledge. There also seems to have been a subjective element indicated by the title "Social Philosophy", a course which seems to have been unique to university tutorials given by Leeds. Yet to balance the picture, there was a considerable range of subjects available. Effort was made to popularise Biology with five classes being given at the University of Leeds, in the 1925-26 session, where the tutor avoided lecturing:

By processing at once to experiments self-performed, followed by a common discussion of the possible explanations of the result, a condition of alertness is maintained ... It sometimes seems slow to the outsider and great patience is probably required, but the struggle which is proceeding during the whole time the class is meeting has a great effect on the mind.<sup>136</sup>

This experimental method of instruction was possibly the most suitable method of presenting science to tutorial class students. There was never any question, as Matthew Arnold had emphasized, that science should form part of a liberal education.

When the total Yorkshire scene is appraised there is evidence of a wide selection of courses being offered. While there were about 1500 Tutorial class students and another six hundred students in One Year and Terminal classes, organised by the W.E.A., this was not the entire picture. A further 3000 students were in One Year and Terminal courses organised by the W.E.A. but maintained by the Local Educational Authorities; while the L.E.A.s organised, in technical and evening schools, One Year and Terminal courses for an additional 5000 students. So, in total, there were over 10,000 students with the great majority in courses extending over twenty-twenty-four weeks.<sup>137</sup> Yorkshire was obviously seeking to cater to various demands, which derived from a desire to study in varying intensities and

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136 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Natural Science in Adult Education, Paper No. 8, H.M.S.O., 1927, pp. 20-1.

137. Board of Education, Report on Adult Education in Yorkshire for the Period ending on the 31st July, 1927, Pamphlet No. 59, H.M.S.O. 1928, p. 14.

for a variety of reasons; producing classes which ranged from popular recreational pursuits up to the earnest minority with intellectual interests. Although this was not always apparent at the time, there was a significant change in the structure of adult education in Yorkshire, which was summarised as follows:

The last ten years (1917-1927) ... have witnessed changes, the significance of which it has not always been easy to perceive. Ten years ago the movement (of adult education) was not only smaller but narrower; it resembled a sect rather than a widely represented element of the people.<sup>138</sup>

There had been a shift from the pre-war influence of the Quakers, such as the Rowntrees of York or Swarthmore Settlement, towards increased influence on the part of the W.E.A. While, in the future, lay the potential power that could be exerted, if the University of Leeds and the L.E.A.s chose to assert policies that were independent of the W.E.A.

An analysis of the Tutorial classes held in the late 1920's by Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester does not reveal any striking differences in the basic subjects studied. Economics and Industrial History remained the staple subjects and although males dominated the Economics classes there was a tendency for women to be very prominent in Literature classes, particularly in Lancashire. Terminal classes were regarded as being especially useful for pioneer work that led towards Tutorial classes. For the One Year courses, the subjects tended to be similar to the Tutorial class offerings and were proving popular with a broad segment of students, who did not want the length or intensity of a three year course. University Extension classes had revived and were particularly suitable for presenting general cultural subjects such as Art, Music and Literature - particularly as planning the length of the instruction could be fairly readily adjusted to suit the subject, students and the lecturer. This old

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

old style University Extension lecture was still in vogue in the Northern universities, and had the flexibility of being adjustable to circumstances. All in all, at the end of the 'Twenties, the field of adult education in the North was in a reasonably healthy state.

By 1929, there were definite signs that adult education was coming of age. Leaders such as R.B. Haldane, William Temple and R.H. Tawney were men of high calibre. A British Institute of Adult Education was undertaking research that could provide guidance to organisers in the field. Some universities had established extra-mural departments and the first professor of adult education had been appointed in R. Peers of Nottingham University College. While the W.E.A. was a voluntary body, the Association had received grants under the Adult Education Regulations which encouraged it to provide a growing number of short courses. Moreover, the Universities co-operated with the W.E.A. in the provision of Tutorial classes; while there had also been experimentation with courses of varying length and an expanded range of subjects. Finally, the emancipation of women meant that they were forming an increasingly important element among the student body.

But the reverse side of the coin should be examined. In 1922, H.A.L. Fisher had managed to give a last minute reprieve to adult education from the educational cuts that stemmed from a policy of economy at the Treasury. In 1924, a friendly Labour Party had been in power in Westminster when the Adult Education Regulations had been framed: then, by political good fortune, Sir Charles Trevelyan was back again as head of the Board of Education when the Regulations were revised in 1929. To some extent, during the 1920's, adult education had been insulated from the Government's policy of financial retrenchment. Whether this situation could continue depended, to some extent, on whether friendly allies within the Labour Party would continue to call the tune at Westminster. But, even more important was the economic outlook for the nation, as it



struggled to gain equilibrium after the impact of a Great War followed by a trade recession.

The industrial areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire were badly affected by the trade recession. By contrast, adult education had been generally sheltered from the governmental policy of financial retrenchment in the public sector. Given this frame of reference, it was an open question in 1929 whether the fortuitous circumstances that has aided adult education would continue into the next decade.

## CHAPTER 3

### ADULT EDUCATION, 1930-39

In order to examine adult education during the decade that preceded World War Two, the following discussion will be presented in two parts. First, the national background in 1935 will be reviewed, so as to be able to look at adult education in Lancashire and Yorkshire in the context of national domestic policies. Secondly, because after 1935 there were European events that influenced the British educational scene, the last part of the chapter discusses adult education in the light of the impending struggle with Germany.

A noticeable feature of the literature about adult education during the 1930's was that discussion about its purpose and possibilities ranged far and wide: a national debate took place as to how adult education might help to resolve economic and social problems. At the start of the 1930's England was not a particularly prosperous or happy place for many of her workers. Unemployment was the spectre that haunted the industrial areas. Technological obsolescence had created hardships in the 1920's but now, was added the impact of the Great Depression that spread after the financial collapse on Wall Street in September, 1929. At any one time during this decade there were between one million and two million persons out of work. This was also an age when Keynesian economics were unheeded and the Government showed great concern over the need to effect economies.

An indicator of the way the wind was blowing for education can be gauged by an incident of 1930. The W.E.A. approached the Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald with a request that the school leaving age should be raised to fifteen, as had been planned by H.A.L. Fisher back in 1918. Legislation was introduced to implement this proposal, and received a First Reading on December 17, 1930. Soon afterwards, however, the political upheavals of 1931 took place, in which the Labour Government collapsed, and from which Ramsay MacDonald emerged as head of a National

Government. In this new political climate the idea of raising the leaving school age was again shelved. An attack was directed against secondary education, with free places being restricted, and a means test attached to maintenance allowances. The W.E.A. responded to this campaign to enforce educational economies.

From W.E.A. headquarters instructions went out that branches were to summon meetings - organize conferences of working-class and educational bodies, send protests to the Prime Minister, to the President of the Board of Education, to the local Member of Parliament. They were to distribute leaflets, make contacts with W.E.A. members on the local education committee - agitate, agitate, agitate!<sup>1</sup>

Yet even as funds were being dried up for regular educational programmes, funds were also being allocated for what was ostensibly educational purposes. Unemployed Clubs or Centres were opened, which encouraged men to have "sing songs", exercise with physical training, or work at handicrafts such as cobbling or furniture making. As R.H. Tawney had pointed out in the 1919 Report, handicrafts were a medium of liberal education, although it is unlikely that this factor weighed heavily in 1931. Politicians saw an army of unemployed workers who might well become a danger to the stability of the State and who would, in any event, vote at the next election. A busy working man had less time to reflect on his condition and and contemplate who was responsible. Under these circumstances "liberal activities" in a club provided an outlet for some of the unemployed, although naturally some people viewed these activities as a way of killing time. The mood of the time was reflected in the comment to A.J. Allaway, a resident tutor from the University of Manchester, when he started to call upon prominent citizens in the Rossendale Valley. After Allaway had explained his position and

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1 M. Stocks, The Workers' Educational Association. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 110.

duties, he was asked, "What is Manchester thinking about in sending a man to the (Rossendale) Valley at a time like this? How can they expect people to be interested in attending classes when things are so bad?"<sup>2</sup> Yet any activity that counteracted lethargy was worthwhile, and educational activity was an alternative to the palliative of the cinema, where Hollywood provided an escape into a glamorous unreal world. As the British Institute of Adult Education reported in 1932:

the cinema is the form of amusement to which the unemployed man and his family most tenaciously clung even when the family income is so shrunken as to compel the abandonment of most other luxuries ... it is a place in which at least it can forget for a few hours the monotony and hardships of life.<sup>3</sup>

One friend of the working classes was A.D. Lindsay of Balliol who speculated about the significance of leisure:

All teachers have seasonal unemployment; why does no-one speak of their 'suffering' from unemployment - why is it counted as a benefit to them that they have this leisure, while to the industrial worker it is a curse.<sup>4</sup>

This points up the difference between the academic world, which still benefitted from the Greek concept of liberal education, versus the industrial pattern of regarding labour as a commodity to be purchased on an hourly basis. These different attitudes influenced the pattern of adult education in the early 'Thirties. Initially, it was assumed by some leaders of the W.E.A. that, as the unemployed had all the leisure in the world, they would become better students than the Tutorial class students who were in full employment. But as A.D. Lindsay noted, "this proved a fallacy. Men long employed had lost the capacity and desire for study".<sup>5</sup> Lindsay

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2 A.J. Allaway and Jessie Rawson, The Rossendale Branch of the Workers' Educational Association. A Brief History, published by the W.E.A. Rossendale Branch, 1954, p. 4.

3 British Institute of Adult Education, Educational Facilities for the Unemployed, London: 1933, pp. 22-3.

4 D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay, A Biography, London: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p. 162.

5 Ibid.

pressed the W.E.A. to teach various handicrafts but:

This was a controversial issue in the W.E.A., where many people thought it a loss of standards and a distortion of their primary purpose to do anything but intellectual work, and 'Lindsay's basket work' was spoken of with contempt by such people.<sup>6</sup>

It would thus seem that some trade union officials prominent in the W.E.A. had less of a grasp of reality than at least one Oxford don.

Furthermore, keeping in mind the left wing social philosophy that had frequently been advocated in W.E.A. circles, the critical view taken by George Orwell is revealing. Orwell was a socialist but noted that Socialism was a middle-class creed:

The typical Socialist, is not, as tremulous old ladies imagine, a ferocious-looking working man with greasy overalls and a raucous voice. He is either a youthful snob-Bolshevik who in five years time will quite probably have made a wealthy marriage and have been converted to Roman Catholicism; or, still more typically, a prim little man with a white-collar job, usually a secret testotaller, and often with vegetarian leanings, with a history of Nonconformity behind him.<sup>7</sup>

Orwell obviously disliked the theorists of Socialism and, like Lindsay, preferred the artisan who was supposed to be the beneficiary of the new Utopia. Orwell added for good measure that the term "proletarian" should include such groups as clerks, engineers, grocers and lower-grade civil servants. In other words, this view of the proletariat included the non-manual workers who often attended University Tutorial Classes. This analysis of the class structure was crucial because it touched on the mythology of the worker-scholar which emphasized the adjective "manual". Whereas, in reality, the majority of the Tutorial class students were not manual workers. The W.E.A. mythology could alienate many of their earnest white-collar students and produce a reaction against the social dynamic of the movement, for, as Orwell commented, "They (the white-collar workers) must not be allowed to think that the battle is between those who pronounce their aitches and those who don't; for if they think that they will join on the side of the aitches".<sup>8</sup>

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6 Ibid., p. 163.

7 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, p. 173.

These cleavages in the ranks of the Labour Party who spoke for Socialism were not serious while the party formed a weak opposition in Parliament. But, with the benefit of hindsight, we can see that Orwell had the vision to see squalls ahead. Orwell was hardly likely to be popular among the intellectual elite of the socialist cause when, for example, he pointed out that, "The Coles, Webbs, Stracheys etc are not exactly proletarian writers" and were removed in thought and idiom from the workers' speech.<sup>9</sup> One notices that R.H. Tawney is excluded from this charge which, again, points out the uniqueness of the first W.E.A. tutor. Tawney appreciated the value of handicrafts as a form of liberal education and realised that the working man sought work before slogans.

There was little need to preach the need for social change to working men who had suffered unemployment, and witnessed the political manoeuvring in parliament. One crisis had followed another, from the 1924 Red Letter Scare in the election of that year, to the 1926 General Strike and the subsequent Trades Dispute Act, followed by the 1931 crisis that saw the Royal Navy rebel at Invergordon. This was a depressing national scene and the mood of unrest can be judged from a letter that the national headquarters of the W.E.A. sent to all branch secretaries on May 14, 1934. The letter enclosed a resolution recording a protest against the Government's Incitement to Disaffection Bill and stated that a copy of the resolution had been sent to the Prime Minister, The President of the Board of Education, The Attorney General and the press. The local branch were exhorted to contact their local M.P. after passing a resolution similar to the following one that had been passed by the Executive Committee of the W.E.A., which stated that the Executive:

views with grave apprehension the Incitement  
to Disaffection Bill now before Parliament which will

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9 Ibid., p. 175.

imperil both freedom of thought and speech and the free choice and ownership by students and others of books and pamphlets. It therefore urges the Government to withdraw the Bill.<sup>10</sup>

Amid this rather depressing political climate the work of adult education developed, stimulated by the revision of the Adult Education Regulations in 1931.

The revision of the Adult Education Regulations facilitated an increase in work of a more elementary character. Stress was laid upon the "pioneer" character of Short University Classes under Section Two to comprise not less than six meetings, and Short Terminal courses of the same duration under Section Three. The intention was to pioneer the way for the establishment of longer and more serious courses of study at a later date and, ostensibly, the new programme was aimed at the rural areas. But a more far-reaching effect was produced by Article Seventeen of the Regulations that assessed grant on the basis of the size of the class, and virtually ignored the older type Extension lecture. Officially, the intention was to encourage University Extension proper as a long range objective for these pioneering arrangements. One wonders, however, if this explanation was a diplomatic way of fending off possible criticism from those who might feel university extra-mural work was being diluted, through increasing concern over the number of students in class for grant purposes, rather than stimulating intellectual interests among the public. On the other hand, the encouragement of terminal courses, under university auspices, was a boon to adult education, and this type of course increased, between 1930-1 and 1931-2, from 498 to 679.<sup>11</sup>

Another helpful proposal was the idea of provision for

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10 West Lancashire and Cheshire, District Council Committee, Minute Book, 1928-1934. Letter received from the W.E.A. National Executive addressed to all Branch Secretaries dated May 14, 1934.

11 Board of Education, Education in 1937, p. 175.

tutors by University Responsible Bodies, to be known as "Resident Organising Tutors". The Board of Education followed up with statutory Rules and Orders No. Seventy-five of February 22, 1932, which provided for payment of a £280 maximum or three-quarters of the cost whichever was less, to each tutor, up to a maximum of two tutors per University or University College.

Yet when one examines the underlying factors the evidence suggests that these new Regulations were not an unmixed blessing. From a political point of view, there was an advantage for Westminster to encourage University teaching as it was generally less dogmatic. On the other hand, the Board of Education warned the W.E.A. that it would be necessary to restrict the normal increase in the number of classes. Total grant expenditures for 1930-31 would be taken as a standard and future expenditure would be limited to this figure. At the same time, the National Economy (Education) Order of 1931 reduced the rate of the grants payable to the various types of adult courses held by L.E.A.s, in order to give effect to a cut in teachers' salaries. The Board of Education now covered approximately a quarter of the tutor's fee,<sup>12</sup> with the result that, "in many areas the local Education Authority had complained that the cost of maintaining such (Short Terminal) courses is out of all proportion to the value of the instruction".<sup>13</sup> But the protests of the L.E.A.s were hardly likely to be heeded by a Westminster that saw busy students filling in time, that might otherwise be devoted to a demonstration of political protest. In other words, the revision of the Adult Education Regulations owed more to the political climate of the time than to any expression of educational philosophy. As the Board of Education financed much of the activity, it was not unreasonable for Parliament, at a time of national crisis, to view adult education as one way to combat unemployment and the social malaise produced by a world-wide

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12, R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1934, p. 54.

13 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, Adult Education and the Local Authority. Paper No. 11. H.M.S.O., 1933. p. 129.



economic depression.

The type of instruction that was provided by L.E.A.s varied from year to year and ranged from "Home Carpentry to Astronomy, from Boxing to Metaphysics".<sup>14</sup> Liberal studies were not supported on any substantial scale. London with its Literary Institutes and Birkbeck College comprised an exception to the national scene and in any event, a detailed examination of the London adult educational scene is beyond the scope of this study. An indication of the national taste for adult education was the situation reported for England and Wales in 1929-30, that excluded London. Of eleven thousand, one hundred and forty-two non-vocational adult classes, twenty-nine per cent were involved in academic subjects, mainly languages, elocution and drama, literature and natural science. A further sixty-two per cent were involved in practical subjects such as domestic arts and health, while nine per cent studied such recreational subjects as music, folk dancing and physical training.<sup>15</sup> It is obvious that adult education touched a relatively small proportion of the total population. Even more significant was the fact that the expansion of classes of a purely academic nature had to take place along a narrow band, within this small proportion of students. Adult education which was academic presupposed a fairly high degree of reading comprehension. Yet an indicator of the reading tastes of England was the insignificance of the circulation of serious news coverage compared to the sensational dailies. In 1930, the combined circulation of The Times, Manchester Guardian and The Telegraph amounted to only six per cent of the market, and this quality of news coverage would appeal to the earnest minority that might attend University Tutorial classes.

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14 The Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, The Scope and Practice of Adult Education, Paper No. 10, H.M.S.O., 1930, p. 56.

15 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, pp. 296-7.

Before considering the enrolment figures, and subjects studied in tutorial classes, it is revealing to consider some of the factors involved in recruiting students. In the first place the payment of a higher fee to a tutorial class tutor inclined administrators to give part-time tutors a chance of earning this higher fee which, in turn, meant that students could be pressured into tutorials. Maintaining the required number of students led towards the type of situation described by A.J. Allaway concerning the tactics of W.E.A. branch secretaries:

All those who have worked in the field know that it is no uncommon experience for the officials and their wives of smaller class centres to join, for example, a biology class, rather than what they would much prefer ... because the enrolment in the former is less than in the latter.<sup>16</sup>

But these tactics were mild compared to the revelations of another tutor who wrote an article entitled "This Grant Grabbing Racket".<sup>17</sup> Speaking from his personal experience the tutor, H.A.J. Martin who had also been a tutorial class student, stated:

However its' (the tutorial class) ideals may be stated on paper or from the public platform, all those who are intimate with the inner workings of the movement know that in running the tutorial classes, the working policy of the adult educational movement aims at numbers and grants, with quality as a very secondary consideration. Indeed, so patently is this so, that there is virtually a tacit conspiracy among those who take part in the movement to grab grants, whether they are genuinely earned or not. The officials are in it. They must have impressive statistics - else how is their existence to be justified, according to conventional standards ... The tutors are in it. They have to earn a living in a wicked world. The students are in it. For they hate writing essays and like latitude in attitude.<sup>18</sup>

This blast naturally produced a reaction. The answer was a remarkable

16 A.J. Allaway, University Adult Education. As Problems and Possibilities, Vaughan College, Unpublished manuscript, 1953, p. 25.

17 H.A.J. Martin, "This Grant Grabbing Racket", The Highway, Vol. XXVII, March, 1935.

18 Ibid., p. 156.

example of sophistry that said that a tutor had to interpret regulations "liberally",<sup>19</sup> and that "far too little dependence is being put on the intelligence of the tutor and far too great a strain on his integrity."<sup>20</sup> Presumably integrity ran a sorry second when the means justified the ends. The point of these observations by tutors is not that they were typical but, rather, that they tend to balance the mystique with which the Tutorial class was surrounded. The image of dedication and scholarship, derived from a reference for the original Tutorial classes taught by R.H. Tawney, does not seem to be consistent with the actual performance of some classes organised in the 'thirties.

Confirmation of a lowered standard is provided by a report of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education. The Committee was fearful that the, "very growth of adult education might prove its undoing."<sup>21</sup> This point of view stressed the high aim that has motivated University Tutorial classes and the fact that the success of this type of class had led the W.E.A. to seek expansion. But the zeal of the W.E.A. was apt to promote the recruitment of marginal students. For as the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education recorded, "there was sometimes a failure to distinguish between the substance and the shadow .. many classes continued to borrow the forms of the Tutorial class and to drag out a feeble existence."<sup>22</sup> The Committee noted that to have a successful class it required earnest students with leisure, a suitable subject and a flexible tutor who could devote time to consultation in the

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19 Article by H.M.L. replying to H.A.J. Martin, The Highway, Vol. XXVII, March, 1935, p. 187.

20 Ibid.

21 Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, The Scope and Practice of Adult Education, Paper No. 10, H.M.S.O., 1930, p. 14.

22 Ibid., p. 62.

University fashion. On the other hand:

It is easy to produce a superficial resemblance to a Tutorial class; to put together a group of persons willing to listen and talk and even read a book occasionally. And by over-emphasizing some particular feature - the lecture or the discussion, or the atmosphere of fellowship - the feeling of the tutor or of the students may be gratified.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover there was the problem that the Tutorial class was, "thought of vaguely as a substitute for something else. People who had received a 'real' education could have no use for it."<sup>24</sup> The recent products of a growing secondary school system did not feel the urge to seek a philosophy of life by means of a three year course in some subject. Moreover, those students who had received a secondary school education did not see the need for writing essays in order to gain knowledge, or to obtain practice in expressing their ideas. The volume of written work dropped and the records indicate that, at the University of Manchester, it did not in many cases exceed twenty or thirty essays per class.<sup>25</sup> Another explanation of the decline of written work was given by a tutor:

From my own personal experiences of adult education classes, I have reached the conclusion that the first creative period is past ... A good deal of the early initiative and enthusiasm of the tutor has been lost. He is told to do this, and he does it. An exceedingly efficient administration arranges details, leaving him to impart wisdom ... (this) is slowly breeding a class of teachers, and not of leaders. The reduction of function is being purchased at a price, and that price is mass produced written work.<sup>26</sup>

But while it is possible to produce evidence that indicates that some tutorial classes were substandard, compared to the original classes taught by R.H. Tawney, the opposite side of the coin needs to be examined. A considerable number of adults were deriving an education from attendance at evening classes. By 1931, the pattern of the

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23 Ibid., p. 60.

24 Ibid., p. 59.

25 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 14.

26 G.W. Keeton, "International Relations in Adult Education Classes" Adult Education, Vol. VII, 1934-5, p. 32.

Tutorial classes had fairly well stabilised, with a total enrolment of around 13,500 students in England and Wales, of whom 5,500 were women. Men continued to dominate the classes devoted to Economics and Industrial History, but the longtime leading role of these subjects were being challenged by Literature, Philosophy and Psychology. In the Literature classes women outnumbered men 1,685 to 1,160 for the year ending 31st July, 1930: while for, Philosophy and Psychology women outnumbered men 2,363 to 1,229, almost two to one, and these two subjects collectively had the largest total enrolment.<sup>27</sup> After 1931 there was a freeze on educational spending, which while slightly relaxed for 1934-35, was not really lifted until the 1935-36 session. Tutorial classes were hard hit by these financial restrictions which did not, however, discourage a continuously expanding number of Terminal courses. This trend was also encouraged by the preference of the newly emancipated women to attend short courses and they made good students because, compared to men, they were "more conservative in outlook and less likely to come with preconceived notions".<sup>28</sup> The broad trend for all classes run for W.E.A. students was that, in 1931-32, social studies accounted for 55.8 per cent of these classes, a proportion that increased throughout the 1930's.<sup>29</sup>

Meanwhile, classes in literature, language and the arts diminished from 35.7 per cent in 1931-32 to only 26.2 per cent by 1939.<sup>30</sup>

27 Board of Education, Education in 1930, p. 192.

28 R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1934, p. 70.

29 S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 11.

30 Ibid.

An indicator of the different social milieu of the 1930's was that Art made its first appearance as a subject in Tutorial classes.<sup>31</sup> Trying to suit the subject to the student led to much headscratching that was reflected by articles in contemporary journals.

Two Yorkshire tutors examined the teaching of History. The first article was by A.A. Eaglestone and entitled "How to Make History Real", which advocated making the subject live by presenting it as a body of human experience. Eaglestone noted that an Englishman prefers his history along the line of action and cited a North Country audience giving a vote of thanks to Macaulay, for, "having written a history which working men could understand".<sup>32</sup> One is inclined to agree with those nineteenth century working men, for Macaulay narrates in a robust style that has colour and life, and depicts an imaginative cavalcade. Eaglestone wrote that, in his opinion, "it (History) must become a resuscitated world of human beings and not of inanimate things".<sup>33</sup> The second history tutor was F.W. Brooks of University College, Hull who had pioneered in the teaching of local history. Brooks noted how people flocked to visit abbeys, churches or castles and proposed that a study of buildings could lead to interest in the men who used them. Speaking from his experience in Tutorial classes, Brooks commented that his approach had an advantage as, "It is extremely concrete and appeals to the practical minded student who is repelled by the more abstract line of approach to history".<sup>34</sup> The content of History courses also came in for drubbing when the British Institute of Adult Education reviewed the overall picture:

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31 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 270.

32 A.A. Eaglestone, "How to Make History Real", The Highway, Vol. XXVIII, November 1935, p. 20.

33 Ibid.

34 F.W. Brooks, "The Approach to History", The Highway, Vol. XXVIII, November 1935, p. 19.

There had been a reaction in recent years from so-called 'political history' and also from the newer kind of economic history which has sometimes been still more 'political' towards a simpler study of man's social life in the past.<sup>35</sup>

Presumably the writer of this historical section about Educational Facilities for the Unemployed was a philosopher at heart, for he continued, "There is another kind of history to which men's mind may now be turning. The history of human thought ... (which) may provide an introduction to what philosophy means".<sup>36</sup>

Philosophy received a close scrutiny in J.M. Cameron's The Teaching of Philosophy to Adult Students. Cameron, a tutor at Leeds, stated that to study the syllabuses of Tutorial classes in philosophy in the Thirties was a sobering experience, as:

Many of the syllabuses hint at vast projects: for example, in the course of twenty-four meetings of two hours each it is proposed to give some notion of the systems of thought associated with the names of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Bacon, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Bergson ... it is plain that in philosophy (as in literature and history) the tutor frequently sets out - wherever he may finish - to give what is essentially a popular version of a university course - perhaps of several such courses - for undergraduates.<sup>37</sup>

Considering that adult students had the option of refusing to attend classes, what one might term the smorgasbord curriculum is understandable. For Cameron pointed out that, "Any attempt so to delimit the scope of philosophy as to exclude from it problems of human interest is impossible".<sup>38</sup>

35 British Institute of Adult Education, Educational Facilities for the Unemployed, London: 1933, p. 19.

36 Ibid.

37 J.M. Cameron, The Teaching of Philosophy to Adult Students, London: Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes, 1951, p. 1.

38 Ibid., p. 6.

It would seem reasonable to conclude that the effect of window dressing of this type would be a tendency to lower standards. A.L. Smith's dictum about honours standard was being stretched to the limit, at least on paper, for worker-scholars were apparently able to digest a potted selection from several degree programmes in one enormous gulp. The absurdity of such ludicrous thinking must have occurred to many educators in the field but, in an age of depression, there was wisdom in not querying the Board of Education Regulations on Adult Education. Jobs were scarce and martyrdom by a married tutor could not reasonably be expected. What seems unfortunate is that observers might be tempted to overlook the solid bulk of the tutorial classwork that was being performed, without flamboyance or the aid of misleading syllabuses.

Science classes continued to be difficult to expand because of the way some branches were developing so that, "It is noticeable that 'popular science' tends increasingly to take the form of biology, because chemistry and physics have become, as it were, lost in mathematics".<sup>39</sup> Tutorial class students were unlikely to be well grounded in theoretical mathematics, or if they were, this situation again looks like a case of educating the educated. Another approach to science was that of introducing a humanistic element by studying the scientists for background material. A Memorandum from the Board of Education dated September twenty-first, 1935 outlined this approach:

History and biography have ... an important place in the teaching of science, as illustrative material. They also link the words of individual workers and scientific movements with the prevailing social and intellectual environment and help to show the significance, in human life, of the scientific principles which are being studied.<sup>40</sup>

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39 British Institute of Adult Education, Educational Facilities for the Unemployed, London: 1933, p. 16.

40 The University of Liverpool, Extension Board Report Book, No. 4, p. 56. The page holds a Board of Education Memorandum No. 7 dated September 21, 1935. The quotation is from Paragraph 4.



The problem of how to teach science in a humanistic manner was not, however, easily solved: for the essence of the scientific method is to eliminate the human factor. Although the generation of the 1930's did not resolve this matter, at least thought was being given as to how science could be made more popular as a liberal subject.

A newer subject that caused traditionalists to ruminate about its place in Adult Education was entitled International Relations. By 1933, it was becoming plain that events in Europe were shaking the international fabric, as Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler expounded Fascism. But while a study of the international scene was relevant, the question arose as to whether International Relations was a subject at all. In January, 1934, a Conference was held at the London School of Economics where this grave academic question was earnestly discussed. While pronouncing International Relations to be whole, as a subject for study, some confusion was left because:

It was a little difficult to discover exactly what their reasons were (for approval as a subject). Most members thought that the subject could be distinguished from Modern History, Economics, and so forth, but were unable to suggest specific criteria.<sup>41</sup>

The possession of a sound if elementary knowledge of modern history and geography was vital for study in this new type of class. A rather amusing illustration of this need to ensure students had a grounding in basic knowledge was provided by Dr. Keeton in his article "International Relations in Adult Education Classes".

I remember, with some humiliation, once discussing the Danubian problem for half an hour, at the expiration of which one member of the class, with a puzzled frown, asked me whether the Danube was in Europe or Asia.<sup>42</sup>

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41 G.W. Keeton, "International Relations in Adult Education Classes," Adult Education, Vol. VII, 1934-5, p. 31.

42 Ibid., p. 30.

In these years of financial restrictions and depression, tutors often gave vent to their frustrations by writing an article that flayed their colleagues. Even the venerable subject of economics was not immune, for a tutor lamented:

I wish that teachers of economics would sign a self-denying ordinance never to use fanciful or imaginary illustrations, but only actual cases drawn from the material<sup>43</sup> available in Government publications and other sources.

Such a rebuke was probably justified and it was, also, a safe line to take, which might bring a nod of approval from administrators. Possibly the feeling of frustration felt by the tutors, as the front line troops of adult education, was attributable to causes beyond their control. The basic question was whether there was any purpose behind the dissemination of liberal education in the depths of a depression.

The Archbishop of York, William Temple, former President of the W.E.A. grasped the nettle and wrote an article entitled "The Need for a New Culture". Temple reviewed the reasons why the policy of the W.E.A. had been to avoid vocational subjects, by pointing to the desire to aid the creation of a complete personality able to participate as a full citizen, and the suspicion that increased efficiency of working folk would be exploited in the financial interests of others. Then, Temple pointed out that this policy:

was bound to have ill-effects by way of suggestion. It suggests that the vocational occupations are not part of a full and personal life ... And there is a great danger that our concentration of all cultural activity upon 'leisure' will intensify the inhumanity of 'work'.<sup>44</sup>

Work had to become a part of the process of education so that the gap between 'work' and 'leisure' could be diminished. Somehow the matter of how to humanise mechanisation had to be solved, as otherwise our

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43 P. Ford, "Some Problems in the Teaching of Economics", Adult Education, Vol. VIII, 1935-6, p. 35.

44 The Archbishop of York, "The Need for a New Culture", The Highway, Vol. XXVII, October, 1934, p. 3.

culture, detached from the real world, "will become increasingly esoteric till it withers for lack of nutriment, and the processes which it despises will triumph over it by achieving the mechanisation of humanity".<sup>45</sup> Here is a discerning cleric noting the problem which, one day in the future, C.P. Snow would describe as *The Two Solitudes* - or the insularity of the humanities on the one hand, and science and technology on the other. What strikes one about this situation is that men of the calibre of A.D. Lindsay, R.H. Tawney and William Temple were highly educated, in a bookish sense, and yet saw the need for a liberal education that included skills and crafts. On the other hand some of the more fervent defenders of the inviolability of the three year Tutorial classes were in relative terms, ill educated. A man such as G.H. Thompson of Leeds possibly thought that any attempt to dilute the W.E.A. emphasis on Tutorial classes was a subtle attempt to foist second class education on the workers. Thompson thought of the W.E.A. as primarily the educational expression of the Labour Movement.<sup>46</sup>

The issue of the distinction between vocational and non-vocational training occupied the attention of thoughtful men during the 1930's. It had become fairly apparent that this was an artificial distinction when the motives of the students were considered. Many students who attended so-called vocational classes had no vocational motive, such as the evening student exercising his hands and mind in a carpentry course. On the other hand, students attending non-vocational courses in liberal studies may well have had a vocational motive generally articulated, by the less sophisticated, as "helping me to get on". A survey conducted by the British Institute of Adult Education, in 1932-33, concluded that many students placed social service as the secondary, and not the primary, motive for study. A comment on this student attitude said, "That personal enrichment should stand half a pace ahead of social service seems to us (,the editors,) the honest and

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45 Ibid.

46 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 261.

natural order".<sup>47</sup>

Furthermore, it is possible that this motivation was not restricted to employment prospects in business and industry. Education was the traditional route for social mobility. For young women of the post 1918 era, their matrimonial prospects were diminished by the wartime loss of young men. With fewer fish in the sea, the broadening effect of liberal studies might well increase the prospects of marrying above their social class. In any event the liberal training would be a sound investment in education for life. Training in effective communication seems to have been more highly prized by women, not only in literature appreciation but, more importantly, in classes in drama and elocution. On the other hand, dropping aitches and persistently refusing to accept "la de dah" speech patterns of educated men, was often exhibited as a badge of pride by many working men. The B.B.C. or Oxford accents were often mistrusted, while regional insularity was inevitable in the early 1930's when working men had neither the money nor the facilities for travel. In these restricted circumstances, adult education would be the main route for those with social ambitions. Moreover, as already noted earlier in this study, tutors had found that women brought fewer prejudices to class. In short, many working men actively resisted the concept of social mobility, whereas some women were less caste ridden. Liberal study for females could enhance their social mobility and comprise a motive for study that had nothing to do with "art for its own sake". Unfortunately, in an age which had less faith in the validity of questionnaires to students, there seems to be no detailed record of student motivation of the early 1930's. Yet it may well have been that Literature classes for women had some correlation to vocational or social aspirations, just as a "non-vocational"

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47 W.E. Williams and A.E. Heath, Learn and Live, London: British Institute of Adult Education, 1936, p. 8. The survey was based on the results of a questionnaire to four hundred and ten Tutorial Class Students and one hundred and twenty-eight ex-students of Ruskin College.

training in Greats at Oxford was accepted as preparation for having a career in politics.

There was a widening gap between the traditionalists, who insisted that liberal education should be the only form of adult education, and what might be termed the modernists, who sought change away from rigid academic standards. The arguments of the traditionalist will be examined first. There was an assertion of the claims of liberal education in the sense in which Cardinal Newman used the term:

This process of training, by which the intellect, instead of being formed or sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, some specific trade or profession, or study or science, is disciplined for its own sake ... and for its own highest culture, is called Liberal Education.<sup>48</sup>

Adult education viewed in such terms had a high purpose and utilitarian values were rated very lowly. This perspective gave strength to those who resisted any move that seemed to have a vocational aspect. There can be little doubt that the objective was laudable and, possibly, the difficulties only start when the means to achieve that end are examined.

Academic study had to be:

prosecuted with the same degree of application and intensity as we apply to professional education (otherwise) we cannot expect that the results will be much more than that superficial acquaintance which Newton contrasted with real knowledge ... they require for their application a method at once critical, scientific and philosophical ... Time must be left for the student to read, to think, to collect and collate his material, to make his own inferences, and his own attempts at the formulation of principles ... There must be leisure time for the student to learn for himself ... There must be the means at hand in the shape of the best libraries, laboratories and the other apparatus of study.<sup>49</sup>

But so many vital elements in this description of the means needed for liberal education were missing for the average adult student. Leisure to pursue study and to reflect was not usually available, nor were the

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<sup>48</sup> Board of Education, Adult Education Committee, The Scope and Practice of Adult Education, Paper No. 10, H.M.S.O., 1930, p. 42.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-44.

best libraries or laboratories. While it was true that the Universities organised most of the higher education for adults, their Extra-Mural departments were obviously starved of many of the facilities needed to organise classes à la Newman. Obviously, a three year tutorial in one subject tended to overcome the problem of leisure to a degree and permitted some intensive work to be undertaken. Yet, the need to organise a subject in a packet of three years duration meant that the cross fertilisation of ideas was rather impeded compared to the broad liberal training received by undergraduates. But viewed in the perspective of what liberal education had done to enrich the lives of adults, there is no question that the Tutorial class traditions had raised the mental horizons of thousands of men and women. There was an objection by some critics that adult education was much too academic for ordinary folk. To this objection an honest reply was given, "People say that the majority do not want classes of this kind, but nobody in his senses ever supposed they did".<sup>50</sup> Liberal education was essentially a matter of quality rather than quantity and exposure to the thoughts of the world's greatest thinkers imparted insights which illuminated life. Shakespeare is eternal while vocational skills perish with every advance in technology.

The stand taken by the modernists started from a more democratic premise, that opposed the elitism inherent in liberal education for a minority able to profit from it. Generally speaking, the modernists idea was to fit the course to the student, which meant recognition of the limited leisure time available for part-time students. Moreover, the changed social conditions required adaption to a better educated populace, who, frequently, did not feel any urge to reform society. From this perspective, Terminal One Year Courses seemed more suitable than Tutorial classes as, in any three year period, three subjects could be studied

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50 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 35.

rather than concentration on merely one discipline. Moreover, this approach had the advantage that a subject was terminated before a new one was approached. Whereas there had been numerous observations on the tendency for Tutorial classes to wander into the broad field of knowledge, as was indicated by the implications of the blanket term "Social Philosophy". Up to this point, the traditionalist might concede that there could be some merit in the argument, although expressing strong reservations about Terminal courses being excluded from the requirement that written work was required of a student. But modernists carried their argument still further. Essentially, the proposal was that adult education should cater for a multi-farious collection of pursuits for people with widely different interests, tastes and capacities. One of the more influential spokesmen for this position was Professor R. Peers of Nottingham, who gave the following philosophical rationale:

All education must be a process of adjustment of the individual to the world in which he lives. But since his world is constantly changing, and since he himself is one of the potential agents of change, this adjustment must be a continuous process ... When this is understood the need for education which continues throughout the active life of the individual becomes obvious; and the apparent conflict between education in terms of individual development and education for the attainment of specific social ends, disappears.<sup>51</sup>

This looks like the Theory of Relativity being applied to education and, naturally, shattered traditional concepts. It ignores, one suspects, the innate conservatism of many students. As Orwell had noted, philosophical radicalism was a middle-class habit, and professional educators who advocated a vast expansion in "education for life" had a vested interest in the subject. This is not intended to imply that there was no merit in this philosophy which, of course, is still a current issue. But, in the circumstances of the 1930's, there was bound to be more resistance than there might be in prosperous times. A generation that saw the state financing centres for the unemployed was bound to be somewhat prejudiced about the motivation of those who proposed education

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<sup>51</sup> R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1934. pp. 7-8.

Lancashire had occupational centres where men could keep warm and where classes were held in such handicrafts as carpentry, bootmaking, leather-work, handweaving and basketwork. Orwell visited several of them and reported that:

there was a nasty Y.M.C.A. atmosphere about these places which you can feel as soon as you go in. The unemployed men who frequent them are mostly of the cap-touching type who tells you oilily that he is 'Temperance and votes Conservative'.<sup>52</sup>

An observer who was even more deeply involved with adult education was Frank Milligan, Warden of Beechcroft. Milligan thought about the needs of adults and came to the conclusion, as Tawney had done earlier, that there was a need for men to have an opportunity of working at handicrafts. But such educational thinking was fraught with political dangers as, given the conditions of the 1930's, there was a situation where the idea of vocational training aroused hostility. The English trade unions resisted on two grounds to vocational centres because:

In so far as the community believed that 'something was being done' about the unemployed there would be less pressure on the Government to take measures to deal with the problem, and indeed the Minister of Labour quoted in Parliament the number of men attending unemployed centres as though something was being done by the Government. Another reason was economic, based on the craft union attitude. The leaders of these unions thought that the unemployed from the occupational centres would swell the labour market in their crafts and weaken the position of the apprenticed craftsman.<sup>53</sup>

Milligan did manage to achieve modest success with the encouragement of three successful occupational centres in Birkenhead, which gave classes in woodwork, metalwork and motor engineering.<sup>54</sup> Moreover Milligan glimpsed the need for residential colleges to provide a better type of environment for students and this led to him moving from Beechcroft in 1933. But there was also a crucial insight by Milligan when, after his experience as a W.E.A. tutor, he wrote:

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52 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, p. 83.

53 B. Groombridge, The Wincham Experiment. Frank Milligan and the Unemployed unpublished manuscript, 1972, p. 10.

54 Ibid., p. 11.



Education based on the class method is primarily concerned with subjects. The potential student must already be conscious of an interest in this or that particular subject. There are other reasons, of course, why men and women join classes - a number join, for instance, because their friends have done so - but in the main it is because directly or indirectly the subject of the course attracts them. The point is that ... only a minority of adult persons is conscious of such interests.<sup>55</sup>

This insight led Milligan in the direction of encouraging residential colleges and community work. Milligan's ideas seem to have been in advance of his time, as he was groping to find new ways of making adult education relevant to his age. Mention has already been made of a similar concern, being shown by Professor R. Peers at Nottingham. But prophets who proclaimed the need of education for life, in an age of financial stringency, were bound to be sound rather heretical to the purist who extolled the virtues of the Tutorial class tradition.

Lancashire tended to be traditionalist in her approach to adult education and, as has already been noted for the 1920's, H.M. Inspectors commented favourably upon the high standards in the county. The University of Liverpool made some organisational changes in the 1930's that were intended to facilitate the provision of extra-mural work. In 1931 the title of Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople was changed to the less socially objectionable Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes. University Extension work was separated from this joint committee and the function of University Extension Board was declared, in Ordinance LXX, to be:

To organise and make arrangements for lectures, courses and classes outside the University, save when such work is undertaken by, or specifically associated with the work of a department or a recognised school in the University, or by the Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes.<sup>56</sup>

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55. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

56. University of Liverpool, Extension Board, *Report Book*, No. 3, p. 227.

Extension work seems to have picked up by 1932. In that year there were lectures about Social Life in Tudor England, England Before the Norman Conquest, Local Rocks and Practical Gardening.<sup>57</sup> In the depths of the Depression in 1933-34 there was a surge of interest in travel, possibly as a form of escapism, with lecture courses about Spain, The Alps, The Tropics, Rome, La Bretagne, Russia, South Africa, Ceylon, Poland and Canada.<sup>58</sup> A few years later the shift of public interest becomes noticeable when, in 1937-8, there were Extension courses on "Germany Under Hitler", "The Civil War in Spain" and "Modern China and its Problems".<sup>59</sup>

While Extension courses were slowly coming to life, tutorial classes continued to comprise the major element in adult education classes. The District Annual Reports of the W.E.A. shed light on the difference between offerings at Liverpool and Manchester. The subject of Economics was of course a staple at both Universities, although Manchester organised approximately twice as many classes annually as did Liverpool.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand in addition to being more musically-inclined, Liverpool organised more Psychology Tutorial Classes than Manchester, which, for the year ending May, 1932, was double the number organised in Economics at Liverpool, as well as double the number of Psychology classes organised at Manchester.<sup>61</sup> For the Terminal courses of twenty-four lectures duration organised at Liverpool that year, over half were in Elocution and Drama with

57 University of Liverpool, Extension Board, Minutes 1931-1955, p. 5. Meeting held June 17, 1932.

58 University of Liverpool, Extension Board, Minute Book, No. 4, p. 33.

59 Ibid., p. 79.

60 See W.E.A. Annual Report for the years ending 1931, 1932, 1933. Also the W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District Annual Reports for the same years.

61 These figures are fifteen Psychology classes for Liverpool versus seven Economics classes. Manchester organised seven Psychology classes. See West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st May, 1932, p. 14 and The Workers' Educational Association, Twenty-Ninth Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st May, 1932, pp. 49-50.

women teachers being prominently represented.<sup>62</sup> In the fifty One-Year Classes that were given by Liverpool the most popular subject was Literature and usually there was one course in Welsh Literature. Of course, nearby Manchester could always point out that David Lloyd George was born in the cotton capital, and in order to show their cosmopolitan approach to culture, usually had a course in French Literature. During the following year ending 31st May, 1933, Liverpool for the first time, used the term "Social Philosophy" to describe a course. More will be said about the interesting history of this term when Leeds is discussed. There was obviously some concern at Liverpool at the trend of events at Leeds. It will be recalled that, in the West Riding, the L.E.A.s financed courses arranged by the W.E.A., therefore, the following statement by E. Hickinbotham, Secretary of the University Extension Board at Liverpool is quite revealing:

The character of One-Year Classes varies considerably in different parts of the country ... It is perhaps unfortunate that, in certain areas, classes of the same type, arranged by the Workers' Educational Association, but for which the Local Education Authority takes full responsibility, should also be known as One-Year classes, although they are recognised under the Regulations for Further Education. The same conditions as to attendance and written work do not apply to such classes, and there is a danger that standards may suffer. Even in the case of One-Year classes recognised under Adult Education Regulations, the purpose is not too clear, and they range from quite elementary courses to courses which are approximately of the same standard as Tutorial classes.<sup>63</sup>

These comments were undoubtedly aimed at the situation in North Yorkshire where 114 One-Year classes had been held, which included those on Maternity and Child Welfare, Sick Nursing and Allotment Cultivation.<sup>64</sup> By contrast Liverpool had only forty-five such classes which were concentrated on

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62 W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Thirteenth Annual Report, June First, 1931 to May thirty-First, 1932, p. 16.

63 R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1958, p. 99.

64 The Workers' Educational Association, Thirty-First Annual Report for the year ending 31st May, 1934, pp. 69-70.

academic subjects. E. Hickinbotham seems to have been pointing his finger at Manchester in his further comment that, "In some cases, there has been a tendency to treat the One-Year classes as being preparatory to a Tutorial class".<sup>65</sup> For Manchester had no One-Year Courses but twenty-three University Preparatory Courses, covering a range of familiar Tutorial subjects, including, one should add, two classes in Appreciation of Music. When funds were tight, it was almost inevitable that the Northern universities kept a close eye upon each other, as exhibited by these comments from the administrator of Liverpool's Extension activities.

Over in the newly created W.E.A. District of Yorkshire North, George Thompson had returned to the scene in 1929, the year of the financial crisis in the United States that further increased England's economic difficulties. Yet the educational climate of Yorkshire was not completely bleak. On the one hand, the Adult Schools that had been such a powerful influence in Yorkshire were in decline, as their appeal had been to an earlier generation that sought literacy and hope of social reform through enlightened Christianity. On the other hand, the trend of the 1930's was towards a broad undifferentiated form of adult education dominated by the human tradition of universities and personal culture.<sup>66</sup> Such a climate suited the W.E.A. in Yorkshire. G.H. Thompson served as a secretary of the University Tutorial Classes Joint Committee at both Leeds and Sheffield and was, therefore, in a strong position to influence the adult

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65 R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1958, p. 99.

66 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 286.

education scene. Thompson used the term "socially effective" to describe, "a ... minority, who accept all the responsibility, serve on all the committees and do all the work ... The organisations comprising the working-class movement have been reared by the socially effective".<sup>67</sup> In order to appreciate the strength of the W.E.A. in Yorkshire, it needs to be seen against the social background from which it sprang. J.B. Priestley visited his home town of Bradford in 1934 and penned this appraisal:

Bluntly, the position is this ... the good old-fashioned English Sunday ... is still being imposed upon large numbers of people, especially younger people, who no longer want the good old-fashioned English Sunday, any more than they want the good old-fashioned English side-whiskers, the thick underclothing or heavy meals ... The imposition is still largely successful in that in most provincial towns the authority is largely in the hands of elderly men who are not in sympathy with the desires of the newer generation.<sup>68</sup>

It would seem reasonable to assume that the earnest minority who had attended Tutorial classes and subsequently entered public life as local representatives were, essentially, on the side of traditional values. In fact adult education could be seen as the bastion of Yorkshire culture, a point of view encouraged by G.H. Thompson. Therefore it is not surprising to find R.W. Rich, Principal of the City of Leeds Training College, late Professor of Education in University College, Hull, making this statement:

Adult Education ... is one of the few remaining strongholds of Liberal (i.e. disinterested) education. In almost every other sphere, the vocational motive plays a prominent part, even in the study of the humanities in the Universities. In adult education the tutor is free to foster and promote the pursuit of knowledge by his students for its own sake ... He does not work to an imposed syllabus ... He enjoys comparative freedom from restrictive regulations.<sup>69</sup>

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- 67 G.H. Thompson, "Progress and Aims in Adult Education", The Tutors Bulletin of Adult Education, April, 1945, p. 7.
- 68 J.B. Priestley, English Journey, London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1934, pp. 181-2.
- 69 R. Peers, ed., Adult Education in Practice, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1934, p. 116.

There is a tinge of moralistic fervour about the purity of adult education, as well as a note of idealism about the motivation of students. The mantle of moral fervour was similar to earlier religious movements but now being proclaimed in a secular way that suited the mood of 1934. In the Spring of that year the W.E.A. made their first analysis of the occupations of students in its classes. The results showed that forty-one per cent were manual workers and a further fifteen per cent were engaged in housework.<sup>70</sup> University Tutorial classes continued to enjoy a paramount position as the true vehicle for developing working-class liberal education.

From the Annual Reports of the W.E.A. there appears one particularly interesting evolvment of the presentation of course material under different titles. In 1930, Leeds had twelve courses on a subject called Social Philosophy which does not appear for Manchester or Liverpool where similar material was possibly covered within courses entitled Economics. Emphasis on the adjective "social" is also noticeable in the three Leeds courses termed Social History, which, presumably, would be similar to the Industrial History taught in Lancashire. By 1932, there seems to have been some type of reaction to Social Philosophy at Bingley, Halifax, Marsden, Silsden and Leeds which resulted in the number of courses declining to five.<sup>71</sup> But what was lost on the swings was gained on the roundabouts, when Social Economics blossomed out with two courses, as well as two classes in Social History. By 1934, Social Philosophy could only rouse enough interest to have two classes, while a new title called Modern Social Theory attracted enough students for two classes,

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70 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 289.

71 The Workers' Educational Association, Twenty-Ninth Annual Report For the Year Ended 31st May, 1932, p. 53.

with Social History and Social Economics accounting for a total of another three classes.<sup>72</sup> But despite ringing changes on the word "social", the content or type of material offered in these social packages had suffered a decline in demand, reflected in a drop from twelve classes to seven in just four years. One can sense the effort being made to adjust to the Yorkshire scene of the 1930's, where youth was, as J.B. Priestley had noted, not particularly enchanted with good old Yorkshire values.

Music made its debut as a Tutorial class subject at Leeds which showed that the local W.E.A. were not immune to the influence of Merseyside pioneers. But the subject that really began to take root in W.E.A. classes was International Relations. From three classes in 1930-31, the subject grew to six by 1932-33, to eleven by 1934-35, to nineteen in 1935-36, to twenty-six in 1936-37. As the full horror of the European situation struck the Yorkshire North District the number rose to fifty-one classes in 1937-38 increasing again to eighty-seven by 1938-39.<sup>73</sup> Before considering the national setting in these years immediately prior to World War Two, it needs to be pointed out that "International Relations" appears to have received a somewhat cool reception from some adult educators. A tutor pointed out:

it, may be doubted, whether the 'new' subjects would ever have emerged had the academic framework of the 'old' subjects been sufficiently elastic ... In some cases the bastard was subsequently legitimised, as when International Affairs was received by the Academy under the slightly more dignified name of International Relations.<sup>74</sup>

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72 The Workers' Educational Association, Thirty-First Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st May, 1934, pp. 68-9.

73 W.E. Styler, Yorkshire and Yorkshire North. The History of the Yorkshire North District of the Workers' Educational Association 1914-1964, Leeds: Workers' Educational Association, 1964, p. 21.

74 K. Polanyi, "Adult Education and the Working Class Outlook", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, November, 1946, p. 10.

The rising popularity of a new subject that emphasized international events illustrates that adult education was being forced to operate in a changing political climate. And, in order to appreciate the new frame of reference, it is necessary to turn to the national scene.

The national economy drive which had begun in 1931 started to ease in 1935, when the rates of grants were partially restored and some expansion permitted. As a result total enrolment in Tutorial Classes in England and Wales increased, between 1934-35 and 1935-36, from 13,376 to 14,175 students.<sup>75</sup> In national terms the overall picture continued to display a situation where only a tiny fraction of a population of more than twenty-four million, aged between twenty and sixty-five, displayed interest in adult education. Only 50,000 students were enrolled under the Adult Education Regulations with this total being subdivided as follows:

Chapter Two.	Preparatory Tutorial	
	Three Year Tutorial	14,646
	Advanced Tutorial	
	University Extension	
	Courses including short	8,665
	Courses	
Chapter Three.	One Year Courses	8,035
	Terminal Courses	18,868

This national summary<sup>76</sup> reveals that over half the students were in courses that did not require intensive work. This was consistent with the growth pattern during the preceding ten year period from 1926-27 to 1935-36.

Tutorial classes had increased by 28 per cent while University Extension had increased 153 per cent. But within the less intensive Chapter Three work, One-Year courses had increased 90 per cent with Terminal courses accelerating 176 per cent.<sup>77</sup> Of course, counting heads is a more suitable

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75 The Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes, Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, p. 5 and Twenty-Seventh Annual Report, p. 5.

76 British Institute of Adult Education, Adult Education in Great Britain and the U.S.A., Reprinted from the Year Book of Education, London: n.d. p. 36.

77 Ibid., p. 37.



approach for politicians, or for generals remembering Napoleon's dictum about the big battalions, than it is educators. But this crude yet democratic yardstick of counting heads had to serve as the basis for determining the allocation of grants, which were the life blood of adult education. Despite the description of adult education as liberal, grants were not liberal, and R.D. Waller of Manchester University penned this assessment of the 'Thirties:

(There was) one supreme deficiency in pre-war adult education ... The ludicrous inadequacy of money and means. It had no visible means of support; it was a vagabond living in shreds and doss-houses.<sup>78</sup>

Yet the situation was not as bleak as it must have appeared to those engaged in adult education. In 1935 a new era began when Penguin Books launched their sixpenny paperbacks, which provided good literature at the price of a packet of cigarettes. The publishers correctly assessed that a vast new potential market had been created by extended secondary school education. If a commercial venture could tap this reservoir of potential students then, it was quite likely that, so could adult educators.

R.H. Tawney who chaired the W.E.A. Annual Conferences was busy laying down guidelines for future development. Tawney appears to have been a traditionalist which is hardly surprising considering that he started the tutorial pattern of liberal studies for adults. In 1934, at Manchester, Tawney declared:

But, if a facile popularisation is demoralising, so also are formalism and conventionality. When I look at some syllabuses on some branches of the social sciences ... Occasionally they remind me of the familiar definition of an expert as a man who knows more and more about less and less. What is needed in all departments of higher education is the humanistic spirit ... which makes study attractive,

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78 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London, Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 38.

without making it cheap, by using it to illuminate significant problems.<sup>79</sup>

With that penetrating Tawneysque wit, the speaker continued, "What sometimes makes the observer feel that the business of education should be scheduled as a dangerous trade is the tranquil assurance of salvation which shines from the placid countenance of some of those engaged in it. A movement which succumbs to that temper dies gracefully of self satisfaction."<sup>80</sup> Tawney may have been a traditionalist, but hardly of the complacent kind, and the W.E.A. was indeed fortunate to have such a leader.

At the 1936 Convention, Tawney declared in his Presidential exhortation that, "Our business is not to be the educational Woolworth of the day"; which provoked the editor of The Highway to comment, "Mr. Tawney's pronouncements have all the qualities of St. Paul's Epistles to his errant flocks".<sup>81</sup> In point of fact, Tawney himself may have been a true symbol for the Tutorial class movement to follow, as he spoke from what was essentially a minority position within the total university spectrum; yet, this was very similar to the way small groups of earnest students pursued study amid their somewhat apathetic working-class colleagues. Furthermore as the flocks to which Prophet Tawney addressed himself were relatively small, it is wise to remind ourselves of the general attitude of the working classes towards education, as George Orwell described it:

Working-people often have a vague reverence for learning in others but where 'education' touches their own lives they see through it and reject it ... I, (George Orwell) know now that there is not one working-class boy in a thousand who does not pine for the day when he will leave school. He wants to be doing real work, not wasting his time on ridiculous rubbish like history or geography.<sup>82</sup>

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79 The Workers' Educational Association, Thirty-Second Annual Report For the Year Ended 31st May, 1935, p. 14.

80 Ibid., p. 16.

81 M. Stokes, The Workers' Educational Association. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 106.

82 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959 p. 116.

Ernest Green of the W.E.A. observed that, in the year 1935-36, out of the available adult population of eighteen and one-half million, only five hundred thousand were engaged in cultural and social studies. Green called this number infinitesimal.<sup>83</sup>

Possibly what made it difficult to overcome a natural reluctance of students to join classes in adult education, when they became eighteen, was the terminology encouraged by an official educational policy that distinguished liberal education from vocational training. This was clearly seen by the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee in their Memo on Problems of Expansion in Adult Education, where it was noted that L.E.A.s instruct in the "doing" subjects, while universities concentrate in the "thinking" subjects.<sup>84</sup> With the advance of the secondary school system, more and more thinkers were being drained away from the potential pool on which the Tutorial classes could draw, while the students of the elementary school aspired, as Orwell noted, to become doers. Within this national pattern, the W.E.A. were bound to find the working-class element diminishing in their classes.

R.H. Tawney told a W.E.A. Conference in December, 1935 that, "The proportion of our classes of manual workers and their dependants has fallen in the last twenty years from just under two-thirds to one-half". Tawney went on to resist suggestions that, "our demands upon students are too exacting, and that we should do well to widen our appeal by relaxing them".<sup>85</sup> There were some bitter feeling developing within the ranks of the W.E.A. between modernists and the traditionalists wedded to the Tutorial class mystique. By 1937, at the Annual Conference of the W.E.A., a resolu-

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83 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 34.

84 University Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Memorandum on Problems of Expansion in Adult Education, October, 1937, p. 9.

85 The Workers' Education Association, Thirty-Third Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st May, 1936, p. 12.

tion to ask the Board of Education to give recognition to classes on play acting and production was discussed and rejected. G.H. Thompson "compared classes in acting to classes in dancing and drew a picture of a W.E.A. tutor teaching his pupils the Rumba".<sup>86</sup> Ernest Green followed with the assertion that "if the resolution passed there was not a single local dramatic society in Great Britain which would not ask for a grant". By the vehemence of this stand against expansion into new fields of endeavour, it would seem that the W.E.A. had a reactionary wing. An administrator for Further Education in the North Riding lashed his fellow Yorkshiremen with this biting commentary:

The public, in Adult Education, must be given what it wants as a right as well as from expediency. Mr. Green and Mr. Thompson want to call the tune, whereas their proper function is to supply the fiddling. To what one may call the orthodox mind, Drama is permissible ... as a branch of literature, which means in practice, lecture with discussion. Such a view misunderstands the very nature of Drama, or substitutes a minor for the major importance.<sup>87</sup>

Surprisingly, for men who prided themselves on their advocacy of liberal education, Mr. Green and Mr. Thompson seemed to feel that there had to be an element of social purpose or pragmatic value derived from each class. In this sense, their attitude seemed to be similar to those students who felt that studying some subjects, "doesn't get you anywhere". Barbara Wootton noted that:

it is comparatively seldom that one hears a student of literature make this particular stricture upon classes in that subject; though it is common enough for students of economics or politics to decry literature classes on this very account. The biologists seem relatively untroubled by not getting anywhere. The psychologists, in their turn, are not, as a rule, quite so well satisfied, while the students of economics, politics and related subjects (including often history) complain more bitterly than any.<sup>88</sup>

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86 J. Wood, "Drama in Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. IX, 1937, p. 194.

87 Ibid., p. 197.

88 B. Wootton, "A Plea for Constructive Teaching", Adult Education, Vol. X, 1937, p. 92.

Ironically, an attitude of scepticism was encouraged by liberal education and, in turn, this led some students to ask themselves as to whether they were getting somewhere. Obviously a simple answer of "No!" would have been unpalatable, despite the classical tradition that liberal education should be valued for its own sake. And as Barbara Wootton's observations implied, there was less of a problem in those simpler days of Tutorial classes when Economics and social purpose ruled the roost. But subjects such as Literature, Philosophy, Psychology - along with new fangled ideas like International Relations and Drama - were becoming increasingly popular.

In view of this changeable climate, it is understandable that Ernest Green, General Secretary of the W.E.A., talked about the need to consolidate the work of the University staff tutors. While the organising tutor and the W.E.A. had to work hand in hand, Green felt that the inspiration must flow from the voluntary spirit of the W.E.A. This voluntary army of students should desire to "equip themselves for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities"<sup>89</sup> and the danger in not adhering to official policy was clearly depicted.

The greatest danger to any centre is the group isolated from a movement outside themselves, who give a too literal interpretation to the maligned phrase "education for life". They become not so much a mutual improvement society as a local calamity.<sup>90</sup>

Green's critical attitude towards "education for life" was consistent with the resistance provided by some W.E.A. stalwarts towards new ideas, such as those sparked by Frank Milligan or Professor R. Peers. Yet there was commonsense in Green's reminder that education was supposed to overcome the insularity bred by isolation.

The problems produced by a narrow, regional, outlook were also seen by a tutor who wrote an article entitled "Speech and Adult Education". The writer noted that a "speaker with a type of pronunciation that is limited to one district may find communication difficult when he moves

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89 E. Green, "The Voluntary Movement", World Association for Adult Education Bulletin, VII, Second Series, 1937, p. 41.

90 Ibid., p. 40.

outside that area".<sup>91</sup> A plea was made for more speech training classes, public and choral speaking, and acting. For the tutor made this point:

We do not always realise ... how far habit is responsible for our reactions to other people's speech. It is even possible to feel a strong dislike for a speaker for no other reason than that he speaks with a dialect different from the one we have become accustomed to in our surroundings ... The same is true of class dialects. I do not believe that anyone speaking with what is called an 'Oxford accent', or the kind of speech used by many educated persons in the upper classes, can ever truly make contact with working-class people ... Mr. Aldous Huxley has confessed his failure in the distressed areas. As soon as he spoke, he said, he placed a barrier between himself and the people he wanted to understand.<sup>92</sup>

Women were easier to convince than men. The speech training offered in various types of classes was far better supported by female students. On the other hand the insularity of regional pride displayed by males tended to prevent an organisation such as the W.E.A. from always presenting a united front. It may have been coincidence that, at this juncture in time, the first volume in the educational Pelicans was an edition of Bernard Shaw's Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism. However, one rather suspects that the publisher read the situation much as the tutor who advocated speech training, as a means of improving communication among workers.

On the other hand, proposals about teaching History, the favourite whipping boy, tended to point in the opposite direction. An accent on local history was the antithesis to general culture. A W.E.A. tutor in Cumberland presented this argument:

To sum up: we have heard too much of the 'cultural' side of Adult Education work. Would it not be better to start from the folk culture and then work outwards ... W.E.A. classes are becoming more and more routine work, bookbound bodies in history, literature and art, served by the same type of lecturer whether in town, city or village. We must break away from this appalling uniformity to which modern civilisation is reducing us.<sup>93</sup>

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91 C. Sansom, "Speech and Adult Education, Adult Education, Vol. X, 1937, p. 5.

92 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

93 F. Warriner, "Local History and Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. IX, 1936-37, p. 27.

Possibly this point of view was necessary in a world being shrunk by the news media. But hard to sustain in a world where the cinema and tabloids, such as the Daily Mirror, Daily Herald or Daily Express, were extremely popular; and, in order to be successful, local history required a competent lecturer. R.H. Crossman, a former tutor for the Manchester Joint Committee and a prominent member of the Labour Party, approached the teaching of History from the similar direction of encouraging study of local government:

We want to know ... Local Government in 1938 in our own borough, as a start. We need to be shown the concrete problems of administration ... Once we have this concrete picture of our problems, we will then be interested in an historical excursion of a comparative study.<sup>94</sup>

It might be noted that it was hard to focus the attention of the urban population upon local issues, in the year of the Munich crisis, when trenches were being dug in public parks in order to create air raid shelters. But History was not the only subject that had problems adapting the curriculum to the student. A Reader in Philosophy discussed "Philosophy in Adult Education" and indicated diverse reasons as to why people studied the subject. Then associated problems were discussed from a teacher's point of view:

Classes in philosophy are encumbered with more cranks and amiable doctrinaires than in any other topic ... The plain truth is that you never know what will interest adult students until you try ... But ... members of these classes have one signal advantage. They are the right age. For most people the study of philosophy should begin at forty.<sup>95</sup>

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94 R.H. Crossman, "The Universities and Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XI, 1938-39, pp. 115-116.

95 M.H. Carré, "Philosophy in Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. X, 1937-38, pp. 106-110.

The wisdom of this pronouncement is immediately apparent to all philosophers of the right age. On the other hand, there may well have been other tutors who would have vehemently denied that the majority of cranks over forty had automatically gravitated to Philosophy.

In 1938 the national picture on student enrolment was quite revealing. The Board of Education Report shows that fifty-six thousand, seven hundred and twelve students were involved in Tutorial, Terminal and Extension Courses.<sup>96</sup> In terms of overall popularity, the Terminal courses had fifty-eight per cent of the students, the Tutorial classes slightly under half that number at twenty-six per cent, while University Extension courses attracted sixteen per cent. To achieve this position had required continuous effort. As the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee pointed out, "Suggestions have been made that the limit of spontaneous demand has now been reached ... It is doubtful whether demand

<sup>96</sup> The figures in the chart shown below have been extracted from the Board of Education Report in 1938 to which have been added subject and enrolment totals. One of the revealing aspects of this chart is that Sociology was the most popular subject, although this is hardly even mentioned in the literature of the period.

Subject	Preparatory 3 Year and Adv. Tutorial			One Year Terminal and Short Terminal			Short Univ. Courses and Short Univ. Ext. Courses			Subject Total
	Courses	Men	Women	Courses	Men	Women	Courses	Men	Women	
Literature & Language	170	1070	1766	295	1950	3567	84	528	1124	10,095
Economics	123	1515	381	83	1110	398	26	373	135	3,912
History General	98	1079	632	212	2412	1987	56	620	604	7,334
History Indust.	20	208	102	62	779	357	6	106	40	1,592
Geography	18	200	146	40	428	359	9	85	73	1,291
Art & Music	38	299	387	147	1088	1668	45	309	579	4,330
Natural Science	71	730	400	151	1473	1396	26	353	203	4,555
Sociology	174	1919	990	468	5650	3256	132	1510	1222	14,547
Philosophy & Psychology	170	1594	1535	211	2177	2168	69	611	971	9,056
Enrolments	8614	6339		17067	15246		4495	4951		56,712



is ever 'spontaneous' in the sense that expressions will be given to it even in the absence of organised effort to make the facilities known and to foster the formation of groups".<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the effort to interest serious adult students had become increasingly difficult, because a married adult student was frequently determined to ensure that his children were going to get a better chance than he himself had done. One could not count on the next generation following Dad's footsteps into a Tutorial class, which represented top quality adult education.

There were a number of dissident voices in 1938 who questioned the aura of quality that was proclaimed for Tutorial classes. W.E. Williams, Secretary of the British Institute of Adult Education, stated that some Tutorial class activity was "bogus" and explained:

By that we mean that there is in operation an automatic administration factor which tends to keep Tutorial Classes up to a fattening minimum. The Board of Education notifies a Providing Body that its quota of such classes is, say seventy for the coming year. It would be quite easy to cite cases where that figure is, in fact, attained simply that the Providing Body may not lose face. 'Seventy classes is the permitting figure. Good, then seventy classes we shall raise, even if ten of them are so uncertain of quality as to become a travesty of, university extra-mural work'.<sup>98</sup>

Obviously, as seen from the point of view of the providing body, the number of Tutorial classes had a prestige value. R.H. Crossman was also critical of the philosophy of adult education which fostered an increasing number of academic classes for adults:

I can see that from the point of view of the extra-mural departments this development must seem beyond criticism ... they naturally assume that Tutorial Classes in the traditional humane studies are the end-all and be-all of the Adult Educational Movement ... 'Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to qualify - for grant'.<sup>99</sup>

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97 Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Memorandum on Problems of Expansion in Adult Education, October, 1937, p. 2.

98 British Institute of Adult Education. Adult Education in Great Britain and the United States of America, Reprinted from the Year Book of Education, London: n.d., p. 11.

99 R.H. Crossman, "The Universities and Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XI, 1938-9, p. 107.

This view that liberal education represented a vested interest of extra-mural departments seems somewhat harsh, particularly as the students attended voluntarily. But, more to the point, Crossman went on to question the purpose of training working people to answer University examination papers in a competent fashion. Was it worthwhile incalculating in a worker, over many years, a "trained mind" which had been found useful for aspiring civil servants, barristers and clergymen? Crossman felt that this should not be the function of the Workers' Educational Association or of the universities. Moreover, there was a danger that the proclamation of a working-class mission tended to distort the actual appeal of adult education, which seemed to be most popular with educated people. Crossman himself had, as a tutor, once recorded the value of the middle-class female to adult education, when he reported:

The Secretary, unfortunately, is a little 'superior' for this lively democratic town ... (but) Ashton ... produced a far higher level of discussion and genuine W.E.A. feeling than Glossop. This was partly owing to the excellent work of Mrs. Marmourian, the President who is exactly the type of middle-class woman invaluable to our movement.<sup>100</sup>

Yet despite the misgivings of R.H. Crossman in 1938 there was a good case to be made that liberal education was an ever increasing need. W.E. Williams saw clearly that:

A large proportion of members of these Tutorial Classes are ... black-coated nowadays - teachers, civil servants, suburban housewives ... On what reasonable basis can these be denied access to such a working class organisation as the W.E.A. ... (and) the University Tutorial Class? The petty bourgeoisie and the manual laborer are first cousins today.<sup>101</sup>

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100 University of Manchester, Extra Mural Committee, Minute Book, June 1928 - June 1943, p. 87. Report from R.H.S. Crossman on Extension Courses in Lancashire and Derbyshire.

101 British Institute of Adult Education, Adult Education in Great Britain and the United States of America, Reprinted from the Year Book of Education, London: n.d., p. 10.

It is interesting to notice in this commentary that suburban housewives are included in the W.E.A. and no particular reservation is made about their status. One gets an impression from some of the more formal analyses of the occupational status of the W.E.A. students, recorded by males, that they are wary of making pronouncements about the ladies. Such gallantry is admirable but not very helpful in assessing the total picture. Instead of excluding housewives as a nondescript group incapable of classification, it might have been a revealing exercise to have had a woman analyst pass judgement on the women students. However, in the years before the Second World War, it was a man's world; although only a brave male would have tried to publicly define the feminine mystique. But the male students could be safely labelled, even though a type of mass culture purveyed by the Press, Cinema and B.B.C. made it difficult to escape bourgeois cultural values.

In this social climate there were bound to be a few oddities associated with "workers" education. When the W.E.A. absorbed more of the middle-class element, the traditionalists made complaints about, "the constant increase of classes in literature and music, out of which they think social salvation will never come".<sup>102</sup> R.D. Waller went on to make some further general observations that culminated with:

oddest thing of all ... the presence in many classes of a few regular attenders who make little progress for the good reason that they never really understand what is going on. Why are they there, and what do they get out of it? The answer is 'adult education' - not economics, or literature, or history, but 'adult education' i.e. a co-operative gesture in favour of a better world, a communion of friendly hearts and minds, all convinced that education is a good thing.<sup>103</sup>

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102 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 24.

103 Ibid., p. 25.

This appraisal goes well beyond the formal framework of adult education and displays an understanding of a basic reason why adults should bother to attend classes. A group situation dispels loneliness by encouraging friendship among people with a similar interest. The spirit of any movement is difficult to describe precisely in words, because each individual may see his or her contribution in different terms. Yet, there is such a thing as "esprit de corps" and this adult education version would turn out to be a valuable asset after 1939.

While the Tutorial class tended to hold the spotlight, there was some impressive progress in allied classes concerned with adult education. University Extension work had not died since 1931 but had seen a steady increase in courses, normally of terminal length, with shorter courses diminishing until, in 1937-8, they accounted for less than a seventh of the total.<sup>104</sup> While Oxford, Cambridge and London were still the more prominent upholders of the Extension tradition, their share was now less than a half of the total university offerings. The significance of this renewed vigour in the Extension work lay not in the number of courses but in the potential for growth. Universities could well develop independently of their alliance with the W.E.A. and had an advantage in their ideological freedom from social purpose. The extra-mural departments had the resources of the Universities behind them and did not need to play permanent second fiddle in the duet constructed by Albert Mansbridge. For while the partnership had been useful to both the universities and the W.E.A., there was one major disadvantage for the extra-mural department. Adult education meant that a liberal training had to be provided for students who generally lacked a sound foundation. As with all higher education there was intense specialization in adult education, yet it was virtually impossible to integrate these specialised subjects into a broad training for

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104 University Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Annual Report, 1937-8, p. 20.

the individual student. Moreover, the difficulty of expanding extra-mural work was compounded by the reluctance of the L.E.A.s to co-operate. L.E.A.s also provided classes for adults, although their students were mainly adolescents; but their classes came under the Further Education Regulations which differed from those governing Adult Education by not requiring the attainment of prescribed standards before grants were paid. This situation led the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee to state that, "There is therefore a danger that classes of this type, far from preparing the way for work of the highest standard under the direction of Universities, may come to be regarded as an easy alternative to it."<sup>105</sup> Conversely some of the elementary work performed at Nottingham and Birmingham under university auspices made clear cut distinctions very difficult. So the educational scene, from the point of view of extra-mural departments, seemed to convey an impression that there was a need for the universities to compete more vigorously with the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s. Fortunately the means were at hand.

New Regulations came into effect on August 1, 1938 that mainly concerned University Extension Courses. A new category was introduced called a university sessional class, intended to be at the level of a first year tutorial, and replace the former preparatory tutorial class and many of the university one year classes. University sessional classes were to have a minimum of twenty meetings or, in rural areas, twelve meetings. In an effort to reactivate interest in the old style Extension classes, which had a large audience and smaller discussion group, the grant was now set on the size of the lecture audience, with a minimum enrolment of seventy-five students. Furthermore, it was prescribed that

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105. Universities Extra Mural Consultative Committee, Memorandum on Problems in Expansion in Adult Education, October, 1937, p. 8.

the lecturer appointed to conduct the course had to be an "internal teacher of a university or other scholar of equivalent standing especially approved by the university or university college as suitable for the purpose."<sup>106</sup>

University Extension Lectures could comprise as few as six meetings of one and one-half hours each. While this intention to revive old style Extension Classes was admirable, the effort required was rather more than the universities were prepared to make. Therefore, it was the university sessional class that provided the main avenue of development. The W.E.A. was rather apprehensive about the possible impact of the university sessional class and declared:

In our view the new course ... should be regarded primarily as a preparation for the more sustained effort of the full Tutorial Class ... The educational influence of three years progressive study is of great value: and there is some danger of its being lost if the multiplication of shorter courses under university auspices gives rise to the idea that the attainment of knowledge and judgement, such as universities offer, can be a short and easy thing.<sup>107</sup>

The stage was obviously being set for a possible cleavage of opinion between the W.E.A. and Extra-Mural Departments as to the value of short courses. It is important to note, in view of later disputes over the effect of these 1938 Regulations, that elementary work had not been a feature of the northern universities. On the hand, the relative smallness of the adult education family made it likely that, sooner or later, the extra-mural work at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester could be effected by this development on the eve of World War Two.

It is time to focus attention on the unique features of the pre-war adult educational scene in Lancashire which, in turn, requires a brief examination of the social environment which formed the background. In the late 1930's the county was still badly affected by the Depression and

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106 R. Peers, Adult Education: A Comparative Study, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1934, p. 98.

107 Workers' Educational Association, Aims and Standards in W.E.A. Classes, London: 1938, p. 29.

unemployment was rife. In Wigan, for example, at any one time one person in three<sup>108</sup> was either drawing or living "on the dole", the term used for unemployment benefit. A census of the Lancashire cotton mills revealed that over 40,000 full-time employees received less than thirty shillings a week. In Preston, to take only one town, the number receiving over thirty shillings a week was 640 and the number receiving under thirty shillings was 3,113.<sup>109</sup> Living on the dole provided a spartan existence, as the benefits were set at sixteen shillings a week for a man, fourteen shillings for a woman, two shilling and sixpence for the first child and a shilling for an additional child. Stella C. Davies described in North Country Bred the situation in Manchester where:

Queues, four deep, stood in all weathers waiting their turn to draw the dole on Fridays at the Labour Exchanges. I saw one such queue outside the Openshaw Exchange which stretched to Forge Lane, about a quarter of a mile in length. Slowly the men shuffled up, coat collars turned up with broken boots.<sup>110</sup>

There were few opportunities for men whose pride made them seek an alternative. It seems ironic, in view of the resistance to accepting music appreciation as a form of liberal education for tutorial classes, that groups of instrument players became street musicians. After giving a selection of their repertoire, they would come, "around the houses with a hat for contributions. Many of them wore their war medals".<sup>111</sup>

In these years immediately preceding World War Two there was a form of class warfare within English society. But, this class warfare was by no means a simple Marxist style confrontation and had overtones that baffled sincere people within the W.E.A. A socialist writer familiar with Lancashire pleaded that the sensible policy was to go easy in personal relations and, above all, that there should not be any more muscular-curate efforts at

108 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, p. 17.

109 Ibid., p. 76.

110 S.G. Davies, North Country Bred, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 221.

111 Ibid., p. 234

class breaking. Orwell continued:

Everywhere there are people of good will who quite honestly believe that they are working for the overthrow of class distinctions. The middle-class Socialist enthuses over the proletariat and runs 'summer schools' where the proletarian and repentant bourgeois are supposed to fall upon one another's necks and be brothers for always; and the bourgeois visitors come away saying how wonderful and inspiring it has all been while the proletarian ones come away saying something different.<sup>112</sup>

Such evangelical efforts to promote social purpose left a deep imprint on adult education. It was not that students embraced education as a creed for an unhappy people, but rather that the social conditions produced a particular mould of thought. Ross D. Waller recalled these years in a concise diagnosis:

Adult education between the wars was one of the most parched regions of the Waste Land; the disorder of the times was accentuated there by the detached academic approach, the unrelenting practice of critical analysis, and the effect of the prophets of 'emancipation'. The leading notes were those of British Left-Wing orthodoxy, dominated by scientific determinism and fundamentally hostile to religious life, yet shot through by gleams of residual Christianity and for that reason suspended in spiritual confusion and chaos.<sup>113</sup>

This Christian-Socialist philosophy of the late 1930's, existing in a secular mould, would have been apt to confuse any philosopher of liberal education starting with Aristotle onwards. Waller saw, however, that adult education was broadly humane and existed, "to serve men and women who had had anything but a fair deal: if their proceedings were not always full of fun, grace and gaiety, neither were the lives of their students".<sup>114</sup> What was happening was that the "progress" hailed in the nineteenth century, which was dependent upon mechanization of industry, had frustrated the creative energy of individuals. Tawney had seen the need for an individual to create something and, by the 1930's, there was a pressing need to handcraft objects no matter how artificial this seemed in a world of machine made objects.

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112 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, p. 162.

113 R. D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, pp. 35-6.

114 Ibid., p. 35.



The science of Economics had run riot and created human frustration.

Orwell recorded his impression in Lancashire:

It is a deadly thing to see a skilled man running to seed ... in utter, hopeless waste. It ought not to be impossible to give him the chance of using his hands and making furniture and so forth without turning him into a Y.M.C.A. cocoa drunkard. We may as well face the fact that several million men in England will - unless another war breaks out - never have a real job this side of the grave.<sup>115</sup>

Orwell correctly predicted that another war would solve the unemployment problems of Lancashire but, during the meanwhile, the tension of that period was reflected in the choice of subjects made by adult students.

The frustration was reflected in the decline in popularity of the study of Economics as, by 1936, Psychology had become the most popular subject in Tutorial classes at both Liverpool and Manchester. European History began to start a new wave of popularity as "World Problems" were studied. By 1939 the W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District was catering for this demand to such an extent that, among the One-Year courses, were thirteen on World Problems, eleven on International Relations and three on Modern History.<sup>116</sup> This emphasis on international affairs has already been discussed with regards to the University of Leeds and illustrates that it was a common feature of the period. Similarly, as with Leeds, the Lancastrian Universities recorded a decline in courses that had a "social purpose". Also, in the last full year before the Second World War, the Tutorial classes organised from Liverpool displayed considerable interest in Philosophy and Science, with the latter having six classes in Biology, three in Botany and two in Zoology.<sup>117</sup> These trends in the type of subject that was demanded precipitated an enquiry into the occupations of the students, and the results showed a revealing picture.

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115 G. Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier, London: Seeker and Warburg, 1959, p.85.

116 W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Twentieth Annual Report, June 1, 1938 to May 31, 1939, pp. 22-24.

117 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

By 1937, in the West Lancashire and Cheshire District of the W.E.A., there were more foremen attending Tutorial classes than manual workers, while clerks and shop assistants almost equalled the number of manual workers.<sup>118</sup> The statistics seem to infer that shop assistants and manual workers saw more of a future for themselves in One Year and Terminal courses, while foremen felt that their aspirations would best be fulfilled by the more arduous Tutorial classes. That perennial question within the W.E.A. as to who was a worker apparently led, in the case of Lancashire, to a very flexible attitude towards student recruitment. One could say a sensible attitude for, in the long range, as industrial techniques advanced, the percentage of manual workers would decline relative to white collar workers. The tutors for the tutorial classes were recruited from three main groups: university staff, schoolmasters and what was classified as "others". It would seem that the number of tutors from the university staff was diminishing by 1937, with a consequent increase in the other categories.<sup>119</sup> The Tutorial classes were organised by the Joint Committee and, because the University of Liverpool operated an independent committee to organise University Extension, this strand of development will be considered separately

118 W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Eighteenth Annual Report, p. 3.

Tutorial Classes	Manual Workers	Clerks Shop Assistants	Foremen	Teachers	Postal Workers	Professional Workers	Domestic Duties	Miscellaneous
	214	208	243	113	32	61	144	38
One Year & Terminal Classes	600	666	37	199	28	44	401	28

119 University of Liverpool Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, Report Book, No. 3, p. 103. Memorandum on Staffing dated January 9, 1937 by L.J. Edwards.

Year	Total		University Staff		Schoolmasters		Others	
	Tutors	Classes	Tutors	Classes	Tutors	Classes	Tutors	Classes
1935-6	46	64	22	32	12	16	12	16
1936-7	47	65	17	25	14	17	16	23

During the 1930's University Extension at Liverpool consisted of some short courses and single lectures and a few longer courses arranged at the request of outside bodies. What the University did was to issue a Prospectus showing the availability of a larger number of potential lecturers and topics. Local committees were required to invite a lecturer and to pay all travelling and hotel expenses. Such an arrangement could hardly be said to encourage the expansion of Extension activities. Furthermore, there was a rival to University Extension lectures in lectures sponsored by the Corporation of Liverpool that had been inaugurated long before the University had been founded. These Corporation free lectures were given in the Picton Library at Liverpool as well as in outlying districts and, in 1939, there were seventy-eight lectures attended by a total audience of 40,877.<sup>120</sup> Over the years the lecturers had included keepers of various sections of the museum and members of the university staff. With this array of free talent available to the public it was not surprising that University Extension lectures, which had to be commissioned and financed, were not very popular.

It was asserted that the (Corporation Free Public) lectures were modelled on University Extension Lectures and possibly as a result of this belief, university extension lectures were considered to be ... superfluous.<sup>121</sup>

There was even talk of abolishing the University Extension Board.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, when in 1938, Dr. Allan McPhee was appointed as the first full time head of a department concerned with adult education, his title was "Officer

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120 M.J.S. Cleaver, A Century of University Extension on Merseyside 1870-1970, Dissertation submitted for the Diploma in Adult Education in the University of Liverpool, 1972, p. 14. The source cited is the Liverpool Public Libraries, Annual Report, 1939.

121 Ibid., p. 15.

122 A. McPhee, A Short History of Extra-Mural Work at Liverpool University during the Second World War, Liverpool, 1949, p. 9.

for Extra-Mural Studies".<sup>123</sup>

Certainly Tutorial classes were in a healthy state at Liverpool due, in large measure to Mr. Frank Garstang, the long serving secretary of the W.E.A. District. By the eve of the Second World War, there were no fewer than sixty-seven Tutorial classes with over a third of them in Liverpool itself.<sup>124</sup> It would seem that the dependence of the Liverpool Extra-Mural Department upon the work of F. Garstang was fully recognised by the latter, judging from the way he handled deficits for running some tutorial classes. An example of the way in which the University was requested to "write off" these deficits is illustrated by a letter addressed to F. Hickinbotham in 1934 in which, after blaming the tutors for the deficits incurred in running two courses, Garstang concluded:

I am asked by my (W.E.A.) Committee to suggest to the Joint Committee that they be good enough to write off these deficits amounting to £40, and I am instructed by my Committee to thank them in anticipation of their agreeing to this course.<sup>125</sup>

Similarly in 1936-38, the University Joint Committee wrote off deficits<sup>126</sup> and, in fact, this seems to have become standard procedure. The point is that, in the years immediately preceding World War Two, the Liverpool Extra-Mural Department seems to have been virtually the handmaiden of the W.E.A. District Secretary. It followed from this that liberal education for adults

- 123 The University of Liverpool, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, Minute Book, No. 3, p. 79. Meeting of February 15, 1938. The name of the Department was changed to Department of Extra-Mural Studies.
- 124 T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool. A Narrative of Two Hundred Years, Liverpool: Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Liverpool, 1960, pp. 42-3.
- 125 University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Office File, Letter from F. Garstang to E. Hickinbotham dated May 5, 1934.
- 126 West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Minute Book, 1933-1947, Minutes of Executive Meeting held on March 5, 1938.

around Liverpool would be provided along the lines considered desirable in W.E.A. circles.

The students enrolled in tutorial classes conducted by the University of Liverpool appear to have contained a considerably smaller percentage of manual workers than comparable classes conducted at Leeds and Manchester.<sup>127</sup> A specific reference to classes run in the County Borough of Bootle stated "non manual workers outnumbered the manual workers in the proportion of 7 to 1".<sup>128</sup> Obviously the manual worker-scholar mythology perpetuated within the W.E.A. was a long way from the reality of many tutorial classes organised through the West Lancashire and Cheshire District in the late 1930's.

At the University of Manchester, the year 1938 saw the end of one dynasty and the start of another. Harold Pilkington Turner had been involved in Extension work since 1908 and had been appointed Director of Extra-Mural Studies in 1926. Pilkington Turner had contributed adult education at the national level, as well as at the local level. Turner was content "to leave most of the administration of (the local) work to (Eli) Bibby ... most people in and around the University thought W.E.A. classes and extra-

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127 Workers' Educational Association, Aims and Standards in W.E.A. Classes, London: 1938, p. 43. According to Appendix 3 on this page, the following percentages illustrate the proportion of manual workers enrolled in Tutorial classes, relative to the total number of students.

<u>Joint Committee</u>	<u>1925-6</u>	<u>1930-31</u>	<u>1935-6</u>	<u>1936-7</u>
Liverpool	20	21.7	22	20
Leeds	38	47	40	35
Manchester	44	36.5	41	34

128 The University of Liverpool Extension Board, Report Book, No. 4, p. 83. A sub-committee was formed at Bootle on July 6, 1937, to consider the need for adult education which included F. Garstang and L.J. Edwards, and the quotation is from p. 3 of the summary issued by this committee.

mural studies were synonymous".<sup>129</sup> When Turner retired in 1938, the new Director was R.D. Waller, a former lecturer in the English Department at Manchester who had played an active role in Extra-mural work. It therefore happened that, on the eve of the Second World War, both Manchester and Liverpool made appointments that ushered in what might be termed the Waller and McPhee periods. Waller inherited a somewhat different legacy, as the University of Manchester had thirty sessional classes to complement their sixty-four Tutorial classes. A growth in Sessional classes had been stimulated by the 1938 Adult Regulations which, in the case of Manchester, meant that their heavy emphasis on preliminary training within a Preparatory Tutorial class continued, but in a class with a different name. There was also the co-operation with the local L.E.A.s that saw university lecturers visit secondary schools, a unique aspect of the work at Manchester before World War Two.

In Yorkshire at this time the University of Leeds lacked both an extra-mural department and a director. This situation reflected the reluctance of the W.E.A. organisation to share power and some of the manifestations of this power are worth considering, in order to illustrate the situation in Yorkshire. First of all there was the position of the tutors in a situation where G.H. Thompson dominated the scene. On May 8, 1938 Thompson wrote to the Secretary of the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education as follows:

some tutors feel resentment at being really employed by the W.E.A. when they are supposed to be employed by the University. All of which is nonsense. The W.E.A. is part of the Joint Committee, just as much as the University, and up to the present the Joint Committee exists only to serve the W.E.A.<sup>130</sup>

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129 R.D. Waller, ed., Harold Pilkington Turner, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953., p. 73.

130 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies, Office File on Correspondence of the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education, Letter from G.H. Thompson to H. Hardman dated May 9, 1938.

Thompson's attitude to the idea of a Tutor's Association was not too favourable as he felt that the W.E.A. would protect the rights of an individual tutor. In a revealing letter, Thompson traced the background of the tutors' organisation:

It was (G.D.H.) Cole who started the idea as 'An Authority on Trade Unionism ... he wished to apply these ideas to his own job'... When I came from New Zealand (in 1929) I saw an entirely different Tutors' Association from the one I had left. The Extra Mural Heads had seen their opportunity and had taken it with both hands. I found Tutors' Association literature claiming it as a Trade Union, and I confess I felt a sense of disgust. Here was a body pretending to organise the Tutors in Adult Education as a Trade Union, when well over 90% of the tutors had full-time jobs of another kind, some of which, according to working-class standards, were very highly remunerated, such as professorships.<sup>131</sup>

Thompson obviously viewed extra-mural directors as liable to undermine the power of the W.E.A. by encouraging tutors to break away from being supervised by the Association. Later that year of 1938 a new secretary of the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education was appointed, and his name was S.G. Raybould, a staff tutor.<sup>132</sup> The name of S.G. Raybould will appear later in this thesis and, therefore, it is important to recognise the climate in which his views were being shaped. Because there was no extra-mural department at the University of Leeds before the Second World War, the liberal education that was offered reflected the philosophy of G.H. Thompson. The power of the W.E.A. was paramount in adult education circles.

This power was deeply rooted, as was revealed by a study entitled The Adult Student as Citizen where the names of the W.E.A. students who had gone on to serve in local government were listed. In the Yorkshire North District dominated by G.H. Thompson, the District Secretary, there

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131 Ibid., Letter from G.H. Thompson to H. Hardman dated May 9, 1938.

132 Ibid., Letter from G.H. Thompson to S.G. Raybould dated July 26, 1938, which begins, "I understand that you have taken over the Secretaryship of the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education".

were 355 contemporary and past students in local government, principally as councillors or magistrates.<sup>133</sup> Keeping in mind the close alliance with the L.E.A.s in the West Riding, who financed many of the W.E.A. classes. this network of old pupils must have been invaluable to Thompson. Even the W.E.A. had its old boy network! For purposes of contrast, the North Western District, controlled from Manchester, had only ninety-nine contemporary and past students in local government, while the West Lancashire and Cheshire District had ninety-seven.<sup>134</sup> In other words, in numerical terms, the Leeds fraternity of the W.E.A. was 350 per cent stronger than equivalent W.E.A. student bodies at either Manchester or Liverpool. This social power at Leeds reminds one of the Fabian idea of infiltrating municipal government in order to promote socialism, and seems, in fact, to have shared much of the same political ethos.

As Yorkshire prepared for War, the state of adult education appeared to be quite healthy. In many ways the Tutorial class movement in Leeds was more in tune with the traditional idea of working-class education than were many other parts of the country. George Thompson insisted that the W.E.A. was a workers' movement and not a general education body.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, in the late 1930's, there was evidence that there would be a continued need for Tutorial classes, judging from the delay in advancing the school-leaving age to fifteen. R.H. Tawney turned his withering gaze upon a spokesman for Yorkshire woollen manufacturers:

The small fingers of children of fourteen, we were told by a speaker in the House of Commons ... are indispensable to the survival of the Yorkshire textile industry. The children of the rich in addition to their other advantages, are apparently blessed by Providence with fingers plumper and more elongated than those bestowed on the wretched brats whose parents happen to be poor.<sup>136</sup>

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133 Workers' Educational Association, The Adult Student as Citizen, London: 1938, pp. 41-9. I have counted the names of those listed.

134 Ibid., pp. 34-37.

135 J.F.C. Harrison, Living and Learning, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 292.

136 R.H. Tawney, Equality, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938, p. 176.



As events turned out, the extension of the school-leaving age to fifteen was postponed, not by reactionary Yorkshiremen but by Adolf Hitler. The net result was that the school-leaving age remained fourteen, which meant that the demand for the W.E.A. classes was likely to continue.

While it was true that there was the power of a social dynamic to be gained from promoting workers' education; there was also a narrowness of purpose that prevented a flexible attitude towards a changing society. Mr. Dryden Brook, a Vice-Chairman of the Yorkshire North District, displayed some of this rigidity of thought when he posed a question for the Extra-mural departments:

Our demand of the Universities is - Can you supply us with what we want for the fulfilment of our purpose? ... The universal provider is concerned with 'General Uplift'. We are concerned with 'Social Purpose'. We cannot go on indefinitely ... making the best of both worlds. A movement which begins to try to be all things to all men will inevitably end by being nothing to anyone.<sup>137</sup>

As Leeds did not have an Extra-Mural Department this question is presumably directed at other universities. In that case the question seems to presuppose that the W.E.A. could call the tune whose lyrics were "Social Purpose" but, as discussed earlier, the re-emergence of University Extension implied that the universities were not the handmaiden of the W.E.A. A unique situation existed in the West Riding and it was dangerous for anyone there to assume that, elsewhere, the W.E.A. had the same strength.

On the brink of World War Two the Tutorial classes organised by Leeds still had a pronounced traditional flavour of Economics, Social Philosophy, Social History and Social Theory.<sup>138</sup> Yet, nationally, the social

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<sup>137</sup> D. Brook, "The Service and Contribution of the W.E.A. to the Working-Class Movement and the Working-Class Student", The Highway, Vol. XXVIII, February, 1936, p. lll.

<sup>138</sup> Workers' Educational Association, Annual Report ending 31st May, 1939. In the Yorkshire North District there were ten classes in Economics, two classes in Social History, one class in Social Theory and five in Social Philosophy.

sciences were a declining proportion of the total tutorial picture.<sup>139</sup>

Moreover, unlike the Lancashire Universities, the subject of Psychology was not a leader in terms of the number of classes that were provided: at Leeds, there were only four Tutorial classes that provided instruction in Psychology. On the other hand, both Yorkshire and Lancashire shared the surge of interest in International Relations and European History which stemmed from the darkening international scene.

In order to maintain a sense of perspective about the educational scene of 1939, the relative smallness of adult education should be contrasted to the phenomenal growth of evening institute students during the decade of the 1930's. Between 1929-30 to 1937-38 there had been an increase of 400,000 students in recreational and handicraft courses.<sup>140</sup> During the same period, Tutorial class enrolment had only increased by approximately one thousand,<sup>141</sup> and the total W.E.A. enrolment by 8,000 students.<sup>142</sup>

139 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 270. Kelly notes that the category "social sciences" is open to question, in terms of the subjects that are included in this umbrella term: but notes that, in 1937-8, even if philosophy and psychology are included with the social sciences, the swing from their predominance on the eve of World War One is evident. While this was significant, the growth of short courses compensated for this loss, as total offerings in the social sciences increased proportionately during the 1930's. See T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, p. 274 and S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 11.

140 N.A. Jepson, "The Local Authorities and Adult Education", in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 85.

141 S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 102, Table 1.

142 Ibid.

One cannot help reflecting that the idea of liberal education, as promoted by the responsible bodies, did not seem to have an increasing appeal during the 1930's despite considerable discussion about social purpose.

From the vantage point of time it is possible to view the great depression as creating cynicism about the ability of the country's leaders to cope with modern economic conditions. The assumption that liberally educated men could resolve national problems was undermined in the eyes of the general public. Even where interest in liberal study existed, such as in the Yorkshire North District of the W.E.A., the conditions for study were frequently deplorable. A memorandum sent to G.H. Thompson by the Secretary of the Leeds Branch of the Tutors Association expressed great concern over the inadequate supply of books to Tutorial classes.<sup>143</sup> Then, in the second half of the decade, came the spectacle that could hardly have been edifying to the worker, when the country's leaders were eager to appease the appetite of European dictators. Finally, when even this policy failed, the nation was left with the reflection that, as discussion did not seem to work, the only alternative was physical force. In short, the Establishment had nothing to offer but a second blood bath and, consequently, there was less idealism about the liberal values for which Britain was fighting, compared to 1914.

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<sup>143</sup> University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies, Office File on Correspondence of the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education. Memorandum by H. Hardman dated February, 1938, attached to a letter from G.H. Thompson to H. Hardman dated June 13, 1938.

Adult education in 1939 was being caught up in a larger national movement as Britain prepared for war. When the Militia Bill planned a conscript army there was no provision for education, but the W.E.A. and the Y.M.C.A. demanded that some educational provision be made. A citizen army had to know why they were fighting and the Army Educational Corps had been allowed to deteriorate into an anaemic organisation. Proposals from Ernest Green of the W.E.A. to co-operate with the War Office in establishing an educational framework met opposition from both civilian and military camps.

Some in the W.E.A. thought that this project (of co-operating with the Army) was something the W.E.A. should not touch since it was bound to lead to a lowering of academic standards, and a loss of democratic control.<sup>144</sup>

On the Army side there was the traditional view that propaganda was the safest form of instruction for the troops, as free discussion could be prejudicial to discipline. Generals who remembered the First World War, and Britain was planning to relive the static slogging match in Flanders, can be excused from feeling that an educated army might well be a dangerous army. Yet this war had one new aspect for Army education, and this was the large number of men needed to cope with the danger of air assault on Britain. Home defence involved a boring life for soldiers, waiting on anti-aircraft sites or in coastal installations, and even liberal education was welcome as a way to relieve monotony. Therefore, there was no objection to the W.E.A. prompting the Board of Education to set up regional committees, which included representatives of universities, L.E.A.s and voluntary bodies. Nobody in 1939 could foresee the tremendous significance of this step, principally because it was assumed that the main battleground would be in Europe.

In 1939, adult education in England was a marginal activity that was part of the social fabric of the home front. At the three Northern Universities, the pattern that had emerged was that the W.E.A. District Secretary tended to dominate arrangements for the provision of Tutorial classes, Activity under the control of the University Tutorial Classes Committee

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<sup>144</sup> D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay, A Biography, London: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p. 280.

at the University of Leeds was firmly in the grip of G.H. Thompson. At the same time, the appointment of full-time directors of extra-mural work by the Lancashire universities, on the eve of World War Two, implied that the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool were not content to accept outside direction for an indefinite period.

As soldier and civilian alike sang "We're going to Hang Out the Washing on the Siegfried Line", there was little awareness that a disastrous change in the fortunes of war would decisively change the pattern of English adult education. Consideration of the educational watershed formed by World War Two will comprise the theme of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### ADULT EDUCATION DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In 1939 a Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces was formed and met for the first time on January 25, 1940. The chairman was Sir Walter Moberly, Chairman of the University Grants Committee, with A.D. Lindsay of Balliol acting as Vice-Chairman and Basil Yeaxlee filling the post of Secretary. This central Committee co-ordinated the activities of 23 regional committees based on the areas served by extra-mural districts. There was not a great deal of educational activity on the home front during the "Phoney War"<sup>1</sup> that occupied the winter of 1939-40.

But with the British Army being forced to retreat out of France in the Spring of 1940, the home front became the active front. A War Office committee was set up under Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Haining to review the educational needs of a British Army quartered in Britain. Army representatives attended, as observers, the meetings of the Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces. This close co-operation between the civilian and military authorities involved with education for H.M. Forces led, by August 1940, to arrangements being made for financing from Service funds the widespread activity co-ordinated by the Central Advisory Council. Moreover, the Haining Committee not only recommended the use of civilian tutors to give talks to the troops but, even more importantly, agreed that "whatever is done must not only be on a voluntary basis but related to a genuine demand from the men".<sup>2</sup> Therefore, some of the principles that governed civilian adult education, such as

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1. The term "Phoney War" described the period when there was virtually no activity on the Western Front. The situation drastically changed in May, 1940 when the German Army attacked.
  2. T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool university Press, 1970, p. 324.

voluntary attendance and free discussion, were introduced into Army education. At the same time, in order to ensure a maximum effort within the Army, steps were taken to increase the number of instructors. By Army Council Instruction 1138, provision was made for an expansion of the Army Educational Corps, with instructors to be posted to units: these professional educators were to be supplemented by a junior regimental officer in each unit selected by the Commanding Officer, who would act as a part-time educational officer.

In certain respects the educational climate was ideal. Unlike the First World War, the British Army was located at home and looked like being a static body for some time. Furthermore, due to the new techniques of air warfare, the whole nation was in the front line sharing a common danger. Inspired by Churchillian oratory, the nation felt a sense of comradeship that transcended differences of class or region. This sense of high purpose could be fairly readily translated into examining the liberal values for which Britain claimed to be fighting. The rank and file of the British Forces found themselves overwhelmed by a surge of educational activity as the regional committees enrolled panels of lecturers. Among the lecturers involved in this activity was Mr. T. Kelly who had joined the University of Manchester as a resident tutor for North-East Lancashire as from June 1, 1940.<sup>3</sup>

That summer Churchill broadcast his message about the nation bracing itself to its duties and, anticipating the verdict of history, forecast that "This was their Finest Hour". Alas, the high exhilaration of that time dissipated somewhat when the individual lecturers came to grips with their audiences. Thomas Kelly, who acted as Honorary Secretary of a

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3 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, Minute Book, 1933-1945, p. 146. Mr. Kelly had taught history at a grammar school before joining the publishing company of W. and R. Chambers of Edinburgh as an educational advisor, writing textbooks and editing others.

regional sub-committee, recorded "Some Lessons of Army Education":

Adult education as a whole has always suffered from the fact that it takes more care of the one that is saved than of the ninety and nine who are left in outer darkness ... Now at least Army work has given tutors the chance to get out of the charmed circle and make real contact with that mysterious 'man in the street' ... broadly speaking, the simple and devastating truth is that the 'man in the street', as represented by the man-in-the-army has no use for adult education as it is generally conceived ... The tutor who goes along to an audience of soldiers expecting to repeat the usual W.E.A. technique ... is foredoomed to failure ... the tutor knows in his bones that he has failed. Adjusting himself quickly ... (he) modifies his presentment ... The method is ... by means of very short talks ... followed by a free-for-all discussion in which a pedantic standard of relevance is not insisted on.<sup>4</sup>

One can detect the voice of experience in this commentary. Another tutor confirmed that a problem existed as to how to keep Army discussions to the point, and illustrated the difficulty with this example:

a carefully thought out lecture on the nature of Italian fascism often ends with an argument about the number of Mussolini's children or of the possibility of an eruption of Vesuvius interrupting Italy's war effort.<sup>5</sup>

The man in the street who became a wartime soldier was not a natural born scholar. As Thomas Kelly pointed out, the W.E.A. student had learned to handle words and "After one or two tutorial courses he can play with words for hours ... To the untrained man words are puzzling, mysterious, vaguely baffling things."<sup>6</sup>

But the Government of the day was determined to learn how to kindle and hold the attention of many wartime soldiers whose education had ceased at the age of fourteen. Admittedly, the main motivation for this interest

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4 T. Kelly, "Some Lessons of Army Education", Adult Education, XIII, 1941, p. 168.

5 R.T. Rundle Clark, "Adult Education in the Army" Adult Education, Vol. XV, 1942, p. 9.

6 T. Kelly, "Some Lessons of Army Education " Adult Education, Vol. XIII, 1941, p. 168.



in educating the rank and file did not stem from altruism but concerned a desire to increase the fighting efficiency of the H.M. Forces:

The morale of the average soldier was causing the Government considerable concern. The Germans knew quite clearly what they were fighting for, but the same could not be said of many of our own troops. Large numbers had only a vague understanding of the causes which had produced the war ... It was felt that if the soldier was thoroughly acquainted with the essentials of the cause for which he was fighting he would be a better soldier and the understanding would give a new direction to his training and his campaigning.<sup>7</sup>

To a large extent this point of view reflected the belief that, in a democracy, it is necessary that a large number of citizens should be educated in liberal values. The strength of a democracy ultimately depends upon the belief of individuals that their cultural inheritance and freedoms are worth defending. Once the decision had been made to attempt to educate the rank and file of H.M. Forces, then the sheer magnitude of this operation made it necessary to recruit makeshift lecturers. Before considering the details of the educational programme, it is only fair to point out that the soldier was not entirely to blame for some of the inevitable fiascos experienced under makeshift lecturers. For as General Ronald F. Adam, G.O.C. Northern Command, pointed out, the talks were given after working hours and varied in quality so that:

It would be idle to pretend that the troops were invariably eager and willing at that time to devote their leisure to these activities. Nor ... would I myself willingly give up my time to some of the talks which were inflicted on the men by some of the makeshift tutors.<sup>8</sup>

The speaker, General Adam, was soon afterwards appointed to take complete charge of Army education.

General Adam made a vital decision to have obligatory education for the troops. This raised a debate on principle as the W.E.A. disapproved of compulsion. One is inclined to suggest that Sir Ronald Adam understood the situation more fully than his civilian critics. If conscripts

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7 S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1963, p. 602.

8 E.M. Hutchinson, ed., National Institute of Adult Education, Aims and Action in Adult Education 1921-1971, London: 1971, p. 61.

could be marched to church on Sunday mornings to listen to a sermon, then one hour's instruction per week in citizenship did not seem unreasonable. Furthermore, even in the schools of the nation, the pupils had to obey compulsory directives to attend. General Adam's decision was a courageous one, as it provoked wrath both within and without the Army, and an easier solution for him would have been to merely make it optional for all units. An equivalent contribution came from the civilian side, when W.E. Williams, Secretary of the British Institute of Adult Education, accepted an invitation to become director of the new Army Bureau of Current Affairs (A.B.C.A.). Williams inspired the publication of weekly bulletins to regimental officers giving guidance on teaching Current Affairs, and was also assailed by professional adult educators, who were appalled at the idea of crude amateurs giving talks about sophisticated topics.

But, under wartime conditions, it was not easy for professional educators to cope with the demand for lecturers. Apart from the strain imposed by adding work for H.M. Forces to the normal civilian requirements, there was the physical difficulty of obtaining transportation in order to reach outlying areas. This wartime problem is indicated by a voluminous correspondence between G.H. Thompson and S.G. Raybould<sup>9</sup> on the subject of securing an increase in the allowance of petrol. Early in 1940, G.H. Thompson cited the reply of the Newcastle Petroleum Controller who turned down an appeal from S.G. Raybould for a further allowance. Later that year another letter reveals that there was a degree of feeling as to who had adequate petrol for his needs, because Thompson wrote:

As to the petrol matter. I have been very much annoyed to find that someone like Dr. Curtis, who is in the University, got quite an adequate extra allowance for his class work. In the Army Education scheme petrol

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<sup>9</sup> See University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies, Office File on Correspondence between the Secretaries of the Yorkshire North District of the W.E.A. and the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors in Adult Education.

seems to be of no more account than water. Curtis is careering around the country without any check whatsoever.<sup>10</sup>

This letter suggests that for tutors who possessed an automobile there might be an advantage in teaching members of H.M. Forces.

As these tutors came to study their wartime audiences, there was concern about Army methods, and R.D. Waller voiced a feeling of revulsion at the way an audience was assembled:

Many of us objected when we discovered that in true Army fashion our audiences were marched in like sheep to the slaughter. By far the greater part of the work has been done for obligatory audiences.<sup>11</sup>

Even worse was the reactionary attitude towards education encountered from some commanding officers. S.G. Raybould, a staff tutor at Leeds, expressed doubt that Army organisation was compatible with genuine education, because of the power wielded by commanding officers whose word was law. Raybould even wrote an article on the subject entitled "The Commanding Officer and Army Education" in which he said:

the Army Council has positively commanded the discussion of controversial, political issues ... but at every turn and at every level one meets responsible officers who do not appear to understand this, who somehow believe that current affairs can usefully be discussed without controversy, and that what cannot be discussed without controversy should not be discussed at all.<sup>12</sup>

Repercussions quickly followed as the War Office took up the complaint of Colonel Poole, the Northern Command Education Officer. Raybould was informed by the Leeds Vice-Chancellor that, as a member of the Regional Committee, he had to voice his opinions through the proper channel. Academic

10 Ibid., Letter from G.H. Thompson to S.G. Raybould dated October 4, 1940.

11 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 13.

12 S.G. Raybould, "The Commanding Officer and Army Education", The Highway, November 1942, p. 10.

freedom was obviously a tenuous business during wartime and Raybould apologised personally to the Leeds Vice-Chancellor<sup>13</sup> although, as one might expect, the fiercely independent G.H. Thompson supported Raybould's right to free speech<sup>14</sup>. Obviously the adult educator had to adjust to the authoritarian system of the Army. This autocratic system meant that "In many cases it was known that commanding officers had banned lecturers and lectures".<sup>15</sup> Of course the other side of the coin appears to be that General Adam knew what he was doing when he made education obligatory, as otherwise, civilian instructors would have had no leverage whatsoever with these recalcitrant commanding officers. There was undoubtedly a feeling within the Army that adult education should be viewed as a useful tool for maintaining morale, rather than as an attempt to extend the field of education.

In order to keep the picture in perspective, however, the great voluntary contribution of civilian instructors needs to be evaluated. At Manchester, the Regional Committee was administered by the Extra-Mural Department of the University, and the following summary of its activity serves as an example of the educational endeavour made by regional committees:

The Regional Committee served all the armed forces in the area - Army, Anti-Aircraft, Navy, R.A.F. (including the women's services), A.T.S., W.R.N.S., and the W.A.A.F. It provided courses and classes, residential and non-residential, for officers and for the rank and file, for audiences of several hundreds in large units, and equally for handfuls of men and women scattered over the countryside at Searchlight and Balloon sites. It taught history, geography, economics and politics, science and psychology, music and literature, carpentry and cookery; no subject asked for was ever refused where resources were available to meet the demand.<sup>16</sup>

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13 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural studies, Office Files, See letter from S.G. Raybould to C. Johnston dated December 12, 1942.

14 Ibid., Letter from G.H. Thompson to C. Johnston dated December 30, 1942. Thompson was also a member of the Regional Committee and had, in fact, arranged for S.G. Raybould to serve as a representative of the tutors.

15 T.H. Hawkins and L.T.F. Brimble, Adult Education. The Record of the British Army, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1947, p. 292

16 T.Kelly, Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester, 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, pp. 83-4.

Many members of H.M. Forces grasped the opportunity to improve their education. Furthermore, it needs to be kept in mind that the civilian instructors were volunteers and, by their wartime exertions, they helped to make democratic principles meaningful to members of H.M. Forces.

The programmes arranged by regional committees were supplemented by the activity of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs. The methods employed by A.B.C.A. displayed adult education in its most basic and rudimentary form because the lecture method was considered unsuited to audiences of other ranks. A.B.C.A. was intended to be simple and homely and in theory there was free discussion about Current Affairs at the platoon level, with a regimental officer in the chair. In practice, the rank and file were usually conscious of their N.C.O.s keeping an eye open for "trouble makers".<sup>17</sup> This does not mean that a A.B.C.A. did not serve a useful purpose. General Ronald F. Adam pointed out at the end of the War that:

It (A.B.C.A.) has trained thousands of subalterns in the ticklish art of taking the chair. And I hope that this experience in management, thus acquired in the hard school of trial and error, will stand these officers in good stead when they go into commerce and industry. We have done much, in this way, to train the group leaders of democracy.<sup>18</sup>

Once again the explanation seems to be that adult education can be justified as educating the educated. On the other hand, the initial superficial publications of A.B.C.A. soon gave way to the deeper British Way and Purpose series, which provided a systematic curriculum in current affairs conducted by civilian tutors or by the specialist instructors of the Army Educational Corps. There were lectures on Local Government, Housing,

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17 This statement is based on the personal remembrances of the writer. There was occasionally a discrepancy between the theoretical framework laid down by the Army Council and the application of those ideas. As a professional educator such as S.G. Raybould realised, the autocratic method of command in the Army still left a good deal of discretion to regimental officers as to the tactics to be employed in carrying out the broad strategy.

18 E.M. Hutchinson, ed., National Institute of Adult Education, Aims and Action in Adult Education 1921-1971, London: 1971, p. 62.

the Press, the B.B.C. and the Health Service. This approach had much greater depth. Experts were invited to write summary pamphlets and such well known figures as Barbara Ward and Sir William Beveridge contributed, with the involvement of the latter placing A.B.C.A. at the centre of national attention.

Because the furor over the A.B.C.A. "Beveridge Report" pamphlet was so significant the circumstances need to be reviewed. In November, 1942 Sir William Beveridge issued his report on Social Security. Knowing the interest of the troops in this subject, the Director of A.B.C.A. persuaded Sir William to write his report in popular language. On December 19, 1942, the fortnightly issue of Current Affairs was issued to regimental officers. A few days later the War Office recalled all copies of the pamphlet and forbade discussion. The Minister of War, Sir James Grigg, offered the explanation that Parliament should discuss the Report first. Prime Minister Winston Churchill did not want any discussion about post-war promises as he was aware of the economic cost of the War, and was undoubtedly concerned, as the nation's leader, that no repetition occurred of the ignominy of Lloyd George's "Land fit for Heroes". But Churchill made a very unwise political decision in seeking to have the A.B.C.A. pamphlet withdrawn. Once it seemed that the Government had something to hide, this pamphlet, that might have aroused passing interest, became the centre of a "cause celebre". Labour M.P.s swarmed to the attack and thereby helped to lay the groundwork for their overwhelming electoral victory at the end of the War. A.D. Lindsay went on the attack in a meeting of the Central Advisory Committee against other committee members who tried to play down the idea that freedom of speech was endangered:

Then a messenger arrived with the official War Office statement which began 'As the Beveridge Report cannot be discussed at A.B.C.A. talks' - so all I, (Lindsay) had to say when this was read out was, 'there you are'.<sup>19</sup>

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19 D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay A Biography, London: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p. 283.

Overnight, the A.B.C.A. pamphlet attracted world wide attention as the Press spread a picture of "suppression" and "censorship". As a by-product, Army education received considerable publicity which meant that adult education was no longer an orphan ignored by the public. Yet the true significance of this burst of concern over the right to discuss issues, the core of liberal education, lay in the deep social changes taking place in Britain. The Beveridge future reflected a deep social concern about the character of the post-war world. And, as adult education would be required to function in this new climate of opinion, the changes on the civilian front need to be examined.

There were two major issues that pertained to liberal education and both were unique. The first concerned the effects of the plan to evacuate mothers and children from the industrial cities which might be the targets of air attacks. Maurice Bruce had indicated the significance of the evacuation experience in these terms:

The episode of the war that was at once the most dramatic, the most revealing and the most influential in its impact on social attitudes and policy was ... evacuation, which held up a mirror to a society which had assumed ... that it was doing well enough by all its members.<sup>20</sup>

In the Autumn of 1939, local authorities proceeded to evacuate many of the inhabitants of the congested slums. What resulted from this upheaval was a shock for many people as one half of England discovered how the other half lived. Some of the inhabitants of Disraeli's *Two Englands* met and began to educate each other. People in the reception areas probably started with good will and intentions of "doing their bit", but for many hosts, the shock was too severe:

Repulsion ousted pity and sense of duty. The agonised shriek of 'lousy children' which for weeks went echoing through the correspondence columns of the press was hardly a creditable reflection on the Christian charity of those

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20 M. Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State, London: Batsford, 1961, p. 269. Bruce was to be the future Director of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Sheffield.

who gave vent to it. Nor were the innumerable 'indignation meetings' held in village streets and shops and county parlours, where in exaggerated accents of self-pity were endlessly retailed heart-breaking stories of the unspeakable vileness of the disgusting evacuees who were foully desecrating the immaculate homes of their faultless and irreproachable hosts.<sup>21</sup>

It is tempting to dismiss this point of view as middle-class snobbery. However, the National Federation of Women's Institutes made a survey of the way in which these slum dwellers of industrial Britain were settling down, and the results were a remarkable commentary on the habits of both mothers and children:

Many of the mothers and children were bed-wetters and not in the habit of doing anything else ... (they) actually never used a lavatory. The children sat down in the house anywhere to relieve themselves ... In quite a few cases the mothers had no control over their children at all. Some mothers arrived smoking cigarettes over their babies' head, and had to be fetched from the pub by their hostesses to put their children to bed ... They used worse language than had ever been heard in the village ... There was no proper time set aside for meals ... the children in several instances just grabbed what they fancied and ran about eating it.<sup>22</sup>

A definite need existed for tolerance and education, but whereas the former was frequently lacking there would be progress in training many of the children. By Christmas, 1939 over ninety per cent of the lonely and unhappy mothers had returned home,<sup>23</sup> as they preferred to be bombed rather than face the taunts of their middle-class hosts. But many of the children remained to learn new values in a green England that contrasted to the grey-ness of the slums where they had been born. Meanwhile the school system was in chaos and had to be re-assembled. On January 31, 1940, a deputation of the Workers' Educational Association, led by R.H. Tawney, appealed to

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21 H.C. Dent, Education in Transition. A Sociological Study of the Impact of War on English Education 1939-1943, London: Kegan Paul, French, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1944, p. 12.

22 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

23 Ibid., p. 16.



the President of the Board of Education to give "a lead to the local education authorities ... (and) put an end to the 'partial paralysis' which had overcome the educational system".<sup>24</sup>

By the end of 1940, the social fabric was beginning to stabilise again. In summarising the shattering impact of the first twelve months of the War, one can reasonably conclude that many families received a real education in social history that was more vivid than any textbook learning. Furthermore, this was but the prologue to a social drama where people from all walks of life were getting to know one another. The wartime travel of H.M. Forces helped to breakdown some of the mythology that local folklore applied to Southerner, Northerner, Welshman, Scot or Irishman. Discovering some of the virtues of other people, rather than mouthing the supposed defects, was one of the educational benefits of life in wartime. This type of educational experience was but one aspect of the way society was being changed. Arthur Marwick had argued that war tends to have a social impact that produces drastic change.<sup>25</sup> Adult education might well benefit from an awakened society. For, in 1938-1939, the last peacetime session before vast sums were expended on munitions, the total Board of Education grants for all responsible bodies in England and Wales totalled a mere £90,000.<sup>26</sup> It did not seem unreasonable, in the light of wartime developments, to expect adult education to be taken more seriously in the post-war years.

The second development that had meaning for adult education concerned the foundation of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the

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24 Ibid, p. 53.

25 See A. Marwick, The Deluge, Penguin, 1965. On p. 125, for example, it is asserted that "The (1914-18) war as a whole brought a revolution in the age-sex earning pattern in Britain and marked the beginning of the trend leading to the affluent teenagers of the 1960's."

26 Ministry of Education, Education in 1947, Cd.7426, H.M.S.O., 1948, p. 35.

Arts (C.E.M.A.). This idea grew out of the feeling of the Minister of Education that "something" might be done for the people to brighten up life in wartime. An appeal was made to the Pilgrim Trust to see whether they would make a grant towards the maintenance and encouragement of music and the arts. The Trust responded with £25,000 and the Treasury added another £25,000. C.E.M.A. recruited W.E. Williams to supervise the "Art for the People" scheme and cultural activities began in January, 1940. Exhibitions of paintings were held in many centres; drama groups from The Old Vic toured the country; and good music was encouraged through the activity of such symphony orchestras as the Liverpool Philharmonic and the Halle Orchestra. As the scheme prospered, the Board of Education started to finance this activity from 1942 onwards. What was new about this form of adult education was that, for the first time, many ordinary people attended exhibitions or concerts. This was culture for the masses and the success of the scheme ensured that, after the War, C.E.M.A. would be reconstituted as The Arts Council of Great Britain.

Extra-Mural departments had to make considerable adjustments following the outbreak of war. At Liverpool there was a decline in Tutorial classes in the first two years of the War, as the total declined from sixty-eight in 1938-9 to fifty-one and then to forty-four; with the aggregate number of students declining from 1056 in 1938-9 to 723 and then 547.<sup>27</sup> Merseyside was badly effected by bombing, black out, transportation difficulties, national service and overtime work. The bombing caused new patterns to be developed for the members of adult classes:

Bombing and the fear of bombing caused a revolution in the habits of adult students on Merseyside ... Before the War practically all the tutorial classes in Liverpool had been held on week-day evenings, since week-ends had been considered unsatisfactory for adult students. By

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27 A. McPhee, A Short History of Extra-Mural Work at Liverpool University especially during the Second World War, Liverpool; 1949, p. 9.

1940-41 not a single class was held in Liverpool on a week-day evening, all classes were being held on Saturday afternoons or Sunday afternoons to allow students to disperse to their homes before nightfall and bombing.<sup>28</sup>

Under the stress of wartime conditions, the students of Liverpool showed some rather interesting preferences. Psychology dropped in popularity from ten classes to three while Natural Science also declined from thirteen to three classes. World Problems and International Relations held steady, while Literature and Music increased from eight classes to thirteen classes.<sup>29</sup> The accent appears to have been on relaxation rather than knowledge for its own sake and, considering the circumstances, this is understandable; while the fact that classes survived this period is a tribute to the tenacity of the students and instructors. Thomas Kelly appropriately remarked of this period that "the human spirit is dauntless".<sup>30</sup> Adult education was making a vital contribution towards helping some students to see beyond the day's events. Extension lectures during the session 1942-43 displayed a wide ranging assortment of topics stimulated by the war. There were lectures on "The United States I Know", "China's Modern Struggle for Nationhood", "Russian People" and "How Children are Educated in England".<sup>31</sup> Another factor that brought a new lease of life to the activities of the University of Liverpool Extension Board were the classes provided for civil servants who had been evacuated to resorts on the Lancashire coast, such as Southport and Blackpool. An understandable change among the general run of students was the increasing proportion of women, particularly housewives, who formed a majority in the Tutorial classes

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28 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

29 Ibid., p. 10.

30 T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool. A Narrative of Two Hundred Years, Liverpool: Department of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Liverpool, p. 46.

31 The University of Liverpool Extension Board, Report Book, No. 3, p. 147.

after 1940-1<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile the Liverpool Regional Committee planned for enlarged activity. This committee had Dr. Allan McPhee as honorary secretary and brought together the University, the Local Educational Authorities, the W.E.A. and the Service Education Officers. The W.E.A. took the initiative in forming a Services Quiet Club and the Trustees of the Royal Institution placed this building at their disposal, with F. Garstang becoming the Warden.<sup>33</sup>

At Manchester the Regional Committee included similar representation to that of Liverpool but, in addition, had representatives Y.M.C.A. and the B.B.C. In 1940, at the height of the national crisis, Cromwell's saying about "the plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows" was frequently quoted. So the Extra-mural department went forth with evangelical zeal to educate H.M. Forces with lectures and classes on a large variety of academic subjects and issues. After the 1942-43 Session, T. Kelly reported that:

Work with Army and R.A.F. units has continued to take up a good deal of my time. I have continued to act as Hon. Secretary of the N.E. Lancashire Sub Committee of the Manchester Regional Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces, and in this capacity have been responsible for arranging some 850 lectures and classes in the year ended March 31, 1943.<sup>34</sup>

By the 1943-44 session the Manchester Regional Committee provided the astonishing number of 7,523 Lectures and classes to H.M. Forces.<sup>35</sup>

This educational avalanche in the latter years of the War was paralleled by a surge of general interest on the part of the general public:

32 A. McPhee, A Short History of Extra-Mural Work at Liverpool especially during the Second World War, Liverpool: 1949, p. 11.

33 W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Minute Book, 1933-1947. Executive Meeting held on February 7, 1942.

34 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes, Minute Book, 1933-1945. Report of Resident Tutor for North East Lancashire, Session 1942-43, p. 2.

35 Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Report on the War Years 1939-40 to 1944-45, p. 16.

Extension courses on the established pattern 5, 10, 12, 20 lectures at weekly intervals were ... attended by astonishing crowds of people ... There had been nothing like it since the early days of University Extension.<sup>36</sup>

In 1939-40, only ten Extension classes had been held at Manchester but, by 1944-45, this had increased to thirty-seven of which twenty-five were short courses between three to nine lectures.<sup>37</sup> But the most astonishing rise was in the Sessional Classes which doubled from thirty-five in 1939-40 to seventy in 1944-45.<sup>38</sup> Short courses were obviously tapping a new stratum of students who were not normally candidates for more intensive work in the Tutorial classes. Moreover, as early as 1940, there was a realisation that vocational courses held great potential for the development of extra-mural work. A Report on the Session 1940-41 stated:

A very successful new departure is represented by the two courses Health in the Factory, designed exclusively for medical practitioners; it seems obvious that such specialised courses for professional men and women can be of great value and ought to be arranged.<sup>39</sup>

Another reason for the increased activity may in the initiative displayed by resident tutors appointed by universities to supervise and promote education in specific areas. Such resident tutors included W.E. Styler and T. Kelly with the latter commenting, "a tutor could, and in our experience did, become a real influence in the cultural life of his area, and a focus for adult educational activities."<sup>40</sup> Naturally there was close

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36 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls Sixty Years of Extension at Manchester, 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 81.

37 Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Report on the War Years 1939-40 to 1944-45, p. 25.

38 Ibid., p. 23.

39 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Committee, Minute Book, June, 1928 - June, 1943, p. 104.

40 T. Kelly, Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of Extension at Manchester, 1886-1946, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950, pp. 78-9.

co-operation between the resident tutor and the local branch of the W.E.A. But it should be noted, however, that the expansion of educational opportunity helped to produce tension within the W.E.A.-University alliance, for as Kelly observed:

I am sorry to see that many W.E.A. Branches, once they are well established, tend to concentrate on one year and three year courses, and to neglect the terminal or short terminal courses out of which they probably took their origin. Having reached the top of the cliff, they pull the ladder up after them. This is regrettable.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, the national Central Executive Committee of the W.E.A. in the Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st May, 1942, talked of "the weakness at present is that a much larger proportion of the classes are short-term courses". We hope the balance will correct itself when conditions become normal". Obviously, the wartime stress and strain was tending to create a cleavage between those who saw themselves as purists, guarding W.E.A. traditional interests, and those who saw a need to cater to the demand for short courses. Under wartime conditions, the educational marriage performed by Albert Mansbridge was starting in the direction of divorce proceedings. But administrative provision of adult education was a secondary factor at this time, as the total educational picture for adults continued to expand. This surge of wartime educational activity had intensified by the start of 1942, possibly, because of the direction the War was taking. Once Hitler attacked Russia the main weight of the Luftwaffe was no longer deployed against Britain. As the intensity of the Blitz slackened more time could be devoted to re-establishing evening classes.

Although the Board of Education did not publish statistics on adult education during the war years, the Universities Extra-Mural Committee published a Report on the War Years from 1939-40 to 1944-45. An analysis of the activity at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, as set out in

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<sup>41</sup> T. Kelly, "Some Lessons of Army Education", Adult Education, Vol. XIII, 1941, p. 171.

Table Three in the Appendix, reveals general trends. After 1942 the subject of History was very popular at Liverpool in absolute and relative terms, as the number of classes equalled the total for both Leeds and Manchester. A rapid growth of Extension classes in Religion at Manchester was unique, while Liverpool seems to have displayed more materialistic characteristics in her leadership with Geography and Geology, and by the end of the War, led in the number of Psychology classes. An overall analysis of the situation at Liverpool showed some interesting changes in the type of class sought by students, as revealed by the following summary:

If subjects of Tutorial classes are roughly grouped, the following trends are revealed by the end of the war as compared to the last pre-war year. Science subjects showed a decline of 54 per cent, Theory and Practice of Government 38 per cent and the Social Science group 33 per cent. On the other hand the Arts group (Literature, Music, etc) showed an advance of 138 per cent, the Current Affairs group (International Affairs etc.) 73 per cent and Psychology 40 per cent.<sup>42</sup>

One can interpret this as a sign that students were more inclined to seek after personal culture than be influenced by the motive of social emancipation for the working class. Possibly an important factor in the development of student preference for particular subjects was that women sustained the classes, rising from a proportion of 42 per cent in 1939 to 65 per cent in 1945.<sup>43</sup> In numerical terms, the tutorial classes held up quite well under wartime conditions. The University of Liverpool had fifty-one tutorial classes in 1939-40, which rose to seventy-six in 1944-45: meanwhile in the Leeds area the number at the end of the war was seventy-eight, which was the same as in 1939.<sup>44</sup>

Extra-mural departments experimented with new methods of instruction to cope with the new type of wartime audience. The instruction that

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42 Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Report on the War Years 1939-40 to 1944-45, p. 14.

43 Ibid., p. 13.

44 Ibid., p. 3.

caught the popular imagination was by Walter Dobson and Walter Young, two lecturers at Manchester, who displayed a gift for the popular exposition of music. By 1944 Dobson and Young were broadcasting "Music with a Smile", comprising a graded series of approximately six lectures. Loquacious Dobson and mute Young assumed that learning should be fun and reached audiences who normally fought shy of anything more than the popular hit parade. These men combined a sound knowledge of music with a slickness of presentation that resembled a music-hall turn. This act was controversial, as some professional educators seem to have felt that there was something inherently wrong or wicked in making learning enjoyable, but the popular press supported this pioneering venture. Dobson claimed that the basis of the duet's appeal to thousands of men and women was a formula that stressed ninety per cent entertainment and ten per cent education. As Thomas Kelly observed, "It is a formula worth pondering by those who are concerned about popular resistance to adult education".<sup>45</sup>

Another new venture at Manchester was the establishment of a short-term residential college at Holly Royde, through the initiative of R.D. Waller, and "popular" presentations of current issues were explored with Service audiences. R.D. Waller later commented upon the lesson learned at Manchester from the experience of teaching a wide cross section of society contained within wartime audiences:

we found of course that the majority of men and women did not really want to hear people talking about anything at all; they were happier carving wood, making things out of leather for their family, painting pictures or simply listening to music, while a large majority were invariably bored and unreachable. Although it did not occur to any of us then to analyse the situation statistically, we were realising what is now known with some precision that if you take a cross section, or fair sample, of a population you will find not more than 20% will be interested conceptually or theoretically

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<sup>45</sup> T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 326.



in what we call culture, probably not more than 30% altogether will be responsive to any form of Adult Education.<sup>46</sup>

Obviously it would be unrealistic to expect the boom produced by wartime conditions to continue indefinitely. Directors of extra-mural departments could appreciate that, looking to the post-war years, liberal education of the traditional type would only appeal to a minority. The "man in the street" was generally uninterested in tutorial class instruction: therefore the bulk of the tutorial class students would continue to come from the better educated segments of the population, such as white collar workers or middle-class housewives. Furthermore, there was an increasing demand for the specialist training from professional groups and, at both Manchester and Liverpool, there was increased provision for professional groups, from courses on industrial nursing to public administration.

Liverpool had a "Forces University",<sup>47</sup> in the Royal Institution, which ran a wide variety of liberal and vocational courses. At the University of Leeds there were Drama courses being run at the week-ends. Such wartime interest in the drama was not popular, however, with G.H. Thompson who snorted about:

the great amount of propaganda for modern drama which has converted interest that might have been directed to a study of a worthwhile Literature into something of the amateur stage - escapism at its best, or worst, and a soft option withal, for Drama written in modern diction is about the easiest kind of book reading outside children's stories.<sup>48</sup>

Obviously Drama was not a suitable agent for advancing social purpose, unless, possibly, the play depicted brave Yorkshiremen defending the purity of the W.E.A. against the infidels. Wartime conditions threatened to breakdown the insularity of the Yorkshire North District. At the University of Leeds, Army instructors attended courses dealing with the back-

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<sup>46</sup> R.D. Waller, "Training for Education in The University of Manchester", 1969, p. 83.

<sup>47</sup> A. McPhee, A History of Extra-Mural Work of Liverpool University especially during the Second World War, Liverpool: University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department, p. 17

<sup>48</sup> The Workers' Educational Association, The Highway, Vol. XXII, February, 1940, p. 112.

ground of citizenship and the method of "putting it over" in their units, with the lecturers being mainly supplied from the University staff. Leeds and the W.E.A. would never return to what some traditionalists called "normality" because the social conditions that had led to the pre-eminence of the Tutorial class and social philosophy were changing. While G.H. Thompson remained a dominant figure in the Yorkshire scene, the philosophy that he continued to preach had a strident quality that tended to look backwards rather than forwards. For example, while the religious influence exerted by men such as Basil Yeaxlee had waned as a force in adult education, Thompson still declaimed:

a distinct word of warning is offered to those who are having so much to say about the 'spiritual values' in adult education. The Metaphysical Interpretation of Adult Education may be a song that echoes sweetly in the cloister, but it will sound very different in the steelworks, down the pit, in the factories and on the docks.<sup>49</sup>

Certainly there was no harm in drawing attention to the influence on adult education of the Christian-Socialist tradition that had included numerous clerics such as F.D. Maurice and William Temple, or men of apostolic zeal such as A. Mansbridge or Brian Yeaxlee. But this influence was historic rather than contemporary. A man such as Yeaxlee was simply not in tune with the England of the 1940's, when, for example, he talked about politics and economics containing the same danger of bias as religion and proclaimed:

religion is concerned with the ends and means of ordinary life ... it is an inseparable and elemental part of human nature, organically connected, from the biological and psychological points of view with the parent-child relationship.<sup>50</sup>

Interestingly enough, however, this period saw a return to discussion about the pre-Christian era that had provided many of the roots of liberal education. If G.H. Thompson had the classical tradition in mind in his refer-

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49 G.H. Thompson, "Progress and Aims in Adult Education" The Tutors Bulletin of Adult Education, April 1945, p. 9.

50 B. Yeaxlee, "Adult Education and Religion", The World Association for Adult Education, XX, Second Series, February 1940, p. 24.

ence to spiritual values, then the referral was certainly in tune with the burst of interest in the roots of liberal education.

Sir Richard Livingstone, President of the Corpus Christi, Oxford was a scholar of the classics whose voice was heeded. Livingstone was described by A.D. Lindsay as "a very good man but a mild mannered Tory".<sup>51</sup> One can overlook the political bias because mild mannered Tories have a habit of popping up in English history and making substantial contributions, including those to adult education. Livingstone's influence became widespread and the tenets of his faith were expressed in vivid prose:

What is education? If one was suddenly wrecked, like Robinson Crusoe, on a desert island, the first thing one would do would be to explore the island with avidity and interest. Here we all are ... landed for some seventy years on a very fascinating island ... the universe and education is simply its exploration ... It is an exploration which one undertakes for two reasons: first, because it stirs the heart and moves the imagination ... and, secondly, because if one is going to live successfully in the universe it is of very great practical importance that one should understand something of the vast field with which science deals, and still more, understand something of the adventure of its inhabitants; study their attempts, their successes and their failures. That is, after all what education is.<sup>52</sup>

Livingstone pointed out that the Greek influence helped to make modern civilization and, "That is why the world has so often turned to Greece ... to find a pattern of life ... as did Mill and Ruskin and the thinkers who attempted to civilise the England of the Industrial Revolution".<sup>53</sup> Not that Livingstone was a narrow minded classical traditionalist, as his mind ranged over the whole contemporary scene. Livingstone argued convincingly that a new approach had to be taken to adult education. Essentially the argument was a belief in educating the educated. Men over forty in medicine, government and business should refresh and re-orient their minds while lending

51 A.D. Scott, A.D. Lindsay An Autobiography, London: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p. 243.

52 E.M. Hutchinson, ed., Aims and Action in Adult Education 1921-1971, London: National Institute of Adult Education, 1971, p. 34.

53 R. Livingstone, The Future in Education, London: Cambridge University Press, 1943, p. 123.

their experience to aid the development of the social sciences. The idea of what is now termed day release from employment was advocated and specifically:

The State and Local Authorities should make a regular practice of seconding, on full pay, in the first instance a number of their promising officials for higher study, then extending the practice as experience suggests.<sup>54</sup>

This idea that experience of life could be meshed with academic study with mutual benefit, was not, of course, new. Livingstone had the wisdom to recognise that students who had seen something of human nature and life could appreciate many subjects, such as history, literature, politics and ethics. On the other hand young undergraduates lacked practical knowledge. In his wartime book Education for a World Adrift, Livingstone discussed the value of History:

ultimately it (History) is the story of the slow ascent of man from the animal to the savage, and from the savage to modern civilisation ... it is in the personalities of history that we see most clearly courage and persistence, desire for wisdom and devotion to good - the greater positive forces of the world by which humanity has climbed from cave and forest into a clearer air.<sup>55</sup>

Yet Livingstone was quite conscious of the other side of the coin when man was active:

creating states and overthrowing them, making laws and refusing to be bound by them - fighting, colonising, making money and spending it, treating his neighbour as a fellow being or using him as a tool for the production of wealth.<sup>56</sup>

This type of analysis displays a breadth of mind that inspired many readers.

Speculation on the purpose of education was continuous as men tried to visualise post war needs. In March, 1943, Winston Churchill made a speech about Reconstruction. Churchill commented on the state of technical education which he described as "the Cinderella of Cinderellas", and

54 Ibid., p. 92.

55 R. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, London: Cambridge University Press, 1943, pp. 59-60.

56 R. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 74.

continued:

The future of the world is to the highly educated races who alone can handle the scientific apparatus necessary for pre-eminence in peace or survival in war ... you cannot conduct a modern community except with an adequate supply of persons upon whose education much time and money have been spent.<sup>57</sup>

This clarion call in the cause of education by the head of the Government augured well for educational reconstruction. The man charged with working out the details was R.A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, who wisely encouraged submissions from all interested parties. Before considering the lobby group that worked intensively in the cause of adult education, it is revealing to note the lack of co-ordination between the universities and local colleges specialising in technical training:

There was little liaison between the University of Leeds and the Leeds College of Technology, and none at all between the university and the technical colleges at Bradford and Halifax. On the other side of the Pennines, the University of Manchester possessed a complete faculty of technology in the Municipal College of Technology, but its relations with the Royal College of Technology at Salford, The Bolton Technical College, the Wigan Mining and Technical College, and the College of Further Education at Stockport were slender. The University of Liverpool had no liaison with the technical colleges in its area.<sup>58</sup>

This stratified situation is worth noting because when the Government established educational priorities, there would have to be consideration of the relative merits of technical and liberal education.

One group that lobbied intensively on behalf of liberal education was the Council for Educational Advance (C.E.A.), which comprised a joint effort of the National Union of Teachers (N.U.T.) and the W.E.A. The C.E.A. was formed in 1942 to co-ordinate activity between the W.E.A. and the N.U.T., under the chairmanship of Professor R.H. Tawney.

57 M. Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State, London: Batsford, 1961, p. 286.

58 S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, London, University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1963, pp. 505-6.

was, of course, an old hand at keeping a vigilant eye on the plans of the Government that concerned adult education. In April, 1943, the Liverpool branch of the C.E.A. held a conference when it "enthusiastically carried" a resolution demanding adequate facilities for adult education in the forthcoming Educational Bill.<sup>59</sup>

In July, 1943, R.A. Butler issued the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction<sup>60</sup> and, while generally speaking this met with a sympathetic response, there was concern about the adequacy of the provision for adult education. This is hardly surprising when one examines the White Paper. Under the heading of Further Education<sup>61</sup>, there were, in Part A, thirteen paragraphs devoted to compulsory part-time education of young persons aged fifteen to eighteen: in Part B, nine paragraphs devoted to "Technical, Commercial and Art Education": and, finally, a mere four paragraphs under the heading of "Adult Education". But it was when readers turned to the Financial Appendix<sup>62</sup>, outlining proposed expenditure, that the niggardliness of the provisions provoked concern that adult education was in danger of being shelved. Mr. R.A. Butler was, of course, concerned with a vast intricate piece of legislation and it was hardly likely, therefore, that his drafting of the Education Bill would please all interested parties. Nevertheless, it was encouraging to see the C.E.A. speaking up on behalf of adult education.

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59 The Times Educational Supplement, No. 1459, Saturday, April 17, 1943, p. 185.

60 Board of Education, Educational Reconstruction in England and Wales, Cmd. 6458, H.M.S.O., 1943.

61 Ibid, Section V. Discussion of the vagueness of this term will be left until later in this chapter.

62 Ibid, Financial Appendix  
Technical and Adult Education

In millions of £s							
<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>Ultimate Cost</u>
-	0.03	0.06	.1	.3	.8	1.2	2.7

Harold Shearman, the Education Officer of the W.E.A., had been a prominent member of the C.E.A. Shearman speculated about the nature of adult education and said, "The classical definition is given in the Adult Education Regulations; 'courses designed for the liberal education of Adults'.<sup>63</sup> Shearman went on to observe that one school of thought would make Adult Education "liberal" in the sense that "all ideas are free and equal" and all studies equally relevant.<sup>64</sup> But Shearman felt that the experience of the W.E.A. had shown this approach was erroneous, as many popular lecture societies and attempts at broad culture had failed.

At the same time, the successful wartime experience of running a wide variety of classes seemed to indicate that Adult Education could cater to a wide spectrum of students. Several tutors who were in the educational front line voiced their concern that the lessons learned in wartime should be applied to Adult Education. W.E. Styler pointed out that the adult educational movement had been concerned about expanding educational and cultural opportunities, that were normally the preserve of the privileged, and this tended to give a rather exclusive quality to adult education. In order for educators to reach large numbers of workers:

we need to teach them (all subjects) more and more in human terms, that is the language of the street as far as we are concerned. It will be difficult to learn but we have to learn it.<sup>65</sup>

This emphasis on adapting to the needs of the worker was made more specific by T. Kelly:

It is a pity that the bodies providing adult education are debarred from providing just those subjects which interest the ordinary man most. Mathematics, physics, chemistry,

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63 H. Shearman, Adult Education for Democracy, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1944., p. 12.

64 Ibid., p. 76.

65 W.E. Styler, "Adult Education the People's Peace", Adult Education, Vol. XVI, 1943, p. 31.

mechanics, woodwork, metalwork and a score of other vital subjects are beyond our scope; we may teach English Literature, but not English Composition; French Literature, but not the French language. This artificial barrier needs to be broken down ... technical subjects have a cultural as well as a vocational aspect, and it is time this was recognised ... Nothing, I am convinced, would do more to enhance the credit and expand the activity of adult education than the possibility organizing any subject generally recognised as having educational value.<sup>66</sup>

The artificiality of the Adult Education Regulations was outdated. Such inflexibility had been born of the political situation which separated the area of vocational training, when the terms of reference for the 1919 Committee had been drawn. R.H. Tawney must have winced as he read how the bureaucratic mind had made a travesty of encouraging the Arts:

In music classes students may listen to gramophone records but they may not sing. Dramatic literature may be studied but the tutor must exclude the production of a play from his syllabus, so that the village operatic societies may go on producing 'Tilly of Bloomsbury' to the end of time. Art appreciation is allowed but the students may not draw, model or paint. The L.E.A.s are responsible for the more active side of education in the arts. What a fantastic divorce! Our students may listen, discuss, write papers, but they must not make anything in class time.<sup>67</sup>

Action was separated from thought. One is reminded of G.B. Shaw's dictum on the teaching profession which, when adapted, could read "Those that can do, those that can't think". Adult educators had advanced, apparently, to the point where their thinking was about what they could not do. Fortunately, the authorities were not unaware of the problem and were planning to do something about it in the 1944 Education Act. But before considering that new milestone, some attention should be given to specific aspects of adult education that provoked discussion in the latter years of the Second World War.

66 T. Kelly, "Some Lessons of Army Education", Adult Education, Vol. XIII 1941, pp. 172-3.

67 M.C. Sherwood, The Tutors Bulletin, November, 1943, p. 14.



The proposed introduction of the term "Further Education" as a statutory category tended to obscure distinctions between vocational and liberal education. According to the 1943 White Paper:

The field now covered by the term 'further education' is a wide one including, as it does, students of all ages from the school leaving age upwards and almost every variety of subject. Further education is in the main part-time, and usually given in the evenings during the student's leisure hours. The instruction is largely vocational, though there is also a substantial body of liberal education for both young people and adults.<sup>68</sup>

This explanation could be misleading, and this was clearly pointed out in the National Institute Adult publication, Liberal Education in a Technical Age:

There are valid and important differences between the various aspects of post-school education, and whilst it is sometimes convenient that we use the term 'Further Education' to cover all of these educational activities, the term is misleading if it gives an impression of unity where in truth, there is diversity and variety.<sup>69</sup>

A similar point of view was taken by N.A. Jepson when he wrote:

It may well be that further education is no more than an administrative term to embrace a vast conglomeration of essentially different types of adult and adolescent education.<sup>70</sup>

The new category of "Further Education" was confusing because the term had earlier been used in a way that distinguished it from adult education. G.A.N. Lowndes claimed in The British Educational System that, "Between the wars Further Education was often spoken of as 'Education for Leisure'".<sup>71</sup> Leisure type activities were usually provided by the L.E.A.s, whereas, in contrast, adult education had meant liberal education; and, in particular,

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68 Board of Education, Educational Reconstruction in England and Wales, Cmd. 6458, H.M.S.O., 1943, p. 21.

69 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Technical Age, London: Max Parrish, 1955, p. 11.

70 N.A. Jepson, "The Local Authorities and Adult Education" in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in English Education, London: Heineman, 1959, p. 88.

71 G.A.N. Lowndes, The British Educational System, London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1955, p. 114.

liberal education provided by the tutorial classes. But the framers of the new educational Bill of 1944 showed ingenious draughtmanship in including all forms of education, other than primary or secondary, under the heading of Further Education, and thereby managed to avoid terms like "vocational" or "liberal" education. By 1946, R.D. Waller was writing in a way that indicated he accepted the view that Adult Education now implied education for the masses and, also, the following description is in accord with the new dispensation that it was synonymous with Further Education:

You can theorise about it in all sorts of ways, but at the bottom it consists simply of the innumerable studies and leisure-time pastimes and activities in which people engage either for pleasure or for profit.<sup>72</sup>

Between 1943-1944 the meaning of Adult Education was subtly shifted by the Board of Education from emphasis on an elitist tradition into education for the masses. The significance of this new catch-all category of Further Education was vital to the interests of men raised in the W.E.A. Tutorial Class tradition of Adult Education; and the long range implications of this development will be discussed in the next chapter.

Philosophical discussion about the purpose of adult education continued in the latter years of the war. A statement that directly related to liberal education originated with the Association of Tutors in Adult Education, under the heading of "The Place of Cultural Subjects and the Unity of Adult Education". The statement is worth quoting in its entirety as it summarises the attitude of tutors towards the purpose served by teaching various subjects to adults in England:

The emphasis on social studies in adult education does not imply a concentration on those subjects only which are directly concerned with examination of social processes. Other studies, for example, Literature and Music, have a valuable part to play. All aspects of social life, including the cultural, need to be under-

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72 R.D. Waller, Learning to Live, London: Art and Education Publishers Ltd., 1946, p. 11.

stood, and the creative energies of men and women liberated in all forms of human activity. It is, we believe, a mistake to think of the arts merely as a means to the enrichment of personal life, and the social sciences merely as a means to social improvement. It is rather that the struggle to secure the emancipation of man as a social being, and the enrichment of his personal life and relationships, is a single many-sided process to which all forms of study can contribute.<sup>73</sup>

This synthesis that liberal study contributed both to man's development as a social creature and to the cultivation of individual talents seems a sound appraisal. Social emancipation and personal culture need not be set up as antagonistic goals, but could be twin goals to which many subjects could contribute.

By 1944 the field of adult education awaited the unveiling of the Government's plans for post-war education. The Education Act of 1944 recognised the need to improve the provision of Adult Education by modernising the administrative structure, which was essentially a relic of the 1919 Report and subsequent bureaucratic interpretation. There had been overlapping of Local Education Authorities, universities, the W.E.A. and other voluntary bodies. Moreover, the social conditions that had helped to forge many of the alliances had passed. Even in the W.E.A. stronghold of Yorkshire North, the proportion of manual workers attending classes had declined to twenty-six per cent.<sup>74</sup> The new social order was recognised in 1944, when all adult education was to be administered within the general provisions for Further Education, which included vocational training in evening institutes and technical colleges. Seen from this point of view, Further Education rationalised the archaic distinction between thought and action by recognising that they were frequently twin facets of the activity of students. Liberal and vocational training could not be rigidly separated as

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73 Association of Tutors in Adult Education, The Future of Adult Education, A Statement by the 1944 Annual General Meeting of Tutors in Adult Education, Leeds: Leeds University, 1944, p. 7, para. 7.

74 W.E. Styler, Yorkshire and Yorkshire North, Leeds: Workers' Educational Association, 1964, p. 27.

they were often complementary in character.

The new status of education was typified by the elevation of the Board of Education into a Ministry of Education. Under the new Ministry each Local Education Authority was required to co-ordinate Further Education in its area. But this did not mean that existing facilities provided by universities and other educational bodies were to be superceded, for as N.A. Jepson later noted:

When the 1944 Education Act stated that it should be the duty of local authorities 'to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education', it did not necessarily imply that local authorities should undertake the work which was being done or might be done by voluntary organizations.<sup>75</sup>

Harold Shearman of the W.E.A. in his summary entitled The New Education Act emphasized that "It should be noted that the duty of the L.E.A. is to secure the provision of adequate facilities of - not to provide them all itself".<sup>76</sup> The survival of the W.E.A. in the national framework of adult education was assured. But it is important for consideration of later events, to record that the W.E.A. made a vital decision in January, 1945. This was the last wartime conference, held in Caxton Hall, Westminster and marked the occasion when R.H. Tawney relinquished the Presidency. Tawney's contribution on this occasion was to be a vital one. Mary Stocks the historian of the W.E.A. outlined the circumstances:

At one point high policy occasioned an outbreak of acute controversy. In spite of the war W.E.A. activities had expanded enormously. W.E.A. financial resources had not. Grants of public money seemed easy to come by. Should not application be made for such assistance towards W.E.A. administrative costs? For years grants had been accepted in aid of salaries for teachers and organizers, and this without compromising freedom of discussion - it was but a short step and an urgently needed step to ask for something more. Successive speakers expounded its indubitable

75 N.A. Jepson, "Local Authorities and Adult Education", in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heineman, 1959, p. 101.

76 H. Shearman, The New Education Act, Workers' Educational Association, 1944, p. 10.

expediency. R.H. Tawney was the last speaker. Briefly, but decisively, he outlined the case for independence as opposed to affluence. The W.E.A., he admitted, faced the future with a heavy burden of administrative cost. Should that burden be lightened at the cost of undermining the spiritual independence of the movement? The W.E.A. resolved its doubt. The answer was: No.<sup>77</sup>

Only time would tell if the prophet of 1919 was in tune with the world emerging in 1945.

In the Education Act of 1944, R.A. Butler sought in Section 43 to implement the idea held by H.A.L. Fisher in 1918 about encouraging part-time education of post-school students in continuation classes. The name was revised to the more dignified sounding term County Colleges, to be provided by L.E.A.s; and, this time, the education of young people aged sixteen to eighteen years of age was to be mandatory. Butler's Act required these young people to attend County Colleges one day a week. The students were to be released by their employers without suffering loss of wages, and were to receive an education partly vocational and partly general. Adult education stood to gain considerably if young people pursued compulsory education, for it was likely that a number would like to continue their studies beyond the required period. It would be pleasant to record that after 1944 Britain was determined to ensure the post-school training of her citizens, but, alas, like the abortive Fisher plans of 1918, the hopes of the planners were not realised. The recurrent economic crises after 1945 and the priority given to building day schools made it difficult to implement the creation of County Colleges, and "It was ... (in) 1949 that hope was generally abandoned of an early introduction of compulsory part-time education".<sup>78</sup>

Parallel to the interest in county colleges was considerable enthusiasm for Residential Colleges for Adults. One of the most influential advocates of residential colleges had been Sir Richard Livingstone in The

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77 M. Stocks, The Workers' Educational Association. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953., p. 134.

78 H.C. Dent, Growth in English Education 1946-1952, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 148.

Future of Education (1942) where he had argued for the creation of residential colleges analogous to the Danish High Schools. In November, 1944 Manchester University had opened Holly Royde to provide residential courses for H.M. Forces. Adult educators hoped that residential colleges would demonstrate the value of sustained study in short courses lasting a week or more. In fact, W.O. Lester Smith in an article entitled "Further Education - A Limitless Field" went so far as to warn, "There is always a danger that if we have too many of them (residential colleges) there will be not enough money left for other forms of adult education!"<sup>79</sup> The enthusiasm for all types of provision for adult education was part of the buoyant atmosphere concerning future prospects. Harold Shearman of the W.E.A. voiced what must have been the sentiments of many adult educators:

In the widespread stirrings of ideas and aspirations after a healthier social order ... a growth in Adult Education has been a most welcome feature. The hope is cherished by those who are concerned about the future of democracy that the wartime expansion will not prove to be ephemeral.<sup>80</sup>

Certainly as the Second World War drew to a close adult educators could look back with pride to the growth of adult education. The graphs concerning wartime expansion, shown in the Appendix, indicate the tremendous burst of civilian activity. In the six months period just before D. Day the regional committee arranged over 110,000 lectures, short courses and class meetings. The number of students enrolled in intensive courses provided by schools arranged by regional committees steadily increased throughout the War until by September, 1945, over 20,000 students were in attendance. This activity on behalf of members of the H.M. Forces was in addition to the regular adult education classes provided for the civilian population.

Optimism prevailed that, with increased leisure in the Welfare

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79 W.O. Lester Smith, "Further Education - A Limitless Field", Adult Education, Vol. XVIII, 2, December, 1945, p. 83.

80 H. Shearman, Adult Education for Democracy, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1944, p. 8.

State, there would be a continuing demand for much of this activity. On June 12, 1945 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that C.E.M.A. would continue on as a permanent organisation with the title "The Arts Council of Great Britain". Lord Keynes, who had been one of the prime movers in establishing the Arts Council, commented after the official announcement:

I do not believe it is yet realised what an important thing has happened. State patronage of the arts has crept in. It has happened in a very English, informal, unostentatious way - half baked if you like. A semi-independent body is provided with modest funds, ... to present for public enjoyment the art of drama, music and painting.

In the light of such a wartime development as this, the optimism of adult educators seemed warranted.

By 1944 when victory over Hitler seemed assured the universities began to plan for a return to peace-time conditions. A Special Committee was established at Liverpool to consider the Post-War Adult Education Policy of the University, which delayed its report until the revised Adult Education Regulations were issued in September 1945. Before considering the final recommendations, it is revealing to appraise some of the evidence gathered by the Committee in its sittings. There was no denying that there had been a wartime boom in the Liverpool area in adult education, so that, by 1944, the volume surpassed all expectations and comprised, "over one thousand lectures or instructional talks per month".<sup>82</sup> There was a need to increase the full time staff employed on extra-mural work, because there were only two staff tutors and some thirty part-timers.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, in December, 1945 the final recommendations to Senate included the proposal that six staff tutors were required.<sup>84</sup> Other recommendations included a training scheme for part-time tutors, and a proposal that exploratory talks

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81 Arts Council of Great Britain, Annual Report 1945, pp. 20-1.

82 University of Liverpool, Memorandum on Post-War Adult Education Policy of the University of Liverpool of June 1, 1944, Report Book, No. 23, p. 222.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

be held with L.E.A.s as a means of arranging "practical" classes as an adjunct to "academic" classes run by the Extra-Mural Department.<sup>85</sup> It was further proposed that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies be recognised as a full Department of the University and that steps be taken to make it possible for the Head of the Department to become a member of Senate.<sup>86</sup> The title of the Head of the Extra-Mural Department was to be changed from Officer to Director of Extra-Mural Studies.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, possibly the development of Holly Royde by the University of Manchester helped to influence the proposal that a residential college should be established for the purpose of adult education. Viewed in its entirety the planned programme comprised an expansion of what already existed, and it was spelled out that the existing form and functions of the Joint Committee and University Extension should be retained.<sup>88</sup> The experiences of the war years had led to a situation where it certainly did not seem unreasonable to treble the number of staff tutors, or to seek a residential college. Dr. A. McPhee also attended on January 12, 1945 a conference called by the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford, Cambridge and London to consider the framing of a statement defining the attitude of the Universities towards adult education.

Also present at this conference were such adult educators as R.D. Waller from Manchester, Professor R. Peers from Nottingham and D.R. Dudley from Birmingham. The report that was issued entitled The Universities and Adult Education indicated that some of the lessons learned in wartime were to be applied to the post-war scene. It was proposed that every University should have an Extra-Mural Department and that they should be so organ-

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85 Ibid.

86 University of Liverpool, Report Book, No. 24, p. 258.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.



ised,"as to be free to provide the full range of University studies in so far as they are susceptible of presentation to general audiences or groups of adult students!"<sup>89</sup> Obviously there was a desire to go beyond the pre-war concept that adult education meant liberal education, conducted in an alliance with the W.E.A. Another proposal under the heading of "The Work to be Done" stated that extra-mural departments should seek to meet the "special needs of those engaged in the professions or in industry".<sup>90</sup> Another observation was that it might be necessary to meet the continuing needs of H.M. Forces and "those educational methods which have proved effective in the Forces might be adapted to the conditions of civil life".<sup>91</sup> There was a qualifying statement that quality in this informal work was as important as it was in University tutorial classes<sup>92</sup> and, in the light of future debate over university quality, it is important to note that the directors of extra-mural study of Nottingham and Birmingham were present at the enunciation of this principle in 1945. Another key proposal was that the Universities should be given a wider measure of freedom that was not constrained by the Board of Education regulations:

The Universities are convinced that they should be given the opportunity to experiment in new methods, and that they should be no longer confined to certain types of courses specified in Regulations. The distinguishing feature of University adult education should be its higher quality and this can be achieved by less formal methods as well as by the more formal courses hitherto provided.<sup>93</sup>

The implications of this stand will be considered in later chapters. It should be pointed out, however, that the confident tone of this statement

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89 The Universities and Adult Education, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945, p. 1, para. 6.

90 Ibid., p. 3, para. 12.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid., para. 13.

93 Ibid.

has to be considered with caution. The opening statement "The Universities are convinced" presumably means that the extra-mural departments and friendly Vice-Chancellors believed in this position: for intra-mural critics of extra-mural work would likely vigorously debate whether extra-mural directors were representative spokesmen for "The Universities".

It was quite natural that the Directors of university extra-mural departments should seek more latitude in developing their programmes, particularly after gaining experience in organising large scale adult education during the war. This desire for freedom of action seems to have influenced the thinking of R.A. Butler when, before departing from the Ministry of Education, he arranged for new regulations to be issued in August, 1945 that would take effect the following year. The Adult Education Regulations were incorporated into the Further Education Regulations. Significantly, the former distinction between Chapter Two and Chapter Three work was ended, with the exception of tutorial classes, and this action reflected a more flexible policy. A block grant was to be given to a university for a total programme and this permitted a wide latitude of action, and particularly encouraged the development of new courses.

The philosophy behind the new Regulations was explained by the Ministry of Education in Further Education published in 1947. The Ministry spelled out the lesson learned from wartime experiences:

The number of people who are ready to take advantage of formal educational facilities is relatively small ... Moreover while relatively few are interested in theoretical subjects, the majority of men and women can be interested in practical subjects...The lesson to be learnt from these war-time experiences is that when we plan our further education we must do so in the widest possible terms ... keeping our methods and organization flexible and responsible to the needs (of individuals).<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ministry of Education, Further Education, Pamphlet No. 8, 1947, pp. 36-37.

This Ministerial policy was particularly important to extra-mural departments. For as S.G. Raybould noted, "since the publication of the 1946 Further Education Grant Regulations the Ministry has refrained from defining, explicitly or implicitly, criteria for assessing the special contribution expected from universities".<sup>95</sup> Certainly the Regulations developed by R.A. Butler appear to have given more freedom to university extra-mural directors to develop new programmes. But, at the same time, an extra-mural director was aware that the local W.E.A. District had to be considered as a factor in any post-war planning.

In July, 1945 a general election returned a Government that was warmly sympathetic to the W.E.A.. Mary Stocks has pointed out that fourteen members of the Labour Government, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were tutors, former tutors, or members of the W.E.A. Executive. On the back benches sat a further fifty-six active W.E.A. adherents, tutors or students.<sup>96</sup> Obviously the W.E.A. could expect to receive warm support from Parliament. Yet at the same time, as S.G. Raybould has pointed out, there was no guiding document emerging at the end of World War Two that equated to the 1919 Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.<sup>97</sup> Under these circumstances, the W.E.A. was naturally inclined to recall its pre-eminent position in adult education before the Second World War and take the view that this could be restored. Such a view was apt to conflict with the plans of those university extra-mural directors who saw wartime developments as a process of emancipation from the dominance of the W.E.A. The stage was set for rivalry between District W.E.A. Secretaries and University Extra-Mural Directors. At the same time, however, the danger

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<sup>95</sup> S.G. Raybould, "The Ashby Report and Afterwards", Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heineman, 1959, p. 235.

<sup>96</sup> M. Stocks, The Workers' Educational Association. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 143.

<sup>97</sup> S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, London: Workers Educational Association, 1951, xiii.

of friction was lessened by the general anticipation of a post-war boom in adult education which, in turn, implied that both the W.E.A. and University extra-mural departments would be fully occupied.

## CHAPTER 5

### EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION, 1946-1949

Before looking at the growth of adult education immediately after World War Two, it is important to distinguish a few of the major characteristics of this post-war Britain. The Second World War had cost Britain approximately 395,000 lives,<sup>1</sup> which meant that the casualty rate was just over half that of the First World War. In turn, this meant that there were proportionately more men available as potential students in adult courses in 1946 compared to 1919. On the other hand, the economic cost of the Second World War was far greater than the first one and left Britain in a grim economic plight: in fact, a case can be made that only economic help from North America enabled Britain to survive the war.<sup>2</sup> When the Labour government took office in 1945, there followed eighteen months of what has been termed the "glad confident morning",<sup>3</sup> when evangelical enthusiasm was prominent: then

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1 A. Marwick, Britain in the Century of Total War, Penguin Books, 1970, p. 259.

2 The following illustration of the cost of the Second World War has been presented as a balance sheet to highlight the inability of Britain to finance her war effort.

British Balance Sheet  
September 1939 to December 1945  
(in millions of £'s)

<u>Credit</u>		% Contribution	<u>Debit</u>	
Item				
Earnings from exports	£6,900	41%	Cost of War	£16,900
Sale of Investments	£1,200	7%		
New Debt	£3,300	20%		
(Sterling credits frozen for post-war repayment)				
Grants and Lease Lend by Canada and the U.S.A.	£5,500	32%		
TOTALS .....	£16,900	100%		£16,900

Source: B.B. Gilbert, Britain Since 1918, New York: Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 156-7.

3 Ibid., p. 157.

the bitter truth about the economic facts of life caused this enthusiasm to wane.<sup>4</sup> As support for liberal education was partially dependent on the life blood of government grants it was likely that, at some point, adult education might feel the chill wind of retrenchment. A third feature of the national picture was that long term unemployment became virtually a thing of the past, as the planners of the new welfare state strove to provide full employment in a free society. Full employment tended to raise the morale of the working force and adult education could, therefore, hope to benefit from the related interest in leisure activity.

The overwhelming victory of the Labour party at the polls on July 26, 1945 was a good omen for adult education. Over seventy of the Labour M.P.'s were former students or tutors of the W.E.A.<sup>5</sup> and therefore the cause of adult education could expect to receive a sympathetic hearing. In the same year Harold Clay<sup>6</sup> succeeded R.H. Tawney as President of the W.E.A., and Clay was a member of the Labour Party's Executive Committee and chairman of its Advisory Committee on Education. The bond between the W.E.A. and the Labour party was strong, yet at the same time it should be noted that

4 In July, 1946, Britain secured a loan from the United States of \$3,750 million and a further \$1,250 million from Canada: this was at 2 per cent interest and repayment would take fifty years from 1951. See A. Marwick, Britain in the Century of Total War p. 334. By September, 1947, only \$400 million remained of the American loan and Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, remarked that the situation was "like watching your child bleed to death". Cited in B.B. Gilbert, Britain since 1918, p. 163.

5 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 234.

6 Harold Clay was assistant general manager to the Transport and General Workers' Union. M. Stocks The W.E.A. The First Fifty Years, p. 142, records, "His university had been a Leeds tutorial class; his adopted homeland was the West Riding of Yorkshire and he spoke its accents!" Yorkshire men therefore continued to exert considerable influence upon the educational policy of the W.E.A., as Ernest Green was already General Secretary.

the national character of the W.E.A. was itself in the throes of change. An analysis of the subjects being studied in the W.E.A. classes showed that Social Studies declined from forming 67.1 per cent of the total in 1945-46 to 61.3 per cent in 1946-47. During the same time periods, Literature, Language and the Fine Arts rose from 26.7 per cent to 31.7 per cent.<sup>7</sup> This change in subject preference probably reflected the rise of the welfare state which, while diminishing the demand for social reform, helped to increase the motivation for personal culture. One could argue that the pre-war motivation of social purpose had been a facet of the class struggle, with some interested university men aiding workers to emancipate themselves. But in 1945, the election result of Labour's 393 seats to the Conservatives' 213 appeared to indicate that the struggle for social emancipation was won. Another significant change from the pre-war years was that the occupational category known as Domestic and Home Duties had replaced Manual Workers as the largest segment of the student body.<sup>8</sup> The inter-war trend of a rise in the percentage of female students, accompanied by a related increase in interest in English Literature, was continuing into the post-war period.

Interest in liberal studies increased in 1946. University extra-mural departments and other responsible bodies provided 6,000 classes for 138,000 students, as compared with 3,000 classes containing 60,000 students

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7 See Table 4 in the Appendix entitled Subject Analysis of W.E.A. Classes. The subjects that form the basis of the categories termed Social Studies on the one hand and, on the other, Literature Language and the Arts are listed at the foot of the table. These categories were devised by Professor S.G. Raybould (see the W.E.A. the Next Phase, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1948, p. 10). While the group comprising Social Studies is particularly open to discussion, it is used here, because the alternative would be a fragmented picture which would not convey the point concerning a change in subject preference.

8 See S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 250.

In 1938-39, Manual Workers had formed 32% of the W.E.A. enrolment but, by 1947-48, this percentage had declined to 20%. During the same period, the students described as Domestic and Home Studies increased from 25% to 27% of the total student enrolment.

Presumably the category known as "Domestic and Home Duties" means essentially housewives, plus any other persons engaged in similar duties in a home or institution.

in 1938-9.<sup>9</sup> The scale of activity was thus doubled. Concern was shown by the Ministry of Education that this expansion should take place in the new direction indicated by the Further Education regulations, which stressed the need to broaden the élitist tradition into an educational appeal to the masses. Mr. D.R. Hardman, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education, made some comments that indicated that the methods adopted between 1919 and 1939 were felt to be inadequate. Hardman said:

The truth is that there has grown up not only a university territorial vested interest in adult education, but an intellectual vested interest as well. Hundreds of thousands of the adult population, who have never heard of a university tutorial class, had to be taught to take an enthusiastic interest in things of the mind and imagination ... Too often adult educationists had used careful academic phases which had driven the ordinary man to unearthen his gas mask and run.<sup>10</sup>

But in fairness to the extra-mural departments it needs to be emphasised that they were not solely responsible for the prestige attached to the tutorial class. The development of liberal education for adults had followed the English pattern or emphasising non-vocational study and J.F.C. Harrison has summarised the influence of this liberal tradition upon adult education:

The prestige position was conferred upon those parts of the work which had no apparent vocational motivation. In the socially dominant tradition of English education the emphasis was literary, philosophical and cultural; education for usefulness (technological, commercial, practical) was socially inferior. This scale of values was built into the early regulations of the Board of Education.<sup>11</sup>

Then, in 1943, the Board of Education finally decided that adult education should be conducted in a way that would appeal to the masses. Such a transformation was hardly likely to have been affected by 1946, despite the chagrin displayed by Mr. Hardman, as the new Regulations concerning grants for adult

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9 H.C. Dent, Growth in English Education 1946-1952, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 155.

10 The Times Educational Supplement, Saturday April 13, 1946, p. 174.

11 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 325.



education were just coming into effect. On the other hand Hardman had a point when he referred to the "vested interest" of extra-mural departments. The possibility of a rearguard action by those who believed in university standards, as exemplified by tutorial classes, could not be discounted. Furthermore, the 1946 Regulations for the first time omitted all reference to "honours standard" as a condition of obtaining grant money. The Regulations were very flexible compared to the previous 1938 Regulations and did not, for example, require class registers to be sent to the Ministry of Education. At the same time, the Ministry of Education continued to make favourable references to the value of the liberal tradition. An illustration of this concern about the continuation of the liberal tradition appears in the Ministry's publication Further Education the Scope and Content of its Opportunities under the Education Act, 1944 where the statement is made that:

A high level of civilization requires that as many people as possible share in some measure in the appreciation and understanding of cultural traditions and achievements ... The number of man and women who are willing to undertake the discipline of serious study over a considerable period is relatively small. But the importance of this group far outweighs its size, for from its ranks come many of the leaders of those groups and associations which are such an important part of democratic society.<sup>12</sup>

Both the W.E.A. and University Extra-Mural Departments could approve of these sentiments. But the Ministry text continued, "The majority of likely students, however, are those prepared to be interested in a course which, initially at any rate, does not commit them to much effort outside the class or to attendance over a long period."<sup>13</sup> Obviously any Responsible Body that, for grant purposes, submitted a program proposing a large number of short courses would receive a sympathetic hearing from the Ministry of Education.

Technical education was beginning to receive more attention. The committee headed by Lord Eustace Percy presented the Percy Report in 1945

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12 Ministry of Education, Further Education. The Scope and Content of its opportunities under the Education Act, 1944, Pamphlet No. 8, H.M.S.O., 1947, p. 45.

13 Ibid.

which stated the need for more skilled engineers. In effect, this was the start of a new phase in the conflict between the champions of vocational and liberal training; with a key question being the status of technical colleges relative to that of the universities. One commentator observed that "technical education has been regarded for too long, and by too many, merely as a means of 'getting on'."<sup>14</sup> This point of view challenged the assumption that only non-vocational training could be motivated by a liberal spirit. Technical colleges rightly resented the implication that all their training was "illiberal", and the stage was set for a struggle about social recognition, that would continue until it erupted into the public gaze in the 1950's. While the familiar clash between liberal and vocational training represented a centrifugal movement splitting adult education, there was also a centripetal movement which tended to draw together the various strands of educational activity. This consolidation originated from the wartime interest of William Temple and Sir Richard Livingstone in co-ordinating and defining voluntary and statutory bodies in adult education. A series of conferences in 1946 produced a National Foundation for Adult Education, which maintained a separate existence from the British Institute of Adult Education.<sup>15</sup>

The year of 1946 was also significant in a further way. Whereas Liverpool and Manchester had long had extra-mural departments, it was not until the University of Leeds issued a "Report on Post-War Developments in the University" that Leeds included in its plans a Department of Extra-Mural Studies. The Report was quite explicit in giving the reasons for this recommendation, stating that, "The Joint Committee's interpretation of its function and responsibilities is, and as present constituted is bound to be, at once too narrow and rigid ... it is necessary ... to widen the scope of

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14 R.N. Wilson, "Humane Aspects of Further Education", Adult Education, Vol. XIX, 2, 1946, p. 93.

15 M. Stocks, The W.E.A. The First Fifty Years, London: George Allan and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 136. In 1949 the National Institute for Adult Education (N.I.A.E.) absorbed both earlier bodies. The N.I.A.E. was build upon an institutional membership and published the journal Adult Education.

the work it undertakes".<sup>16</sup> It was noted that for a number of years no Extension classes had been organised at the University of Leeds.<sup>17</sup> In order to open up the possibility of a wider service to the community, extra-mural facilities were proposed for "sections of the public with which the W.E.A. do not pretend to deal" and the warning was given that the University "must not restrict itself to supplying a merely sectional demand".<sup>18</sup> This pronouncement showed that the University of Leeds was determined to develop extra-mural work that would be independent of classes held in conjunction with the W.E.A. At the same time, there was a desire to co-operate with the W.E.A., and therefore, a happy choice as the New Director of Extra-Mural studies was S.G. Raybould, who was "in every sense a W.E.A. man".<sup>19</sup> Raybould strongly believed that an extra-mural department should do work of a genuine university quality and in the value of the tutorial class in achieving this aim. George Thompson, the District Secretary of the W.E.A., had retired but left behind him a venerated tutorial class tradition and "In a very real sense Raybould was the true inheritor of the mantle of George Thompson".<sup>20</sup> Another link with the past heritage of the W.E.A. was forged by the election of Dr. G.A. Chase, Bishop of Ripon, to become Chairman of the reconstituted Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, for Dr. Chase had been a friend of Albert Mansbridge.<sup>21</sup> An important policy decision was made very early concerning the nature of the extra-mural work of the Department:

Although the terms of reference of the new Joint Commit-

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16 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report 1955-56, p. 6.

17 Ibid., p. 20.

18 Ibid., p. 6.

19 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 342.

20 Ibid., p. 343.

21 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Thirteenth Annual Report 1958-59, p. 8.

tee were that it should be concerned with work done by the University in association with the W.E.A., it was agreed that in this field its interest should be confined to the promotion of three-year tutorial classes, and the courses ancillary to them.<sup>22</sup>

In effect the new Extra-Mural Department of the University of Leeds was taking responsibility for the tutorial classes that had long been under the domination of the W.E.A. It is revealing in this connection to note some of the occupations of the students participating in the eighty-two tutorial and sessional classes provided by the W.E.A., in the year prior to the establishment of the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Leeds. There were, for example, 363 manual workers while, in contrast, the white collar segment of the student body appears to have been principally comprised of 141 teachers and 34 professional workers.<sup>23</sup> These figures appear to indicate that the Mansbridge tradition of emphasising the role of the manual worker was taken seriously in North Yorkshire.

While the University of Leeds was re-organising its extra-mural work, a similar process was taking place at the national level. In May, 1947 the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee (U.E.M.C.C.) had been replaced by the Universities Council for Adult Education (U.C.A.E.). This new organisation included representatives of University senates, as well as extra-mural officers, and took within its purview not only extension courses but the whole range of extra-mural teaching. From the point of view of the University extra-mural departments, "This proved a most significant change, creating among departments, in spite of their diversity, a new sense of identity and common purpose".<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, this move could be interpreted as a determination on the part of the universities to diminish the

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22 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 12.

23 Ibid., p. 20.

24 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 361.

influence of the W.E.A. in extra-mural work. It was, for example, significant that the U.C.A.E. did not provide for any representatives from the W.E.A. Furthermore, the Council soon asserted its claim to control tutorial classes, by publishing annual statistics that had hitherto been regarded as the prerogative of the Central Joint Advisory Committee (C.J.A.C.) on which the W.E.A. had always had representation.<sup>25</sup> S.G. Raybould saw in this action, "a challenge to the C.J.A.C. and the special position held by the W.E.A. of being a participant in all national discussion of policy and practice in regard to ... the largest part of all extra-mural provision".<sup>26</sup>

One of the main arguments used by the universities when seeking a role for their extra-mural departments, independent of the W.E.A., was that high academic standards had to be maintained. This concern over academic standards stemmed from the fear in some quarters that a rapid expansion of university intra-mural capacity to accommodate a larger number of students, would lead to a dilution in the quality of education. A submission to the University Grants Committee in 1946 by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals stated "Academic standards once lowered are not retrievable".<sup>27</sup> In turn, the University Grants Committee reflected some of this concern about standards when it issued a report entitled University Development from 1935 to 1947. This Report made some pertinent comments upon the questions of standards in extra-mural work, such as "The advocates of the principle that extra-mural work should not in future be treated as a normal university function rest their case broadly upon the belief ... (that) extra-mural work ... is not of genuine university quality".<sup>28</sup> However, the University Grants

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25 See S.G. Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England 1945-62, London: Michael Joesph, 1964, p. 66.

26 Ibid.

27 H.C. Dent, Growth in English Education 1946-52, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 187.

28 University Grants Committee, University Development from 1935-1947, London: H.M.S.O., 1948, p. 74.

Committee (U.G.C.) championed the opposite point of view:

We believe that much of the student work is of high quality and that in such disciplines as social studies ... a good deal of the work ... is not only equal to, but better than, that of the normal undergraduate ... We should regard the withdrawal of the universities from extra-mural work and its relinquishment to bodies of inferior educational prestige as a policy injurious both to the community and to the universities themselves.<sup>29</sup>

Admittedly, the U.G.C. was not the principal source of funds for extra-mural departments, and, therefore, it could be argued that they could afford to be generous in their praise. Nevertheless the views of the U.G.C. reflected a broad based intra-mural attitude from the universities concerning the worth of extra-mural work. Such a stand was welcome to extra-mural directors, particularly as reports from some tutors indicated a decline in standards in W.E.A. classes. For example, the West Lancashire and Cheshire District had been known in pre-war days for the high quality of its classes but, in 1945, a District tutor wrote, "The most serious criticism of much of the war-time work is from the point of view of standards ... as in many cases discussion groups ceased to seek after the truth ... and indulged in lively but uninformed argument".<sup>30</sup> In December of that same year representatives of universities gathered in anticipation of a post-war boom in adult education and issued a statement entitled The Universities and Adult Education (1945). According to this statement, the Universities special contribution was, "in maintaining intellectual freedom and standards, and generally in advancing the cultural life of the community".<sup>31</sup> This firm policy concerning the special role of the universities was continued by the U.C.A.E. which declared that

29 Ibid., p. 75.

30 W.E. Lloyd, The Tutors Bulletin of Adult Education, April 1945, p. 11.

31 Universities Council for Adult Education, The Universities and Adult Education, Cambridge, 1945, p. 1.

the primary duty was "to contribute to the general welfare of society by training capable minds to know and understand the nature of the society in which they lived".<sup>32</sup> The U.C.A.E. emphasized that liberal studies pursued under the auspices of a university should be of high quality. This reiterated emphasis about the need for quality was not surprising in view of the diversified provision for Further Education that had emerged from the passage of the 1944 Education Act.

For the L.E.A.s were now expected to provide elementary and technical education, as well as liberal, remedial and recreation courses. Seen from an administrative point of view, the L.E.A.s that had normally taken care of technical education were now also responsible for liberal studies. When one compares such provision with the restricted concept of adult education prevailing in 1939, there is an evident shift of emphasis towards serving the wider community. There was a great willingness to think of the essence of the adult educative process as the solving of problem situations, both personal and social, and to acknowledge the need of a great variety of institutional forms to effect this. But there was also a danger that the stimulation of a wide variety of forms of education might cause the distinctively liberal tradition of adult education to be overshadowed and downgraded. So as the universities sought to clarify their role within the framework of Further Education, there was naturally concern that the traditional liberal studies should continue to be the core of liberal education. F.W. Jessup, Deputy Education Officer for Kent, voiced this concern:

The universities active support is vital in preserving standards, in ensuring a liberal and tolerant approach, and in ensuring that humane studies are not overshadowed by technological instruction and recreative activities that Local Education Authorities are called upon under the (1944) Act to provide, Industry will see to it that technological work is not neglected; Local Education Authorities will be susceptible to pressure from local groups for recreational activities; but the stimulus for giving an opportunity for humanistic studies must come largely - in some places entirely - from the universities. Unless the Universities are willing to play this rôle, the development of adult education

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32 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1945-6 and 1946-7, p. 25.

may be unbalanced and narrowly conceived.<sup>33</sup>

Such concern over the future of adult liberal education seems to have met with a sympathetic response from the newly formed Universities Council for Adult Education. The council stated:

Since educational work in liberal studies at the University level can be carried out satisfactorily only by Universities, the Local Authorities and other bodies co-operating in regional and other consultative committees should recognise that this comparatively small but very important part of the field of adult education is the special concern of University bodies.<sup>34</sup>

This seems clear and unequivocal but, in the same announcement, the U.C.A.E. went on to indicate that their conception of the rôle of the extra-mural department differed considerably from that generally accepted in 1939:

It is clear that the provision made by Extra-Mural Departments should not be limited to liberal studies. All Universities have technological departments and have constantly increasing responsibilities in the preparation of men and women for the professions. It is necessary to offer opportunities for technologists, administrators, and other professional persons, to keep abreast of developments affecting their work, so that the regular provision of advanced courses for graduates and other professionally qualified persons should be a recognised function of Extra-Mural Departments.<sup>35</sup>

Obviously, the traditional idea that adult education was restricted to liberal education was under challenge: this was to be expected in view of the official change of attitude towards adult education, resulting from the introduction of the broad classification termed Further Education. This official change of attitude has been discussed at some length. What was even more important, however, was how this new philosophy was translated into the detailed provision for liberal education contained in the Further Education Grant Regulations of 1946. While educational philosophy was undoubtedly important, it was likely that the extent to which liberal education was offered would depend upon the type of course that qualified for grant purposes.

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33 F.W. Jessup, "The Place of the Local Education Authority in Adult Education", Rewley House Papers, Vol. 11, IX, 1946, p. 366.

34 Universities Council for Adult Education, "A Statement of Principles", Report on the Years 1945-6 and 1946-7, p. 25.

35 Ibid., p. 25.



Generally speaking, the Further Education Grant Regulations of 1946 allowed a wide latitude of action to Responsible Bodies. Unlike its predecessor, the Board of Education, the Ministry deliberately refrained from closely defining the conditions necessary for each and every course that would permit it to qualify for grant purposes. A policy decision was made that could have far reaching effects when the officers of the Ministry decided that, "the principal object of the revision was to make the responsible bodies genuinely responsible; responsible that is, as far as possible both for decisions of policy in regard to their programmes, and for details of their administration".<sup>36</sup> The formal Chapter Two/Chapter Three distinction that had been instituted in the 1924 Regulations and persisted through subsequent revisions, virtually disappeared. There were from 1946 only two exceptions to the general rule that the W.E.A. and the universities could offer the same types of classes. The universities would continue to provide the three-year tutorial classes<sup>37</sup> and also, would have exclusive control over the training of adult education tutors.<sup>38</sup> A new type of course was instituted comprising those "of less formal character ... likely to encourage the pursuit of further study"<sup>39</sup> for which the Ministry prescribed no conditions as to duration, enrolments, methods of instruction, or student work. These informal courses could be promoted by universities and non-university organisations alike, as could the one-year courses and "courses comprising not less than ten meetings".<sup>40</sup> S.G. Raybould summarised the impact of these new Regulations by saying that, "The tendency of these changes was to increase the freedom of the universities to provide extra-mural programmes containing short, ele-

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36 S.G. Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England, 1945-62, London: Michael Joseph, 1964, p. 29.

37 Further Education Grant Regulations, 1946, 24(a).

38 Ibid., Regulation 25(a).

39 Ibid., Regulation 25(b).

40 Ibid., Regulation 24(b), covered one year courses "comprising not less than twenty meetings. While Regulation 24(c) covered the "courses comprising not less than ten meetings".

mentary, and introductory, as well as sustained and advanced courses".<sup>41</sup> Reinforcing this new freedom was a major amendment concerning financial arrangements. The basis for providing grants was shifted from the cost of an individual class to the total cost of an entire departmental programme.

The universities recognised the official green light for expansion yet were aware that, under the new rules, there was a possibility of conflict with the W.E.A. Both responsible bodies could offer similar short courses and a danger existed that there could be a duplication of effort. Within the W.E.A. there was concern about the possibility of a changed relationship with the universities and, in 1947, a W.E.A. manifesto was published entitled The Future in Adult Education: A Programme, which expressed the belief that:

The universities have a vital function to perform in the provision of adult education at a level comparable with internal university studies, but adapted to the needs of men and women who bring ability and experience derived from practical affairs rather than trained academic aptitude to their classes. This primary purpose of university adult education should not be displaced by the development of direct university provision of classes of a less specifically university standard.<sup>42</sup>

This advice to the universities was, apparently, not too well received, for, in October, 1948 the U.C.A.E. issued a Statement of Principles on the subject of The Universities in Adult Education. This document spelled out, in paragraphs two and three, a declaration of independence from the W.E.A. Paragraph Two stated:

The services of the Extra-Mural Department must be made available to any groups or bodies who can provide students prepared to work at a level considered appropriate by the Universities. It follows that Extra-Mural Departments should be free to make the availability of this service widely known in their areas.<sup>43</sup>

This view was expanded in paragraph three so that it specifically related to rejection of the claim that the W.E.A. held a privileged position in adult education. Paragraph Three stated:

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41 S.G. Raybould, Op. Cit., p. 28.

42 Workers' Educational Association, The Future in Education: A Programme, London: 1947, p. 13.

43 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years, 1945-6 and 1946-7, p. 25.

Universities attach special value and importance to Tutorial Classes and to other forms of their work which they conduct in co-operation with the W.E.A. They cannot, however, regard their services as available exclusively to any one organisation or section of the community.<sup>44</sup>

At the same time the Universities reaffirmed, in this manifesto of eleven paragraphs, that "Liberal studies, which have always been the principal concern of Extra-Mural Departments, should continue to be so".<sup>45</sup> This manifesto about the future attitude of the university extra-mural departments could hardly be reassuring to the W.E.A.; particularly as "all of the tutorial classes, nearly all of the one-session classes, and some of the shorter courses provided by the universities were organised by the W.E.A."<sup>46</sup> But, in the short term, there was not a crisis for, "In the late forties ... serious difficulties did not generally arise in practice, because the period was one of expansion supported by the increased grants".<sup>47</sup>

The preceding national background of post-war developments, pertinent to adult education, has been sketched in order to provide the national framework necessary for focusing upon developments at the northern universities. The trend of events at the University of Leeds will be considered first, particularly as some of the educational philosophy that originated there radiated outwards and became a national influence. A comparison will then be made with progress made during the late 1940's at Liverpool and Manchester.

J.F.C. Harrison who was on the staff of the Leeds Extra-Mural Department subsequently described the late 1940's in glowing terms. Harrison said,

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> The Universities Council for Adult Education, The Universities in Adult Education, A statement of Principles, October, 1948, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> S.G. Raybould, Extra-Mural Education in England 1945-62, London: Michael Joseph, 1964, p. 63.  
Raybould refers specifically to the 1945-46 academic year and cites an analysis of the Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the years 1945-6 and 1946-7, p. 20. In the statistical tables, University Extension Courses are shown separately, and it is assumed that these courses refer to those provided independently of the W.E.A. The argument is equally valid for both 1946-7 and the following year when the U.C.A.E. issued A Statement of Principles (1948).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 68-69.

"The new department was in many ways a model extra-mural department. ...

A general air of enthusiasm prevailed ... Morale was high ... and the staff combined academic excellence with a sense of vocation for adult education".<sup>48</sup>

In turn this enthusiastic professional approach aroused a sympathetic response from the local W.E.A.:

Branches were exhorted by the District to support the efforts of the Department in building up a large volume of high - quality tutorial class work ... By 1949, 87 tutorial classes and 13 shorter courses, with a total of 1,251 students, were being provided; much of the laxness in standards which had inevitably crept in during the war period was eliminated, and a mighty effort was made to get students to measure up to the rigour of regular attendance, reading, and written work throughout three consecutive winters. The result of this effort was a body of class work which in size and academic quality was probably the equal of anything produced by the tutorial class movement in the past, and superior to most other parts of the country at the time.<sup>49</sup>

During these years of intense effort the tutorial classes contained a total enrolment of women that outnumbered the male students<sup>50</sup> This situation also applied to Liverpool and Manchester<sup>51</sup> and was obviously an important factor in these years of growth. Tutorial classes held the bulk of the students who could be expected to continue their studies from one year to another, and were, therefore, what one might call the regular clientele. A survey conducted by Leeds University showed that over half the students answering a questionnaire were between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five,<sup>52</sup> and certainly this accorded with the view that tutorial class students had an experience of life. At the same time there was a parallel growth in informal courses at Leeds, which mushroomed from five in 1946-47 to thirty-five in 1947-48: with the number of students more than doubling from a total of 1,162

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48 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 343.

49 Ibid., p. 344.

50 See Table 5(a) in the Appendix Attendance Patterns at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1946-47 to 1954-55.

51 Ibid.

52 The University of Leeds, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Tutorial Class Students, Report of an Enquiry Carried Out in the Session 1946-47, p. 2.

to 2,697.<sup>53</sup> Then a sharp decline occurred in 1949-50 to twenty informal courses with 1,076 students.<sup>54</sup> But the tutorial class total continued to climb steadily in those years from 1946 to 1948. By 1948-49 a peak was reached when eighty-seven tutorial courses were organised containing a total of 1,302 students.<sup>55</sup>

One of the strengths of the Leeds Extra-Mural Department was the quality of its tutors which reflected, "a policy decision of the Department ... that the bulk of the work should be done by full-time members of its staff, since they were best equipped (by reason of the full-time nature of their commitment) to tackle the special problems of adult teaching".<sup>56</sup> Since the effective teaching of liberal education has to be encouraged in a sympathetic environment, the role of the tutor is vital. S.G. Raybould did not believe that an Extra-Mural Department should rely heavily on part-time tutors, or that tutor training would resolve most teaching difficulties. Raybould had extensive experience in the teaching of adults<sup>57</sup> and recorded his opinion that, "The training of tutors is still in its experimental stage, and I, for one, have yet to be convinced that long and formalised training courses are necessary or desirable".<sup>58</sup> It is worth recalling that the Further Education

53 See Table 5(d) in the Appendix concerning Attendance Patterns at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1946-47 to 1954-55;

It is interesting to note that for informal courses the female students outnumbered the male students in 1946-47: but thereafter the men continually provided the majority of the students

Informal courses came under Regulation 25(b) of the Further Education Grant Regulations, 1946 and no conditions were prescribed for duration, enrolment, method of instruction or student work.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid. See Table 5(a) in the Appendix.

56 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 343. The brackets are contained in the original text.

57 S.G. Raybould had been a school teacher, a W.E.A. tutor and, from 1936, a full-time staff tutor for the Leeds Joint Committee. See J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 1961, p. 342.

58 S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 75.

Regulations made grants available in universities for the purpose of tutor training. Raybould had a broad conception of the requirements needed to ensure successful extra-mural teaching. Essentially, Raybould held the view that the academic quality and enthusiasm of an adult educator should compare favourably with his intra-mural colleagues. Seen from this perspective, the staff of an extra-mural department would not be second-class citizens in the university spectrum. Therefore Leeds actively sought to upgrade the quality of their teaching staff. When the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies was established in 1946, the full-time teaching staff comprised ten staff tutors and one organising tutor.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the steady effort in the late 1940's to bring the status of the Department's personnel up to intra-mural standards was highly commendable.

S.G. Raybould became an educator who had a considerable impact upon the national scene. In 1949, Raybould released his "tract for the times" in his book entitled The W.E.A.: The Next Phase. Essentially this work was an analysis of national trends in W.E.A. classes over the previous twenty years. A well documented argument said that the original purpose of helping the manual worker had been eroded. There had been a fall in the percentage of manual workers in tutorial classes, a shift away from social studies, and lower standards. Such a trend meant that the W.E.A. was turning its back on its historic mission to aid the "educationally underprivileged", which was defined as those whose schooling finished at the minimum school leaving age. Underlying this emphasis on serving the needs of an "educationally underprivileged" group was a clear recognition that, for a considerable time to come, the bulk of England's work force would not have received a secondary school training: furthermore, the 1944 Education Act prescribed a secondary modern training, and not a grammar school education, for the majority of the rising generation. The mission of the W.E.A. to the worker therefore still

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<sup>59</sup> The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 7.

existed, and the programme for the future should be to return to education for social purpose, through the three-year tutorial class, where the quality of work had to be improved. In reality, this amounted to advocating for the national situation the programme that was being implemented at Leeds. This work, The W.E.A.: The Next Phase, started a controversy among adult educators that was to last for several years, and specific aspects of this debate will be considered later in this chapter.

In addition to the provision for tutorial classes held in co-operation with the W.E.A., the University of Leeds started to develop an independent programme, as had been envisaged when the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies had been planned. Moreover, this programme was expected to offer more than liberal studies:

It was decided that the work of the Department should not be limited to the provision of courses recognised by the Ministry of Education as 'Liberal adult education' but should include courses of a vocational or semi-vocational character, provided they were at a level corresponding to work done intra-murally by the teaching Departments concerned.<sup>60</sup>

In 1945-46 a course was held on Social Organisation and was attended by probation officers and other social workers.<sup>61</sup> An innovation, similar to established practice at the University of London, was to introduce a University Extension Certificate, that formerly acknowledged the completion of a course of study. A proposal that external degrees be granted to extra-mural students after a suitable course of study had been rejected by a Senate Committee.<sup>62</sup> The first course leading to a University of Leeds Extension Certificate was promoted at Middlesbrough in Social and Political Science: with a class numbering fifty-one being mainly comprised of Probation Officers and Approved School Officers.<sup>63</sup> Such courses fitted within the concept of adult education

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60 S.G. Raybould, "Policy in Extra-Mural Work at Leeds University", Foundation Papers, No. 2, The National Foundation for Adults, September, 1947, p. 9.

61 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 9.

62 S.G. Raybould, "Policy in Extra-Mural Work at Leeds University", Foundation Papers, No. 2, The National Foundation for Adults, September, 1947, p. 9.

63 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1947-48, p. 7.

envisaged by S.G. Raybould when he wrote:

Adult education, properly understood is most emphatically not education required only by persons who have not been fortunate enough to receive a good schooling; nor is it education inappropriate for university graduates. It is education for persons of mature years and with adult interests and it is intended to enable them to better understand and use the experience they have had since leaving childhood and adolescence behind.<sup>64</sup>

It is notable that such a description does not restrict adult education within the confines of liberal non-vocational study. There was a scope for specialist courses of a vocational nature that could help to train the personnel needed to run the new welfare state as, for example, social workers and other local government employees. At the same time, determined efforts were made to have a balanced extra-mural programme at Leeds by encouraging liberal studies of the traditional type.

There was little doubt that a University course had a prestige not associated with a similar one provided by the W.E.A. In 1947 the Education Officer of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society requested the University of Leeds to provide short courses as "the W.E.A. was not acceptable"<sup>65</sup> as the body to provide the lectures. The demand resulted in enough students forthcoming who said they were willing to undertake a commitment for three years. Starting from this initial demand, the University by 1948-49, provided three-year courses leading to a University Extension Lecture Certificate for "History of the Drama"; "History of England from the 18th Century" and "Theory of Social Organization".<sup>66</sup> The services of intra-mural departments were obviously being welcomed, for the course on "History of the Drama" was given by the Department of English Language and Literature in the University of

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64 S.G. Raybould, University Standards in W.E.A. Work, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1948, p. 31.

65 National Foundation for Adult Education, "Extension Lecture Provision in the Leeds University Extra-Mural Area," Foundation Papers. No. 7, December, 1948, p. 4.

66 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1948-49, p. 16.



Leeds.<sup>67</sup> Such courses designed to qualify students for the University's Extension Lecture Certificate increased by 1948-49 when six were provided.<sup>68</sup> An Extension Certificate was only obtainable in respect of Extension Courses running over at least three sessions.<sup>69</sup> One is immediately struck by the similarity in duration of these Extension Certificate courses to the traditional Tutorial class and, what is even more interesting, to the fact these offerings were being made at a time when difficulty was being encountered with maintaining the quality of W.E.A. classes.

The Annual Report for 1948-49 described a policy decision made by the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, to the effect that:

students wishing to join new Tutorial and Preparatory Tutorial Classes were required, before being enrolled on the Permanent register, to sign a written understanding to supplement their work in class with systematic reading and writing at home under the direction of the tutor.<sup>70</sup>

Difficulty was obviously being encountered in securing the co-operation of tutorial class students in completing assignments. This development is not really surprising for, as the number of tutorial classes steadily expanded, the classes would have to contain an increasing number of marginal students, in terms of enthusiasm rather than any lack of intellectual ability. From 1949 onwards the number of tutorial classes began to decline. J.F.C. Harrison has indicated his belief that the demands made by the Leeds Department of Extra-Mural Studies led to a situation where "Unfortunately, neither the branch organisation of the W.E.A. nor the stamina of the students was sufficient to maintain ... (a high) level of effort for very long".<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, W.E. Styler has put this situation in perspective by noting that, "this

67 Association of Education Committees, Drama in Adult Education, London, 1949, p. 6.

68 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1947-8 and 1948-9, p. 12.

69 Ibid.

70 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1948-49, p. 7.

71 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961, p. 344.

argument would be more convincing if a decline in the number of tutorial classes in other Districts, not affected by the policies which Raybould enforced had not begun to occur at the same time".<sup>72</sup> A detailed analysis of trends in the classes held at all three northern universities will be made later in this chapter, but, for now, it is sufficient to say that Styler's point seems to be merited. One other aspect of the contribution that Leeds was making towards the liberal education of adults deserves to be mentioned, as it was directly related to the progress that had been made during wartime. At the large Army base at Catterick, the University of Leeds undertook to administer civilian tuition for national servicemen and

it was decided that the University's teaching contribution ... should consist in the main of courses in Arts and Science subjects for soldiers exempted from compulsory education on account of their possession of a School Certificate ... or higher education qualifications ... up to the 30th September (1949), 1,360 men were interviewed and all but 40 want to take University of Leeds courses.<sup>73</sup>

For these soldiers, capable of post-secondary work, the University provided three hours a week in instruction spread between two subjects. A preference was shown for Arts subjects, notably English Literature, History, French and Economics, which collectively, comprised 65 per cent of the total. For the balance of the 35 per cent, covering Science options, the main subjects were Mathematics and Physics.<sup>74</sup> Such an educational effort represented a considerable advance in quality over the wartime education provided for troops.

The late 1940's appears to have been a period of consolidation at Leeds. While there was a check to the expansion of tutorial classes in 1949, there was a diversification of resources in order to expand other activities

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72 W.E. Styler, Yorkshire and Yorkshire North, Workers' Educational Association, 1964, p. 30.

73 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report, October 1, 1948 to September 30, 1948, p. 5.

74 Ibid., p. 11.

such as certificate courses. But Leeds was not unique in undergoing considerable post-war adaption in catering for the needs of extra-mural students, as similar adaption was taking place at the University of Liverpool.

Before the end of the Second World War a Special Committee of Senate was established at the University of Liverpool to review Post-War Adult Education. One of the committee's main recommendations started to be implemented in 1946 when full-time tutors were engaged for English, History, Music and Geography.<sup>75</sup> Another recommendation was carried out when an Assistant Director took office to aid in coping with the growing volume and complexity of the work of the Extra-Mural Department. Also during the 1946-47 Session a decision was taken that "an Extra-Mural Gramophone Record Library is to be established, and the Extra-Mural Library is to be placed on a proper financial basis with a part-time experienced librarian".<sup>76</sup> Such facilities were undoubtedly needed in view of the flourishing state of liberal education that was reflected by the number of tutorial classes, which reached ninety-nine in 1946-47, a record not only for Liverpool but for any university in England.<sup>77</sup> At the same time a sombre note of caution was struck by the observation that:

there is a general tiredness on the part of the student which worked against improvement on the class standards of the war years. Finally while there was some accession of individual ex-service students into classes, there was no mass movement as some optimists had hoped.<sup>78</sup>

There were no startling changes in the demand for particular subjects with

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75 University of Liverpool, "Meeting of June 12, 1946". Minutes of Senate Meetings, No. 32, p. 51.

76 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Year 1946-47, p. 3.

77 Ibid., p. 5.

78 University Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1945-46 and 1946-47, p. 12.

Psychology leading with eighteen classes, followed by Literature and Music with thirteen classes each.<sup>79</sup>

During the following session 1947-48 there was an official inspection of adult education in Merseyside.<sup>80</sup> Some of the views expressed by the Report of H.M. Inspectors provide insight into the contemporary situation. Initially, in their conclusions, the Inspectors made a general commendation of the initiative of the Joint Committee in providing so many Tutorial Classes in the area, stating that "the Committee is to be congratulated on having provided a large number of students with continuous courses involving study".<sup>81</sup> Then followed some observations on the difficulty of maintaining class standards:

Such weaknesses that were noted are by no means confined to this area or to this period in the history of Adult Education. The difficulty of instilling habits of serious study with all the rigours and disciplines involved, was soon realised by Adult tutors, and it is no new discovery that Discussion, Reading under Guidance and Written Work are the three rocks on which classes are most likely to founder.<sup>82</sup>

Descending from the level of platitudes, the Report began to comment on the classes in Merseyside:

In general the tutors visited were seen to be handling discussions carefully and competently: students were kept closely to the subject matter and debates were keen as well as fruitful in clearing up difficulties. Where this was not so the explanation which suggested itself was that tutors realising the limitations of their classes, were trying to temper the wind to the shorn lamb ... while students must be allowed time to find their feet ... the time must come when standards must be enforced and over-indulgence is out of place.<sup>83</sup>

79 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Year 1946-47, p. 5.

80 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies in Merseyside for the Period September 1947 to 31st March, 1948, London: 1948. Classes were inspected in Liverpool, Bootle, Preston, Southport and Warrington and the comments of the H.M.I.s apply to these places.

81 Ibid., p. 21.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

When the Inspectors turned from the verbal instruction in the classroom to discussion of written work, the most critical part of their conclusions were recorded:

The regular production of written work by the students is a feature without which no tutorial class is worthy of the name. There appears to be a widespread reluctance among students to submit to this discipline ... Among the scripts examined during the Inspection were some essays of good quality ... Much of the work, however, calls for comment and raises some issues. A good deal of it consisted of quite short notes giving no evidence of reading or passing beyond casual or commonplace reflection ... Definite progress in knowledge and scope of expression should be evident in at least the second and third years, but in many instances it was not possible to judge from the written work that the writers were actually in the second or third year of their study.<sup>84</sup>

These comments exhibit quite clearly the dissatisfaction of the Inspectors with the overall level of the written work. Yet, in fairness, it must be noted that the Report did emphasize that "The issues referred to ... are not new or confined to this area".<sup>85</sup> After listening to many of the discussions in the classrooms, the Inspectors voiced the opinion that "it (writing essays) should not be impossible for a goodly number of the students ... With many the main difficulty is not one of literacy ... What is needed is serious study".<sup>86</sup> Running through the Report seems to be a note of frustration on the part of the Inspectors. Tutorial classes in general were not measuring up to the standard expected.

Confirmation of a deterioration in standards of written work and reading effort came from J. Burr, the newly appointed staff tutor in history at the University of Liverpool, who commented:

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84 Ibid., p. 22.

85 Ibid., p. 21.

86 Ibid., p. 22.

I find that on the whole the standard of written work has declined noticeably since my previous classes which ended when I joined the Army in 1941. Second, that it is more difficult to encourage reading now than formerly.<sup>87</sup>

A memorandum by Dr. A. McPhee, Director of Extension Studies recorded the consensus of opinion of a conference for History and Literature tutors held at Parkgate in June, 1947. First of all, in referring to the History tutors, McPhee recorded that:

Opinions clashed strongly over written work and its necessity ... There was clearly a feeling in some quarters that little should be expected in the way of written work and that no high standard could be expected from present-day students.<sup>88</sup>

In addressing the English Literature class tutors Dr. McPhee said, "I feel we are at a very critical point in Adult Education. Standards of discussion, written work, reading and thinking in our Tutorial classes have declined, are declining and ought to be improved".<sup>89</sup>

Possibly one of the reasons why the attitude of students had changed from a decade earlier was that the social environment of England had changed. In pre-war years the motive of social purpose made sense when unemployment was rife and social services inadequate. But full employment, the formation of the "welfare state" and the "affluent society", tended to remove the desire to study in order to be able to remake society. Writing essays require hard work and one can understand, while not commending, the attitude of a worker who was likely to take a rather casual attitude towards devoting his or her leisure time to producing regular written work. What

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87 University of Liverpool Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, Report Book, No. 5., p. 137.

88 University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Correspondence File, 1947. Memorandum by A. McPhee on History and Literature Tutors Conference held at Parkgate on June 28, 1947.

89 Ibid., Notes of A. McPhee on introductory talk to English Literature Class Tutors.

made the Merseyside Tutorial classes of particular interest, relative to Leeds or Manchester, was the higher proportion of female students.<sup>90</sup> Female students were in a majority approaching two to one<sup>91</sup> in tutorial classes run by the University of Liverpool and this enrolment pattern seems to have been related to the popularity of certain subjects. Out of a record 113 tutorial classes held in 1947-48, the subjects of Psychology, Literature and Music accounted for fifty-four classes: while Economics and Political Science between them had only a paltry twelve classes.<sup>92</sup> Much had been made in the past about the experience of life that made adult students particularly well suited to study the social sciences: but, it would seem that in the post-war trend of orientation of subject material to leisure or cultural pursuits, the same argument was not valid. Such would seem to be one interpretation of the conclusions recorded by the Inspectorate of University Tutorial Classes under the supervision of the Liverpool Joint Committee in 1947-48.<sup>93</sup>

The Inspectors were critical of the quality of some of the teaching performed in tutorial classes. Tutors who were slack in enforcing discipline, by not requiring pertinent discussion or reading and written assignments, were given some pointed advice:

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90 See Table 5(a) in the Appendix. Attendance Patterns at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. For example, in 1947-48, Liverpool had 971 males and 1,554 females enrolled in Three Year Tutorial Classes. Male students comprised only 38 per cent of the students in these classes compared to 46 percent at both Leeds and Manchester.

91 Ibid. The proportion in the tutorial classes run by the University of Liverpool was, in percentage terms, male 38: female 62.

92 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Year 1947-48, p. 11.

93 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies in Merseyside for the Period September 1947 to 31st March, 1948., p. 15.

The time must come when standards must be enforced and over-indulgence is out of place ... The tutor should pay particular attention to the compilation of his book list and the presentation of it to his class. It is not enough to append to his syllabus a list of the heavy volumes produced by the standard authorities in his subject: such a list does little more than show the erudition of the tutor ... Some description of the books contained in the (reading) list should be given to the students, with guidance about the best methods of using them - e.g. some books may be included for the sake of one or two chapters only.<sup>94</sup>

Apparently the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was aware of some of these weaknesses for, during the Session in which the Inspection was made, training sessions for tutors were held.<sup>95</sup> Possibly the teaching staff was under strength, as despite having the largest number of tutorial classes in England, there were only five staff tutors engaged in the work.<sup>96</sup> This number was only half the complement of staff tutors engaged by the University of Leeds when the Extra-Mural Department had been established there the previous year. The West Lancashire and Cheshire District of the W.E.A. matched the full-time staff of the University of Liverpool, by appointing five tutors between 1945-47, whose duties as resident tutors included teaching tutorial classes.<sup>97</sup> Yet by far the greater part of the teaching load in tutorial classes organised by the Joint Committee at Liverpool was carried by seventeen member of the intra-mural staff and fifteen schoolteachers.<sup>98</sup> One wonders at

94 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

95 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Year 1947-48, p. 13.

96 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies in Merseyside for the period September 1947 to 31st March, 1948, p. 16.

97 Ibid., p. 8.

98 Ibid., p. 16. The occupations of the tutorial class tutors were given as follows:

Staff Tutors	5	Clergymen	6
University Staff	17	W.E.A. Tutors	5
Teachers	15	Miscellaneous	12
Music Teachers	6	Free Lance	2



the composition of the groups designated "Miscellaneous" and "Free Lance" which, presumably, would include artists and housewives.

When early in 1948, Dr. Allan McPhee announced that he was resigning as Director of the Extra-Mural Department, a search began for a successor. Among the selection board was F. Garstang, the local W.E.A. District Secretary,<sup>99</sup> and, in 1948, Mr. T. Kelly was selected as the new leader. Kelly had been Deputy Director of the Extra-Mural Department at the University of Manchester and, like Raybould at Leeds, had a background of teaching experience. In one sense, it was a difficult time for a new director to assume office, because the tutorial classes administered by the University of Liverpool comprised the country's largest total, but there were clear indications that it was becoming difficult to interest students in three-year courses. The Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes at Liverpool noted the trends that were emerging in the Annual Report for the Session 1948-49. The relevant part of the comments are worth citing at length as they provide a good summary of the contemporary scene:

It must be recognised that the tutorial class movement as a whole is at present passing through a critical phase. The Director of Extra-Mural Studies for Leeds, for example, has pointed out in a recent study of the W.E.A. that in 1947-48 there were in the country as a whole fewer tutorial class students than in 1938-39, in spite of the considerable increase in students in more elementary classes, and he has drawn attention that there has also been a decline in standards. We in this area have certainly had no reason to complain of a decline in numbers, but it is difficult not to feel that there has been some falling off both in standards of work and in continuity of attendance. Such changes are undoubtedly due in part to the deep-seated changes in the social and educational structure of the country.<sup>100</sup>

Reference to the declining standards supports the view held by S.G. Raybould at Leeds and H.M. Inspectors in the Merseyside. A more specific critique

99 The University of Liverpool, University Extension Board, Minutes 1931-1955, p. 102.

100 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1948-49, P. 9.

on Tutorial Classes administered by the University of Liverpool noted that:

Tutorial classes continued to flourish, with more than a hundred classes in each session. Not all these classes, however, attained the standard which we (the University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department) were accustomed to regard as desirable before the war. The general reasons for this decline are no doubt those which have operated elsewhere; in the Liverpool area shift-working and a considerable movement of population have made it particularly difficult, in some cases, to secure continuity of work over a three-year period.<sup>101</sup>

A Director of an Extra-Mural Department had no way of knowing if the decline in enthusiasm for tutorial classes was a temporary setback or reflected permanent decline. Therefore, it was reasonable to take an optimistic point of view that, if weaknesses could be corrected and marginal tutorial class activity deleted, the essential soundness of the movement would lead towards future growth. In view of the sharp comments made concerning the need to provide relevant reading material for the tutorial class students by H.M. Inspectors,<sup>102</sup> the following action at the University of Liverpool seemed to tackle one of the weaknesses:

The Department (of Extra-Mural Studies) Library had been undergoing a fairly ruthless process of stock taking, overhaul and re-organisation. Many hundreds of older books have been either disposed of or withdrawn into the reserve collection, and there have been substantial acquisitions of new books.<sup>103</sup>

A good library was vital to the health of tutorial classes: for this was an age when tutors were virtually forced to rely on books as a means of helping students to acquire a background of knowledge. This action complemented an important post-war decision that was intended to ensure that a high level of instruction was maintained by staff tutors. The conditions of

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101 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1947-8 and 1948-9, p. 15.

102 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies in Merseyside for the Period September 1947 to 31st March, 1948, pp. 21-2.

103 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1948-49, p. 5.

employment for a staff tutor required him to take two hours per week internal teaching in the appropriate University Department, as well as being expected to do research in his own subject or some branch of adult education.<sup>104</sup>

A determined effort was also made to raise the standard of the tutorial classes. Early in 1949 a letter from T. Kelly to F. Garstang expressed concern about a method used to maintain the continuity of some tutorial classes. Students were "added" to classes, so that the original students were outnumbered, and this tended to make a mockery of the tutorial class concept.<sup>105</sup> There was obviously need in 1949 to tighten up on a situation where tutorial classes were run under the relaxed wartime regulations prescribed by the Board of Education. The Director of the Extra-Mural Department also pointed out a practice where tutors kept two registers, and observed that "supplementary" registers seemed to be a device for dodging the obligations imposed by official regulations upon a three-year class.<sup>106</sup> But the root problem for the tutorial class, as indicated by statistical evidence,<sup>107</sup> was that it was becoming less popular. The crest of the wave of popularity was reached by the University of Liverpool in 1947-48, when 113 classes existed; but, thereafter a steady fall in the number of tutorial classes became a feature of the following years. With this background on tutorial class trends, it is possible to understand better the growth of other forms of extra-mural activity. Faced with a situation to reflect a national trend, not merely a local phenomenon, the Director of the Extra-

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104 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University Extension Board, Minutes, 1931-1955, p. 126.

105 University of Liverpool, Correspondence with Liverpool W.E.A. Branch, 1943-1950. Letter from T. Kelly to F. Garstang dated February 1, 1949.

106 Ibid., Letter from T. Kelly to F. Garstang dated October 21, 1949.

107 See Table 5(a) in Appendix.

Mural Department at the University of Liverpool began to consider how the resources of the Department might best be employed.

The other major area for development was the extension classes which had been growing rapidly in volume. In 1945-46 there were thirteen classes and courses organised by the University Extension Board which increased to twenty-one in 1946-47,<sup>108</sup> and more than doubled again to fifty-three in 1947-48.<sup>109</sup> Of these fifty-three courses, thirty-two of them were short lasting four to eight meetings and heavily oriented towards the social sciences.<sup>110</sup> Another area of development was the work done in teaching English to the Polish Resettlement Corps which, in 1948-49, involved 8,695 of the 11,912 meeting provided by the Liverpool Region Committee for Education in H.M. Forces.<sup>111</sup> These two themes of concern over social needs and work for H.M. Forces came together in the activity at the Royal Institution when, during the transitional period of demobilization, men and women were prepared for "civvy street". Prospective teachers, policemen, social workers and nurses pursued a variety of subjects: some of the topics included the Beveridge Plan, the 1944 Education Act, Juvenile Delinquency, and Crime and Punishment.<sup>112</sup> As the immediate post-war period of demobilization gave way to a more settled pattern of catering to the needs of civilians, the trend of offering specialised courses continued and "Courses were arranged on such subjects as Law and Criminal Justice, Local Government, Social Services and

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108 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1946-47, p. 5.

109 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1948-49, p. 6.

110 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Year 1947-48, p. 7. Psychology accounted for 22 courses and a group of "Economics, Sociology and Public Administration" for 15.

111 Liverpool Region Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Minute Book 1939-60 Item 18. Report for the work done from March 31, 1948 to March 31, 1949.

112 Allan McPhee, A Short History of Extra-Mural Work at the Liverpool University especially during the Second World War, 1949, p. 17.

Wage Determination".<sup>113</sup> This was a period when the welfare state was being planned, and this encouraged interested intra-mural staff to help to train the personnel needed to staff the social services. Acknowledgement of this contribution by intra-mural staff was contained in the Report for the Year 1947-48:

The Department was fortunate in having the collaboration of the Social Science Department on Psychological Aspects of Child Care, Local Government, and Penal Reform, and members of the same Department gave valued assistance in courses on various aspect of social work and social administration arranged in association with the Civil Service Council for Further Education, The School of Occupational Therapy, the Society of Housing Managers, the Marriage Guidance Committee of the Personal Service Society, and the National Association for Mental Health.<sup>114</sup>

In 1949 a two year training course was provided on Social Welfare designed for school welfare officers and other workers concerned with children.<sup>115</sup> Obviously there was a professional demand for specialised courses, with the overall pattern and Extension activity reflecting a healthy involvement in the life of the community. In 1949 most of the increase in Extension courses was accounted for by popularity of short courses of fewer than ten meetings.<sup>116</sup> There had been a considerable increase in the number of students, from 1,239 in 1947-48, to 1,641 in 1948-49.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that when the tutorial classes began to flag, consideration was given to providing liberal education through Extension classes.

The Extension movement had traditionally supplied liberal education through public lectures. In the changing social milieu of post-war Britain

113 Ibid.

114 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1947-48, p. 7.

115 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session, 1948-49, p. 7.

116 The University of Liverpool, University Extension Board, Minutes, 1931-55, p. 9. In 1948-49 there were 45 courses of which 23 were short courses of fewer than ten meetings. In 1949-50 the total number of courses had increased to 54, principally due to holding 35 short courses.

117 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1948-49, p. 7.

there was a possibility that such Extension courses might again become popular. The Department of Extra-Mural Studies reported that:

There is clearly an important place in our work for courses for the general public, and after Christmas a number of interesting experiments were made in this direction. A number of courses of general interest were planned and offered to the public through the ordinary advertising media. The results were encouraging. Courses on current affairs, we were disconcerted to find, attracted comparatively few students, but courses in Literature, Local History and Psychology drew large numbers. The Local History course was particularly successful in that it gave birth, to two further and more advanced courses in the same subject to be held during the present session.<sup>118</sup>

Such courses in liberal education were tapping an audience who, while willing to attend a University Extension course, were not apparently interested in a three-year tutorial class in the same subject. On the other hand, the growth of vocational courses oriented to professional needs was consistent with the general policy of the universities to develop programmes independent of tutorial classes held in conjunction with the W.E.A. This statement is not intended to imply that the northern Universities were tending to ignore the local W.E.A. District organisation. At Manchester before the opening of the 1948-49 class session an extensive effort was made to collaborate with the W.E.A. in a publicity campaign that was called a "W.E.A. Week":

(this was) intended to bring our (University of Manchester) classes to the notice of a wider public ... The result of all this effort has been rather disappointing and seems to show that, as some people have always said, W.E.A. work is best left to grow naturally and slowly by a process of contagion.<sup>119</sup>

Like the other two northern universities, the University of Manchester was feeling the wind of change. There were fifty-six Tutorial classes in the session 1948-49 and comments on aspects of this work, similar to those already noted for Leeds and Liverpool, were made:

<sup>118</sup> The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1948-49, p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> The University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1948-49, p. 1.

A similar decline is reported from all over the country and has been variously interpreted; staggered hours and the loss of the less stable part of the post-war increase are the most likely causes ... Many students are disinclined to commit themselves to a three-year course of study. An all-round improvement in the standard of work would be welcome.<sup>120</sup>

The most interesting aspect of the fifty-six tutorial classes provided was that ten of them concerned the Appreciation of Music,<sup>121</sup> which probably reflected the interest stimulated by programmes of music broadcast over the radio, as well as the wartime enthusiasm generated by Dobson and Young.

A post-war reorganisation of the administrative framework took place in 1948, when a Joint Committee for Adult Education was formed at Manchester, on which the University, L.E.A.s and the W.E.A. had thirteen members each. A Department of Adult Education was established, and embodied in the Faculty of Education while the term Extra-Mural Department was retained to describe the Department's activity as an extra-mural providing body.<sup>122</sup> R.D. Waller was appointed Professor of Adult Education in 1949 and took particular pride in the way that Extension work was developed. This admixture of terms. "Adult Education", "Extra-Mural" and "Extension" indicates the way that, seen from the point of view of the general public, university adult education must have seemed a monolithic structure. Seen from the inside of the Extra-Mural Department there was a clear distinction in the use of the term "Extension", as indicated by the statement, "The post-war development of Extension work has been carried out in such a way as to avoid competition with the W.E.A. ... All Extension work under the auspices of this University is carried out by members of the University staff."<sup>123</sup> The encouragement of intra-mural staff to participate in Extension work was obviously pursued vigorously for, two

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid., pp. 8-9.

122 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1947-48 and 1948-49., p. 18.

123 Ibid., p. 17.

years later, the Department stated, "It is pleasant to record the increasing participation in the work by internal staff fifty-two percent of the part-time tutors, engaged during the session were University teachers".<sup>124</sup> This recruitment of intra-mural staff was undoubtedly aided by the fact there was "comparatively little effort to develop Extension work outside Manchester".<sup>125</sup> In effect this meant that both the University staff and able students were available to participate in an impressive program of subjects:

Well established courses have been continued in the fields of Biblical Studies and local history. There is steady development in the field of science, courses of a sessions length having been given in Physical Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Physics, Zoology, Optics, and three fortnight residential courses on (X-ray, Crystallography and on Heat Measurement). Courses delivered in foreign languages (French, Spanish, Italian and German) have become a regular feature. The study of Greek and Latin combining language study with history and archaeology have been continued. Art, Music and Social Studies are also represented and a number of courses specially arranged for teachers.<sup>126</sup>

The reverse side of the coin was that there was difficulty in making satisfactory use of Holly Royde, the residential college. R.D. Waller wanted to follow up on the successes of the war years and promote courses "of a fortnight's length ... related or relatable to the moral - social - political issues of the day, approached mainly through history or literature".<sup>127</sup> However, liberal studies had apparently a limited appeal, because Waller continued, "Unhappily such courses ... are not a good selling line ... neither employers not trade unions have any interest in them at all".<sup>128</sup> After all the wartime discussion about the value of residential colleges, it would seem that the post-war world was not the one envisaged by some adult educators.

124 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1949-50, p. 1.

125 Ibid., p. 17.

126 Ibid.

127 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book, February 1948-May, 1959, p. 44. Memorandum on the Present Position of Holly Royde and on its Prospects, October 19, 1948, p. 4.

128 Ibid., p. 6.



The short Extension courses that were provided at Manchester were pitched at a level higher than was possible for the tutorial class and were, presumably, attracting a different type of student. Two surveys were made between 1947-1949 to establish the composition of classes organised in the Manchester University Extra-Mural Area, and the result were revealing. One major conclusion was that, "classes provided by Manchester University in conjunction with the North-Western District W.E.A. depend to a great extent upon clerical and professional workers".<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, the group of female students classified as "Home Duties and Nursing" accounted for twenty per cent of the students,<sup>130</sup> while the bulk of the housewives had before marriage been in the category of Clerical and Highly Skilled".<sup>131</sup> Not only is this situation far removed from the Mansbridge dictum of having a majority of manual workers in the Tutorial classes but, moreover, seems to indicate that both the University and the W.E.A. were drawing upon the same educated segment of society in the Manchester area. W.E. Styler, who conducted the surveys, noted that the reliance upon clerical and professional workers raised the possibility that "If this is true of a district which is one of the chief industrial areas of the country, it can be regarded as likely to be true of the country as a whole".<sup>132</sup> These surveys also revealed the percentage of students in each subject group who had received a secondary school training. The statistics indicated that a minority of the students attending classes in the Social Sciences had received a secondary school education; whereas, for those stu-

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129 W.E. Styler, The Composition of W.E.A. classes in the Manchester University Extra-Mural Area, 1949, p. 26.

130 W.E. Styler, "Attendance Achievements in Tutorial Classes", Adult Education XXV, 4, Spring, 1953, p. 311.

131 W.E. Styler, The Composition of W.E.A. Classes in the Manchester University Extra-Mural Area, 1949, pp. 19-20.

132 Ibid., p. 26.

dents pursuing what can be described as a cultural interest,<sup>133</sup> such as music or literature, well over half the students had attended secondary school.<sup>134</sup>

Concern over the type of student being recruited into W.E.A. classes was placed in sharp focus by the publication under the auspices of the W.E.A., of two works by S.G. Raybould. In 1948 appeared the booklet University Standards in W.E.A. Work followed, the next year, by the seminal work The W.E.A. The Next Phase. Because Raybould's analysis stirred so much thought on the future of adult education, the basic arguments deserve to be reviewed. Professor Raybould was particularly interested in the decline of the tutorial class and recorded his opinion that:

as far as my experience goes, there is today more concern about the decline of the tutorial class on the part of the W.E.A. than on the part of most universities and a greater desire in the former than in the latter to try to improve the situation.<sup>135</sup>

The change of attitude on the part of some extra-mural directors was to some extent a product of their experiences during the war years. A spokesman for the new position was D.R. Dudley, Director of Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Birmingham, who stated:

All Universities Extra-Mural Departments agree that a new public now exists for their type of Adult Education - a public consisting of those who have had at least a good

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133 See Chapter 3, p. 136 for a discussion about Motives of Adult Students, as revealed by the enquiry of the British Institute of Adult Education in 1932-33. Essentially the conclusion reached was that motives can be divided roughly, into two groups: (1) "The Culture Motive", or the desire for enrichment of individual personality; (2) "The Social Motive" or the desire to reform society. The intention in using the two broad terms "cultural" and "social" in the text is to illustrate an aspect of the changing pattern of student preference for particular subject groups.

134 Ibid., p. 18. The relevant figures are reproduced below. The figures indicate the percentage of students in each subject group who had received Secondary Education.

	<u>1947-48</u>	<u>1948-49</u>
Appreciation of Music	64.28	55.2
Literature	63.33	57.3
Social Sciences	38.00	42.3

135 S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: The Workers' Education Association, 1949, p. 63.

grammar or secondary school education. These are the people who have made possible ... the big attendances for the 'Old Vic', and other serious theatres, and the existence of the Third Programme. They demand subjects, methods and approach very different from those of the old Tutorial class.<sup>136</sup>

Raybould was concerned about the fact that some universities no longer recognised the pre-eminence of the tutorial class; particularly as the temptation to compete with the shorter courses offered by the W.E.A. and L.E.A.s might put a university on a collision course. Raybould saw clearly the unfortunate repercussions such a state of affairs might have on the future of adult education, with relatively small resources being dissipated on internal feuding instead of promoting the cause of liberal education. Seen from the point of view of an extra-mural department, it was therefore important that university work be seen as having a distinct quality that showed that it did merely overlap the contribution of the W.E.A. or L.E.A.s: hence the question of "university standards" was to be debated very earnestly by Raybould:

The university's limitation of its work, extension as well as joint committee, to that which was of a university standard, should ensure that its extension courses would not overlap or compete with the one-year and terminal classes provided by the W.E.A., nor, for that matter, with similar elementary courses provided for non-working groups by local education authorities.<sup>137</sup>

Moreover there was a danger that the statutory power given to the L.E.A.s to promote Further Education might encourage such authorities to seek control over liberal education. Such a step was advocated by Mr. F.W. Jessup, Deputy Education Officer for Kent, in an article "The Place of the Local Education Authority in Adult Education".<sup>138</sup> Mr. Jessup provided the following prediction about how the situation should be encouraged to develop:

The undivided responsibility for adult education should be placed upon Local Education Authorities ... This implies that voluntary organisations should cease

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136 University of Birmingham, Board of Adult Education, Report of the Director of Extra-Mural Studies for the Years 1945-48, October, 1948, p. 14.

137 Ibid., p. 88.

138 F.W. Jessup, "The Place of the Local Authority in Adult Education", Rewley House Papers, Vol. II, IX, 1946.

to act as Responsible Bodies in the field of adult education. They should aim at converting local Education Authorities to their ideals and methods, and that conversion having been wrought, their exemplary work has served its purpose and should come to an end.<sup>139</sup>

In short, what was proposed was that the W.E.A. should cease to be a "providing body" and adopt a new function as a student organisation that would be a pressure group or "public prodder". S.G. Raybould answered this suggestion that the W.E.A., like old soldiers, should not die but merely fade away. The reply stressed two points:

The first is ... a local education committee is not directly representative, or answerable to adult worker-students in anything like the sense that a W.E.A. Branch Committee ... or University Joint Committee is ... The second is that adult education ... for social purpose ... is most dangerous to put in the hands of politicians ... It must be carried out in an atmosphere of complete freedom.<sup>140</sup>

These points carry weight. The W.E.A. as a voluntary body was dependent upon the support of adult students, who were thus in a position to make their wishes known. If power over adult education was placed in the hands of local politicians, constantly alert for controversial issues to aid in the process of re-election, then freedom of discussion was likely to be jeopardised. S.G. Raybould emphasised that neither student nor tutor should feel that:

he had better choose his words carefully lest he offend some local councillor or administrator who, in pursuance of his official rights, responsibilities or duties may chance to visit the class ... Universities and the W.E.A. have a primary concern with education, not with politics, and with freedom in education.<sup>141</sup>

It is worth recalling that some of the early tutors involved in tutorial classes had encountered hostility from local politicians who disliked "Socialists". Therefore this plea for freedom of discussion was not an academic point for the W.E.A. As the standard bearer for liberal education, the W.E.A. could

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 371-2.

<sup>140</sup> S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 83.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-4.

not afford to become complacent in the political climate engendered by the introduction of the all embracing concept of Further Education.

Raybould's central concern was that the W.E.A. was losing sight of its historic mission of aiding working-class students to study subjects relevant to social emancipation. There was plenty of evidence that, contrary to the hope of its founder Albert Mansbridge, the W.E.A. was not catering for the manual worker. A good summary of the position is worth quoting at length:

In the decade before the outbreak of war one student in every three was a manual worker; or, if we exclude the category 'Home Duties and Nursing' about three in every seven. By the end of the war, the proportion had fallen to one in four of all students. In each session since 1944-5 the figure had fallen until in 1947-8 it was only one in five of all students ... Put in another way, while the number of manual workers is less than ten per cent greater than in 1938-9, the numbers of clerks, draughtsmen, travellers and foremen, of postal workers and civil servants, and of teachers, have all risen by about one hundred per cent, and the number of professional and social workers has increased almost fourfold.<sup>142</sup>

Such a trend inevitably raised the question of defining a "worker". Raybould used the term "educationally underprivileged", which meant "workers whose full-time education, finished at the minimum school leaving age". Raybould also argued that university standards really concerned the way people thought, and reflected an attitude of thinking objectively and drawing rational conclusions. A mature adult could acquire this university attitude in a tutorial class. Because an adult brought his experience of life to class, which compensated for a lack of formal education, it followed that admission standards were not too important.<sup>143</sup> Or, as this same point had been succinctly expressed in an earlier report about adult education, "whereas the average University student has a trained mind but no experience of life, the average

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>143</sup> S.G. Raybould, University Standards in W.E.A. Work, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1948, p. 11.

adult student has experience of life but an untrained mind".<sup>144</sup> But, unfortunately, from Raybould's perspective the W.E.A. was adopting the wrong policy:

It was providing the wrong type of class - too many short courses and not enough three-year tutorial classes; it was recruiting the wrong kinds of students - too many middle-class students and not enough manual workers; and it was studying the wrong kind of subjects - too much music and not enough economics.<sup>145</sup>

Seen from the perspective of the hallowed W.E.A. tradition, emanating from Albert Mansbridge, this criticism was justifiable. It could be argued that the first tutorial classes were expected to produce work similar to that done by university students, even honours students, and that this requirement had been sustained by Regulations of the Board of Education from 1913-1944. Moreover the need for high standards was reinforced by the authority of R.H. Tawney who provided a foreword to The W.E.A. The Next Phase. As tuition depends to a large extent upon dedication of the tutor to presentation of his subject, it was natural that the general extra-mural practice of recruiting tutorial staff who acted as administrators should come under fire:

The question that has to be faced is whether tutors who are appointed as organising tutors can for more than a very limited time combine organising work with teaching work of the very highest quality ... The question is whether the drain on a tutor's time and energy required by the travelling, correspondence, inter-viewing, 'occasional' lecturing, and preparation of courses in different subjects, is compatible with the requirements of good tutorial class work.<sup>146</sup>

Although this point of view appears to be very reasonable, it was hardly likely to be appreciated by administrators within the W.E.A. or Extra-Mural Departments, who operated on a limited budget. But the consequences of over-taxing tutorial staff was clearly seen by Raybould:

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144 S.G. Raybould, The Approach to W.E.A. Teaching, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1947, p. 7. Raybould cites the Carnegie Report on The Tutor in Adult Education as the source of this statement.

145 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, pp. 376-77.

146 S.G. Raybould, University Standards in W.E.A. Work, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1948, pp. 27-28.

If the universities cease to be interested in whether their extra-mural work is of university standard or not, and devote a large proportion of their resources to organising and to work of an elementary character, the outcome can only be disastrous - for the W.E.A., for extra-mural work itself, and for the student.<sup>147</sup>

It would be particularly disastrous for extra-mural work, "because the best scholars and teachers in the universities will cease to be interested in it, and its reputation, inside and outside, the universities' walls, will decline".<sup>148</sup>

This analysis of the contemporary dilemma of Extra-Mural Departments and the W.E.A. provoked a lengthy controversy about the purpose and future of adult education. Only the immediate reaction of the late 1940's will be considered in this chapter. There could be little ground for disagreement with Raybould's scholarship, as he documented his case with a high degree of precision and care. Consequently during the ensuing debate there was little attempt to refute his evidence. Rather, the reaction appears to have been based on resentment against disclosure of apparent trends in the provision of adult education and a desire to dissent from Raybould's conclusions. Spokesmen for the national W.E.A. were prominent in criticising The W.E.A. The Next Phase. Ernest Green recorded his appraisal of the book when commenting, "Frankly I have no faith in views based upon statistical information which leave more out of the picture than they reveal".<sup>149</sup> This defensive line of approach was developed in greater detail by Harold Shearman:

Statistics have to be handled with great caution, and I am not sure that Raybould's graphs and tables are as illuminating as he thinks they are. Many evenings spent with a slide rule a few years ago convinced me that W.E.A. percentages are full of pitfalls, largely, of course, because the groupings are so wide and the numbers so small.<sup>150</sup>

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147 S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 64.

148 Ibid.

149 E. Green, The Highway, October, 1949, p. 260.

150 Ibid., 265.

While the stricture that statistics have to be handled with care has some merit, it is noteworthy that neither Ernest Green nor Harold Shearman appear to have attempted to present an alternative interpretation of the statistical data. It would seem that Green was more concerned about deflecting the implied criticism about the educational trends that had been allowed to develop in the W.E.A.; therefore, he argued that the difficulties originated in the universities:

Raybould's book is not so much a criticism of the W.E.A. as of the broad catholicism of the university extra-mural departments, for it should be their function as custodians of university standards definitely to refuse demands, even if put forward by the W.E.A. for facilities which constitute anything of lower standard than the university tutorial class ... I believe the introduction of the university sessional course, especially where it had been used to provide courses of short duration, has been the most potent factor in any decline in standards.<sup>151</sup>

This concern about a decline in standards merely re-iterated the view of S.G. Raybould, but absolves the local W.E.A. Districts of any responsibility for encouraging extra-mural departments to undertake work that did not approximate tutorial class standard. Such a position was not surprising, for Ernest Green was the full time secretary of a national voluntary organisation and would feel the need to minimise criticism of trends within the W.E.A. On the other hand, R.H. Tawney supported Raybould. Tawney believed in the historic social purpose of the movement; this stand of Tawney's was stated explicitly with, "Our object from the start has not been merely to multiply classes, irrespective of the type of student in them or of the level of the work".<sup>152</sup>

The periodic literature of the late 1940's does not show that any of Raybould's contemporaries, as extra-mural directors, were vitally interested in debating trends within the W.E.A. In view of the trend of training

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151 Ernest Green, The Highway, October, 1949, p. 260.

152 R.H. Tawney, "Programme for Action", The Highway, November, 1947, p. 4.



professional people in semi-vocational or vocational courses, under the heading of Extension work, it is likely that Raybould's diagnosis was not particularly welcome. For example, Raybould had pointed out that the "educationally sophisticated"<sup>153</sup> comprised an increasing proportion of students, which balanced "an equally striking decrease in the proportion of the 'educationally underprivileged'".<sup>154</sup> Such terms were politically loaded, both for the W.E.A. and Extra-Mural Directors who had, traditionally, associated themselves with left wing politics. At the same time, the pronouncements of the Universities Council for Adult Education indicated that extra-mural departments were critical of the W.E.A.,<sup>155</sup> and one might expect such views to surface in periodicals concerned with adult education. Ernest Green did not hesitate to point an accusing finger at the problems raised by "the broad catholicism of the university extra-mural departments", and a reply to Mr. Green from a Director of an Extra-Mural Department might have expected. Yet there was a consideration that might inhibit the head of an extra-mural department from replying to Green. The W.E.A. District organisations provided the students for tutorial classes, and the basis of the post-war plans for expansion of extra-mural activity by the universities had included the assumption that this traditional way of providing liberal education would continue. To have feuded with the leadership of the W.E.A. in 1949 would have left a Director of an Extra-Mural Department vulnerable to criticism from intra-mural critics. Such critics could have pointed to the tendency for extra -mural departments and the W.E.A. to duplicate offerings of

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153 The phrase originated with R.H. Tawney and implied students who had had more than an elementary school education. S.G. Raybould gave widespread publicity to the term in his book, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 40.

154 Ibid.

155 See pp230-1 for discussion of the pronouncements of the Universities Council for Adult Education.

short courses, which dissipated university funds because as Alan Bullock, the Oxford historian and adult educator, pointed out:

At the end of the war, a large expansion took place in the Extra-Mural Departments of most of the English universities. In the belief that the years of peace would see a vastly increased demand for adult education, most universities asked for and received substantial sums of money from the University Grants Committee with which to build up the administrative and tutorial staffs too undertake extra-mural work on a new scale. 156

While it was true that the main source of funds for extra-mural departments was the Ministry of Education, the universities did furnish funds for adult education. University critics of extra-mural work could use any public disagreement with the W.E.A. as additional proof that funds were being misused on adult education, which need not, therefore, be regarded as a vital function for the university. It is possible that the danger of antagonising both the local W.E.A. District and intra-mural critics may account for the relative silence of extra-mural directors, in the late 1940's, following the analysis of trends by Professor Raybould. There was, however, a discerning appraisal by Thomas Hodgkin, Secretary of the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies at Oxford University, about one of the weaknesses in Raybould's presentation. Writing in The Tutor's Bulletin in the Autumn of 1948, Hodgkin reviewed University Standards in W.E.A. Work and stated:

there is an element of fundamentalism in Mr. Raybould's thinking: "God created the Three-Year Tutorial Class and said 'In courses of 72 meetings you shall achieve University standards, and in courses less than 72 meetings you will not achieve University standards'. Truth, I think, is too complex to be contained in so simple a doctrine. 157

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- 156 Alan Bullock, "The Universities and Adult Education. Mr. Raybould's Argument Reconsidered", The Highway, Summer, 1952, p.1.
- 157 T. L. Hodgkin, "University Standards", The Tutors' Bulletin, Autumn, 1948, p.3.

This commentary upon the relationship of standards to the duration of a course was an early indication of the main line that critics of Raybould would later take, in the 1950's, when publicly resisting his conclusions.

Raybould was a respected thinker about national trends in adult education. In the late 1940's there was need for examining the role of adult education amid the changed conditions produced by the concept of "Further Education". Thomas Hodgkin saw an important implication of the use of the use of this term:

We have to adjust to the term "further education". It is not a term that we are in the habit of using. As I see it, what is implied, both in the use of the term and in the main ideas running through ..... (the Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 8) is a breakdown of the traditional, distinction between 'liberal studies' and technical education. 158

There is little doubt that the Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 8, Further Education was intended to break down the type of departmentalised thinking about adult education that had separated liberal study from technical training. The pamphlet sought to take a broad view of the needs of adults both as individuals and as citizens:

In this scientific and industrial age the pattern of our lives is complex ... Many tend to live their lives in compartments. So much of our time is given to earning a living; so much to our personal affairs and interests; so much is or should be given to the affairs and interests of the community. 159

Such thinking reflected the prevailing mood of a period when social planning was regarded as necessary, and there was a natural accompanying desire to rationalise the new "further education" for adults. The Ministry of Education observed in 1949 that, "In the past, provision for

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158 T. L. Hodgkin, W. O. Lester Smith, H.E. Poole, B. Simon, "Further Education Ministry of Education No. 8," Adult Education, XIX,4, 1947, p. 190.

159 Ministry of Education, Further Education Pamphlet No. 8. The Scope and Content of its Opportunities under the Education Act, 1944, p. 5.

further education has been made, not according to any conscious plan, but in response to demands as they arose spontaneously from students or from industry or commerce, or sometimes through the ... inclinations of gifted or energetic teachers. There is consequently little uniformity in it".<sup>160</sup>

The absence of any conscious plan in the development of education for adults had made it easy to introduce the umbrella term of "further education". Yet such a concept carried with it the danger that, contrary to the historical development of paying particular attention to tutorial class instruction, all levels of education could be treated as similar in quality. A phrase that became popular was "education for leisure" and, as a former President of the National Union of students pointed out, this heading "deals with a spread ranging from the highest level of adult education to 'make do and mend' classes in remote villages".<sup>161</sup>

The blurring of pre-war distinctions between liberal and vocational training for adults reflected in part a debate about the role of universities in the post-war period. Sir Walter Moberly, the chairman of the University Grants Committee, expressed some of his personal concern in an influential book called The Crisis in the University. Moberly re-iterated the traditional reason why liberal education for adults was important as "It seeks, not to make the student an effective tool to serve someone else's purpose ... but to train him to recognise, to respect and delight in, what is intrinsically true, good and beautiful".<sup>162</sup> In the view of Moberly, the role of the university was crucial in promoting liberal education as "Its proper task is to promote neither money making, nor sound citizenship nor holiness, but simply sound learning".<sup>163</sup> Moberly noted that the scientific ideal of investigation or research had tended to supplant the idea of teaching liberal values. A man trained in the scientific culture had a different outlook from those

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160 Ministry of Education, Education in 1949, Cmd. 7957, p. 27.

161 Brian Simon, "Further Education" Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 8; Adult Education, XIX, 4, 1947, p. 206.

162 Sir Walter Moberly, The Crisis in the University, London: S.C.M. Press, 1949, p. 31.

163 Ibid., p. 38.

trained in the classical tradition. Scientific training produced a mental discipline that:

enforces submission to fact in spite of all pre-conceptions and predelictions. Secondly, it is analytic ... It requires clarity and precision, and it steers clear of all that is cloudy, grandiose and emotionally coloured. Thirdly it is deliberately selective ... It turns its attention away from issues where enquiry is likely to be fruitless because the conditions of testing do not exist.<sup>164</sup>

One would think that such scientific training would have been welcomed as an additional approach to adult education, and seen as complementing the older classical liberal approach. Unfortunately, the champions of liberal education often adopted a superior attitude that antagonised scientists. There was for example, the speech of Sir Winston Churchill at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1948:

No technical knowledge can outweigh knowledge of the humanities in the gaining of which philosophy and history work hand in hand ... Our inheritance of ... codes of honour, morals and manners ... freedom and justice, are far more precious to us than anything which scientific discoveries could bestow.<sup>165</sup>

Unfortunately for those humanists who sought to convince scientists of their superior knowledge, it was very difficult to make any type of scientific evaluation of the work of liberal education for adults.

A danger existed that defenders of traditional adult education were liable to use a smokescreen of words with emotional content. This difficulty was recognised in an article entitled "What Are We Doing?" that appeared in The Tutors Bulletin in the Autumn of 1948. The three authors pointed out that, "Social Purpose has become a blanket term which covers a multiple of aims and confusions, smothering many a questioning which, if

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164 Ibid., p. 45.

165 E.M. Hutchinson, ed., Aims and Action in Adult Education 1921-1971, London: National Institute of Adult Education, 1971, p. 42.

allowed to develop, might bring new light ... it is ... a charm-word to lull the critical faculties of those whose tower is the committee room".<sup>166</sup> The authors continued with an appraisal of how they viewed the political overtones of statements that sought to justify adult education as a form of social service:

What are we doing? Providing the workers with an essential instrument of social emancipation? That, of course, was yesterday; today it's 'education for social responsibility.' If the next general election puts Labour out of power will it be 'Back to Emancipation'?<sup>167</sup>

Finally, the authors questioned the purpose of the W.E.A. in providing liberal education:

Does this mean 'knowledge for its own sake'? That, of course, is taboo in our work. For have we not been warned that the ordinary man who seeks this 'runs a grave risk of becoming either a dabbler and a dilettante, or else a pedantic and incorrigible critic'? True; but isn't it equally true that the man who seeks knowledge for the sake of social emancipation runs a grave risk of becoming either a political dabbler ... or else a pedantic and incorrigible social critic? ... Often what is abused as the sterile pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is really the disinterested search for knowledge, following the argument wherever it leads.<sup>168</sup>

Essentially the concern of the writers of the article was that there was an artificial distinction between subjects that were "social" and those that were "cultural". The article took the point of view that the W.E.A. had promoted economics at the expense of philosophy. A similar stand was taken by S.G. Raybould when he noted the consequences of such a policy. Raybould deplored, "A pernicious distinction ... between those who, being concerned with 'social studies', are quite sure that they are the true guardian of the ark of the covenant and those who, being tutors or students of 'cultural'

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<sup>166</sup> John Harrison, Richard Hoggart and Roy Shaw, "What Are We Doing?" The Tutors Bulletin, Autumn, 1948, p. 8.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

subjects, guiltily wonder whether they should be in the W.E.A. at all".<sup>169</sup> However, in order to assess the extent to which the concept of liberal education was affected by such distinctions, it is necessary to look at the subjects that were taught in this period.

The subjects accepted by the Ministry of Education as constituting "facilities designed for the liberal education of adults" were classified in its Annual Report for 1948-49 under twelve headings. These were History, International Affairs, Current Affairs, Social Science, Philosophy, Psychology, Religion, Physical Sciences, Biological Sciences, Geography, English Literature, Foreign Literature and the Arts.<sup>170</sup> Considerable discussion took place, principally in the pages of Adult Education as to how these subjects should be presented to adult students. The subject which seems to have received most attention was History and there was obvious concern about its place in the curriculum, accompanied by a desire to explore in what way the subject could be made relevant to the needs of adult students.

A wide range of adult educators were involved in the discussion as to how best teach History. A.J.P. Taylor voiced the opinion that:

the most rewarding form which the study of history can take in adult education is local history ... I am quite certain that much deeper interest is created for the occasional individual who can be brought into the study of local history ... on which he can become an amateur authority of the highest standing.<sup>171</sup>

Such a point of view fitted the concept that adult students often prefer to "do" rather than be "taught" a subject. The division of educational function was also lamented by an art historian who pointed out that classes in drawing,

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169 S.G. Raybould The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 35.

170 Ministry of Education, Annual Report for 1948-49, Table 46.

171 The British Institute of Adult Education, The Individual in Contemporary Society - The Contribution of Adult Education, London, 1947, p. 44.

painting, sculpture and the arts had been principally the business of the local authorities with their Art Schools and Technical Colleges. On the other hand, "the teaching of Art History and Art Appreciation ... has been the task of University Extension, W.E.A. and the Literary Institute".<sup>172</sup> In conclusion, the writer of the article "Education through Art - For All" pointed out that:

This division of function is, of course, a symptom of the old disease. The splintering of the personality in education is a relic of a limiting vocational training. It has now become more ridiculous than ever in adult education, which should surely aim primarily at integration and the enrichment of personality.<sup>173</sup>

Another correspondent, Frank Jessup, took a similar point of view and argued that the method of the W.E.A. had been to try to reduce music and painting into words, so that they could be handled, "verbally in the same way as, for example, the trade union movement in the nineteenth century".<sup>174</sup> Jessup rightly claimed that, "A man cannot be argued into aesthetic experience any more than into a mystical experience".<sup>175</sup> In other words some subjects could not be taught without active involvement on the part of the student.

Norman Dees, a lecturer in History at Newcastle, criticised the approach of adult educators to the teaching of History, which, he claimed, stemmed from their eagerness to see "liberal education" as a sort of explanation of the contemporary scene.<sup>176</sup> Dees noted that S.G. Raybould in his pamphlet The Approach to W.E.A. Teaching had written "students of history are usually at least as interested ... in discovering the relevance of that study to current affairs as in knowing how people lived in the past".<sup>177</sup>

What resulted, according to Dees, was a desire to use History as an "ap-

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172 Helen Lowenthal, "Education through Art - For All", Adult Education, Vol. XX, 4, 1948, p. 173.

173 Ibid., p. 174.

174 Frank Jessup, "The Arts and Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXI, 3, March 1949, p. 117.

175 Ibid., p. 117.

176 Norman Dees, "History and the Adult", Adult Education, Vol. XXI, 4, June, 1949, p. 187.

177 Ibid., p. 180.



proach", or a scale of reference, to politics, economics or social issues, which produced "a biographical peepshow" that was often a travesty of the purpose of studying history to see things in the round. Dees felt that "There is a conception that History, as a 'subject', is dry precisely because living issues and urgencies are beyond it".<sup>178</sup> Therefore, if History was constantly excused as merely background material for a contemporary situation, "its own value as a 'subject', as well as a clue to human understanding, can never be revealed. The adult does not choose History because he is so rarely given a chance to know what it is".<sup>179</sup> A similar opinion was voiced in an article in The Tutors Bulletin of Adult Education. This correspondent commented that when W.E.A. Branch Committees prepared programmes of study what resulted was that:

Someone murmurs 'History?' - at once arid areas of political and diplomatic history present themselves to the mind, or the well-worn field, rich in horror stories, of 19th Century social history - and the proposal is passed over.<sup>180</sup>

What was needed, in the view of the author of this article, was a new approach that could show the richness of the past as a reservoir of human creativeness. In the first year of a tutorial class a start would be made with either simple anthropology or architecture, which facilitated the use of visual aids and encouraged visits to the museum. In the second year, the contemporary evaluations of character, morals and institutions could be studied through literature. Finally, in the third year, there could be an academic course on economic or political history. Such an approach has a great deal that one can commend. Historians are often aware that a cautious, scientific approach to their subject tends to sacrifice human warmth

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178 Ibid., p. 181.

179 Ibid., p. 179

180 Constance Dyson, "The Approach to History", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, July, 1946, p. 6.

that is a feature of "popular" history, where accuracy is sometimes secondary to the desire to excite interest. There was also evidence, from surveys conducted at Manchester, that history "appeals mainly to those at or approaching middle age".<sup>181</sup> Unlike the secondary school day student, W.E.A. students attending History classes might not have had recent contact with "the facts". Therefore in teaching adults, there was an urgent need to present History with some imaginative flair, or interpretation, supplemented by visits to museums or historical sites to reinforce the world of words and ideas.

Norman Dees noted that History was presented under various guises, principally to buttress "the ever amorphous 'International Affairs' or Current Affairs".<sup>182</sup> Another historian, J.F.C. Harrison, noted the large number of courses labelled "International Relations", 'International Problems' and 'International Affairs'." Harrison observed that this approach was unique to adult education, "since international relations is scarcely taught as a subject intra-murally, nor is such teaching undertaken by any institute or organizations concerned with international problems".<sup>183</sup> Historical treatment under such circumstances tended to be shallow, in Harrison's judgement, and there was need for more depth in order to study the rise of the modern national state.<sup>184</sup> Such an opinion from an academic historian about how to present international relations did not have much in common with the mood of self congratulation in which the President of the W.E.A. had indulged, at the Annual Conference in November, 1947.

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181 W.E. Styler, The Composition of W.E.A. Classes in the Manchester University Extra-Mural Area, A provisional report prepared on enquiries conducted in 1947-48 and 1948-49, Manchester: University of Manchester, 1st November, 1949, p. 10.

182 Norman Dees, "History and the Adult", Adult Education, Vol. XXI, 4, June, 1949, p. 179.

183 J.F.C. Harrison, "Towards an interpretation of International Relations", Adult Education, Vol. XXI, 2, December, 1948, p. 75.

184 Ibid., p. 76.

Harold E. Clay pronounced that:

The work we have done during the past year in the field of international relations has been of supreme importance, and work in this field has been undertaken both at home and abroad. In a world subject to hysterical propaganda ... the Association has made a notable contribution to a saner view of international affairs. It is no mean achievement to organise 638 classes in international relations.<sup>185</sup>

This statement makes one wonder whether some members of the W.E.A. might view the study of international relations, conducted "at home and abroad", as a way of extending social purpose. Certainly it was possible that the left wing bias of some members of the movement might incline them to think in terms of the international brotherhood. If this aspect was of concern to some thoughtful historians, it might reinforce the tendency to advocate that local history was a most suitable liberal subject for adults.

Another subject that received considerable attention was Science. There was certainly need for concern over the small number of courses taught related to science, as "In 1946 science courses amounted to (only) 5% of the total programmes of Extra-Mural Departments".<sup>186</sup> In 1946-47 the Extra-Mural Departments of Leeds and Liverpool each had seven courses on science, while Manchester had twenty-four such courses:<sup>187</sup> interestingly enough, this meant that Liverpool had the strongest national interest in science, for twelve per cent of the total extra-mural programme was devoted to science.<sup>188</sup> Concern about the small number of classes on natural science at Manchester led to an investigation as to the motives of students in taking such courses.

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185 Harold E. Clay, Presidential Address, W.E.A. Annual Conference, The Highway, November, 1947, p. 7.

186 Gordon W. Roderick and Michael D. Stephens, "Science in the Extra-Mural Departments of British Universities 1946-7", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, October, 1970, p. 279.

187 Ibid., p. 281.

188 Ibid.

The registers for Manchester Joint Committee classes held in 1949-50 showed that a Biology class had a considerable number of students described as laboratory assistants: while classes in Human Anatomy and Physiology attracted a considerable number of hospital workers of various kinds.<sup>189</sup> There was obviously a strong vocational motive on the part of the students taking such courses. After 1947-48 many extra-mural departments made a drive to popularise science as a cultural study.<sup>190</sup> not without some difficulty, according to T. Kelly, Director of the Extra-Mural Department at Liverpool. Kelly observed that, "the problem of popular education is science ... is one that still awaits a solution: the technical vocabulary of scientific subjects seems to present an insuperable obstacle to the layman".<sup>191</sup> Of course, this gulf was part of a national tradition that had emphasized literary pursuits above science. An article by Bernard Lovell, Senior Lecturer in Physics at the University of Manchester, headed "Science as a Vital Factor in Education", appeared in Adult Education in September, 1947 and made the rather disturbing statement that:

Sir Henry Tizard (Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Scientific Policy) ... said that on every visit to an institution of higher learning he gained the impression that such places were steadily becoming divided into two camps, one composed of scientists and the other inhabited by those who knew nothing about science and, apparently, cared even less.<sup>192</sup>

This was a most unfortunate trend. As Matthew Arnold had emphasized many years earlier, a knowledge of science was part of a liberal education.

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189 W.E. Styler, "The Motives of Adult Students", Adult Education, Vol. XXIII, 2, September, 1950, p. 111.

190 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 367.

191 Ibid.

192 Bernard Lovell, "Science as a Vital Factor in Education", Adult Education, September, 1947, p. 5.

Although the rift between the "Two Cultures" would become more pronounced later, it is important to note at this point that, as early as the late 1940's, there were clear signs of impending trouble. Possibly the whole situation was bound up with the stratification of English society, with literary studies being generally deemed more respectable than scientific pursuits. For a nation that was then making pronouncements about economic survival, emphasizing the slogan "Export or Die", the idea that science was not considered a paramount aspect of general education seems ludicrous. Exports were an aspect of Britain's "International Relations" that deserved special consideration. In turn, there would seem to have been scope for developing courses about the History or Philosophy of Science. The argument could be made that, as Britain depended upon the export of material and ideas, then it behoved the British Government to encourage courses on science. In the past Tutorial classes had received extra grant money. By 1949 the emphasis might have been profitably swung from social purpose to scientific survival, with adult classes in science receiving special financial inducements. Such a move would, however, have been contrary to the historical background of adult education, as developed by the University - W.E.A. alliance. Possibly the presence of so many former W.E.A. tutors and tutors in Parliament did not encourage such thinking about science at the highest political level. In any event, beyond the natural support that one would expect from scientists, there seemed little support for promoting Science as a liberal study for adults.

This period of 1946-49 was a period of growth and consolidation in adult education. University extra-mural departments experimented to find out the range of studies that were possible under the new Further Education regulations. There was, for example, a need to provide courses for the personnel needed to staff the emerging welfare state such as social workers or local government officers. Moreover, the arrival of the welfare state raised questions as to whether the pre-war emphasis on social

purpose was still relevant. Similarly, a debate had started as to whether a Tutorial class was the most suitable vehicle for conveying liberal education to adults. But the most significant development had been a rapid expansion in adult education, which had been encouraged by increased demand from students and a sympathetic Government in Westminster. Many of these trends discernible in this post-war period would provide the base for the developments of the early 1950's to be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION 1950-1954

The early 1950's provided a period of transition within the social, economic and educational setting in which adult education had to operate. In the first few pages of this chapter the discussion will centre around some of these changes relevant to adult education, in order to depict the background conditions that contributed to developments in this period. A major change, for example, was the creation of a welfare state that ensured working people would receive a minimum level of social benefits. In addition, there was a governmental policy of trying to achieve full employment. With "full employment"<sup>1</sup> came a substantial rise in real income and increased mobility, which meant that workers became more reluctant to commit themselves to a three-year tutorial.<sup>2</sup> Even when a worker was interested in taking a tutorial class, it was now possible that the possession of an automobile would enable him or her to be more selective in choosing a subject, compared to pre-war days when a student might have to walk or catch a bus to the nearest W.E.A. classroom. Moreover, the social evangelism of the W.E.A. was less relevant now that

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1 There was usually 300,000 or less unemployed, often on a short term basis. Such a figure contrasted vividly to the pre-war figure of between one and two million unemployed, often on, what was, virtually a permanent basis. See J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 329.

2 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report 1952-53, p. 9. The trend is also apparent from the Annual Reports of the Workers' Educational Association. In 1951-52, in England and Wales, the number of students enrolled in sessional courses was nearly treble that enrolled in three-year tutorial classes: the figures being 30,432 students in sessional classes versus 10,807 in tutorial classes.

welfare economics had undermined the Smilesian virtue of self help. At the same time, however, as the welfare state was being created, there came a natural demand for professionally trained personnel, such as social workers, to staff the framework of social services. Extra-mural departments, in general, responded eagerly to this opportunity of adding courses for social workers, particularly as Treasury funding was available through the Home Office. Meanwhile the post-war expansion of adult education was drawing to an end as, because of the country's recurrent financial crisis, the funds supplied through the Further Education Grant Regulations did not increase at the same rate of growth.<sup>3</sup> In their Report on the year 1950-51, the Universities Council for Adult Education commented that:

A new note was struck in several of the reports of the University Extra-mural Departments... For a number of years, the dominant tone has been one of buoyancy-satisfaction with the steady spread of established work and enthusiasm over fresh developments. Now, to pursue the musical metaphor, a somewhat apprehensive strain makes itself heard. The old confidence is still present, but underneath it can be discerned a growing concern about the persistence of accustomed rates of growth.<sup>4</sup>

The extra-mural departments were also compelled to adapt to changed political conditions. With the advent of a Conservative government, following the general election of October 25, 1951, there were new minds studying the educational scene. It was possible that the Conservative government might be less sympathetic to the cause of liberal education for adults, as promoted by the W.E.A., because the Conservative

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3 The annual grant in 1949-50 was £310,000, which increased in 1950-51 to £330,000. In 1951-52 the amount was £340,000 which decreased to £338,000 in the following year. Ministry of Education Annual Reports for the years in question.

4 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the year 1950-51, p.3.



had less affinity with the Association.<sup>5</sup> According to a Labour Party Study Group on Higher Education, the Conservative Party did deliberately withhold funds : : the Group's report entitled The Years of Crisis outlined:

In a healthy democracy adult education is not a frill to be cut at the first sign of economic recession ... During the whole period of Conservative administration, the main bodies providing adult education - the local education authorities, the W.E.A., and the Extra-Mural departments have been starved of funds.<sup>6</sup>

While this statement is rather overdrawn in claiming that Responsible Bodies were "starved of funds", there was, never-the-less, a case to be made. The funds did not flow as readily as they had in the late 1940's when there had been continuous expansion. Extra-mural directors and the W.E.A. had to recognise a new political climate and plan their programmes on the premise that the purse strings had been tightened.

There were changes in the social milieu which affected the pattern of life of the general public. Television was emerging as a rival not only of the cinema and radio but also, as a possible threat to adult education classes. When Ernest Green, the former General Secretary of the W.E.A. wrote Adult Education Why this Apathy?, he observed that radio and television "encourage a passive attitude, instead of an active one- this is made worse by the fact that in the modern machine society many people's work is purely mechanical and routine, which is hostile to the development of creative faculties".<sup>7</sup> The marvel of television made it possible for a family to view scenes far from their local area and, therefore, this medium had immense ed-

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5 It was pointed out in p. 215 of chapter 4 that over seventy former W.E.A. tutors or students sat on the Labour benches after the election of 1945. This situation was not surprising in view of the inclination of many prominent leaders of the W.E.A. towards socialism, such as, for example, R.H. Tawney and William Temple. There does not seem to be any evidence that the Conservative Party had any similar strong links with the W.E.A.

6 Report of the Labour Party's Study Group on Higher Education, The Years of Crisis, London: 1962, p. 33.

7 E. Green, Adult Education Why this Apathy? London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953, p. 32.

educational potential. But some discerning critics saw a danger to liberal education with C. Wright Mills, an eminent American sociologist, voicing the opinion that the public was being manipulated:

T.V. destroys or minimizes the classic liberal public and makes for ascendancy of the mass media. One man can be heard by millions who cannot reply. Public opinion is made ... Entire brackets of professions and industries are in the 'opinion business' impersonally manipulating the public.<sup>8</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic, E.H. Carr, the Cambridge historian, concluded, "Mass democracy is a difficult and hitherto largely uncharted territory; and we should be nearer the mark, and should have a far more convincing slogan, if we spoke of the need not to defend democracy, but to create it".<sup>9</sup> Such considerations were not abstract issues for adult educators because an increasing number of potential students could watch television in their own homes. On a bleak winter's evening it was possible that some workers might elect to be entertained in their own living room through television, rather than make their way to a class where a tutor would try to make them think. Unfortunately adult educators had not been able to harness the broadcasting media, so that the educational programmes could be integrated with ordinary education classes.<sup>10</sup> It was recognised, by 1952, that radio was an educational tool in its own right and therefore:

This was the principle followed by the B.B.C. in sound radio from 1952 onwards and subsequently in relation to television. The Independent Television Authorities did the same. Adult educationists, on the whole, accepted it gratefully, for experience had demonstrated that broadcast programmes could not conveniently be integrated with ordinary adult education courses, but were best treated as

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8 C. Wright Mills, Mass Society and Liberal Education, Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education, 1954, pp. 3-5.

9 E.H. Carr, The New Society, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1951, p. 76.

10 See T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 347.

supplementary.<sup>11</sup>

Obviously the broadcast programmes could also be viewed as an alternative to attending evening classes, which indicates one of the main factors governing the new social setting in which adult education was forced to operate.

Many adults showed a preference for cultural study, such as listening to music or working at handicrafts, rather than a willingness to undertake an intensive course of academic study involving written and reading assignments. This trend was noted by the National Institute of Adult Education publication entitled Liberal Education in a Technical Age, which also contained this observation, "It is when we turn to evening students (in institutions run by L.E.A.s) that we find ourselves faced by the really 'big battalions'. Their total number was 1,829,000. Of these 1,038,393 were aged twenty-one or over".<sup>12</sup> Approximately half these students were studying subjects that can be termed general education: with almost two-thirds of these students concentrating on Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Handicrafts, and Physical Culture.<sup>13</sup> The motive of special purpose that had inspired the W.E.A., seems to have been minimal among these students attending Evening Institutes. Students in their twenties were quite familiar with the benefits provided by a welfare state, but knew of the depression of the 1930's only as hearsay. Moreover, very few stalwarts of the W.E.A. realised how they seemed "fuddy-duddies and pillars of the Establishment".<sup>14</sup> On the other hand the desire to create things through handicrafts loomed

11 Ibid.

12 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Technical Age, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd., 1955, p. 28.

13 Ibid. The figures for student preferences were as follows:

Mathematics and Natural Sciences	29.5%	English	12%
Handicrafts	17%	Music, Elocution and Theatre	9%
Physical Culture	17%	Languages (other than English)	6%
Social, Mental and Moral Sciences	4.3%	Art	4%

14 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 351.

large and, as the 1919 Report about adult education had noted, handicrafts were a form of liberal education. Moreover, it has been argued that the interest of adults in education develops later in life as, "it is widely recognised that there is a gap between school and the age of twenty-eight or thirty when the traditional liberal education courses begin to make their appeal".<sup>15</sup>

But what type of programme should be provided to ensure a liberal education for the adults of the 1950's, who were living in a period of flux and change? Such a question was a basic issue for University extra-mural departments and the W.E.A., particularly after a Governmental financial squeeze after 1950 forced the L.E.A.s to limit their plans.<sup>16</sup> In view of these circumstances, the task of providing liberal adult education continued to fall almost exclusively to the University extra-mural departments and the Workers' Education Association. Therefore, the basic issue of what should be provided in the way of liberal education was bound to be of crucial importance to the Responsible Bodies. The W.E.A. was in a particularly vulnerable position in the role of a voluntary body that emphasized social purpose in an age of the welfare state. On the other hand, the University extra-mural departments were in a strong position as they had a relatively large number of grant aided full-time tutors and organising tutors.<sup>17</sup> But the problems as to how these tutors and their part-time colleagues could best be

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15 N.A. Jepson, "The Local Authorities and Adult Education", in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, pp. 89-90.

16 See T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, pp. 338-9. As early as 1949 proposals for "county colleges" were suspended as well as all building for community centres, and L.E.A.s were advised to increase the fees of evening students. By 1951 the L.E.A.s were asked to "consider the possibility of making recreational classes self supporting".

17 Ibid. Kelly states that the number of grant-aided full-time tutors and organising tutors jumped from forty-three in 1944-5 to 260 in 1951-2.

deployed in the interests of liberal education was not easily answered. Because of the ramifications of this basic issue, it is proposed to depict the liberal education that was actually being provided, before discussing the dispute over what should have been provided. In this way a frame of reference can be created for an evaluation of the philosophical positions of the rival camps that formed within the university extra-mural fraternity. The University of Leeds will be considered first, to be followed by the Universities of Liverpool and Manchester.

The University of Leeds had not expanded as rapidly as the majority of the English universities whose daytime enrolment had mushroomed after World War Two. Whereas Nottingham University had almost quadrupled in size by 1950-1, compared to 1938-9, and the University of Sheffield had nearly trebled student enrolment, the University of Leeds was less than double its pre-war size.<sup>18</sup> This point is significant, because it would seem reasonable to assume that the Director of an Extra-Mural Department would feel some necessity to try to expand his department at a similar rate to the overall expansion of his university. The slow growth at the University of Leeds was premeditated, as is indicated by a submission to the University Grants Committee in 1944, which expressed the view that "a size of more than 3,000 students would prejudice the idea of a university as a community".<sup>19</sup> It would seem that the University of Leeds was vitally concerned about university standards and was determined not to expand merely for the sake of creating a larger institution. Such a philosophical climate may have affected the outlook and policy of S.G. Raybould, the Director of the Extra-Mural Department.

A residential college named the Albert Mansbridge College was included in the plans for adult students. The Extra-Mural Department recommended for "all students resident for one session a central course of study

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18 H.C. Dent, Growth in English Education 1946-52, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 171.

19 Ibid., p. 170.

should be made obligatory and that it should include English Literature, Philosophy and Modern British Political and Economic Institutions."<sup>20</sup> Although the reconstruction of the building that was to comprise the Albert Mansbridge College was delayed, the intention of having a residential college indicates one of the directions in which the extra-mural department was moving. At the same time there was a continuation of the growth of the Extension lecture classes and in the year 1949-50:

Just over one thousand five hundred students attended courses of Extension lectures; 673 of these were members of courses of over twelve lectures. The first three year course in the Theory of Social Organization was completed, successful candidates being awarded the University Extension Lectures Certificate.<sup>21</sup>

The following session of 1950-51 was a critical one for the Department of Extra-Mural Studies because the University of Leeds gave detailed consideration in its plans for the quinquennial period 1952-1957. A special committee had been appointed at the end of 1949, under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor, to review the needs of the Department in the light of the experience gained since 1946. The Committee proposed that the Department should be recognised as an academic department of the university, responsible not only for the organization of extra-mural work, but for promoting research and teaching about adult education as a distinctive branch of study.<sup>22</sup> This issue of academic recognition was crucial in terms of providing status for the Department and the members of the staff that it employed. Raybould held definite views on the advantages of employing full-time staff, based on his own experience as a tutor, and sought to recruit good men by offering attractive working conditions. Although the salary of tutors had been equated to the level of members of the intra-mural lecturing staff, "they were not considered as eligible for promotion to Senior Lectureships, since the Department was not explicitly recognised as an academic de-

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<sup>20</sup> Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1949-1950, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> S.G. Raybould, "Leeds University Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies", Tutors Bulletin, No. 85, January, 1952, p. 10.

partment, or its staff, therefore, as being on exactly the same footing as internal teachers".<sup>23</sup> In an attempt to improve the status of extra-mural work, a change of title was proposed from "Department of Extra-Mural Studies" to "Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies", and the Senate of Leeds University approved the change.<sup>24</sup> This new title was intended not only to facilitate the improvement of conditions for the teaching staff but, also, to convey that the Department had a two fold function. The second function was the promotion of research and teaching about adult education, as an academic discipline, as this development was seen as an essential element in gaining acceptability within the university fraternity.

The reports that tutors wrote about individual classes during the early 1950's reveal a great concern about the willingness of many extra-mural students to do regular reading or written work. For example, there was a report on a class entitled the Study of Society, wherein it was stated "On the whole it was the new group (of five younger people employed at the neighbouring steelworks) rather than the W.E.A. 'stalwarts' who responded to the tutor's attempts to maintain the standards of reading and written work".<sup>25</sup> Another experienced tutor starting the first year of a class on Social History recorded, "At first, because of the low numbers ... and their newness to the W.E.A., I (J.F.C. Harrison) deliberately soft pedalled the commitments of reading and written work".<sup>26</sup> Another member of the Leeds staff wrote an article entitled "Obtaining Written Work from Students" in which he commented, "Our students are for the most part sceptical of the value of written work for them, and they don't just take our word for it

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

25 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Reports on Classes Session 1950-51, p. 32. The class was conducted by J. Rex at Redcar. The brackets are contained in the original copy.

26 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Reports on Classes Session 1951-52, p. 55. The class was conducted by J.F.C. Harrison at York.

that essay-writing is essential or even desirable".<sup>27</sup> In the light of these experiences in the field, it is not surprising to read in an Annual Report that, after the strain imposed by trying to improve the standard of work in tutorial classes, a situation has developed where:

It is disappointing that tutorial class provision decreased, but the (Joint Tutorial Classes) Committee has been much concerned about the standard of work done in these classes, and undoubtedly the attempts which have been made to improve standards have had something to do with the decline in numbers. <sup>28</sup>

Determined efforts were made to re-invigorate tutorial classes by encouraging W.E.A. branches to begin recruiting for new tutorial classes earlier in the year than had been usual.<sup>29</sup>

The results were not encouraging because, in 1951-52, the total number of Tutorial classes was seventy-six which was only two more than the previous year. Furthermore, the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee reported that:

The average size of the classes has been smaller in recent years ... there is general agreement that it is more difficult than used to be the case to recruit students for long courses of study ... (also) wastage afterwards results in a number of classes having small attendances in their third year.<sup>29</sup>

One of the facts that underlay the problem of recruiting students was a conflict over the distinctive approach that should be taken by the W.E.A. G.H. Thompson continued to urge the idea that "social emancipation" should comprise the raison d'être of the W.E.A. but Mr. Thompson (had) support from only a dwindling minority of staunch W.E.A. people".<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, S.G. Raybould pointed out that if the W.E.A. embraced all liberal studies there would be a grave danger of competition between the Joint Committee

27 W.P. Baker, "Obtaining Written Work from Students", The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Adult Education Papers, n.d., p. 34.

28 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report, 1950-51., p. 7.

29 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1951-52, p. 6.

30 Ibid.

31 H.V. Wiseman, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Leeds, Adult Education, Vol. XXIV, 3, Winter, 1951, p. 185.



and the L.E.A.s.<sup>32</sup> The wind of change was blowing through the West Riding and creating difficulties for the staunch upholders of the tutorial class tradition. Moreover, not all the tutorial classes were comprised of the sturdy manual labourers about which so much had been written. There was, for example, a third year class completing a study of social history and the tutor recorded:

The occupations of the five qualifying students in the third year were a schoolteacher ... (a) retired businessman, a nursing sister and two housewives. Those who did not qualify were a working-class housewife, a lady physician and a textile overlooker.<sup>33</sup>

The theme of social purpose would hardly be likely to strike a responsive chord in such a group. The inability of the North Yorkshire District of the W.E.A. to recruit sufficient students into Tutorials was undoubtedly disheartening for the Association and, furthermore, was likely to produce frustrated tutors trying to bolster marginal classes. Meanwhile, there was a setback to another aspect of liberal education under the supervision of the University of Leeds when, in 1952, there was a contraction in the amount of instruction provided for soldiers at Catterick Camp.

This programme at Catterick Camp had been established, after consultative talks, on the premise that soldiers could take instruction for three consecutive hours on the same day, so that half a day was devoted to study.<sup>34</sup> The cost of such work was met by the War Office who made a grant for administration as well as meeting the teaching costs.<sup>35</sup> But in 1952 the

32 Ibid.

33 The University of Leeds, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Reports on Classes, Session 1951-52, pp. 109-110. The Tutor was J.F.C. Harrison and the location was Skipton.

34 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report, p. 18. Classes had been established in English, French, German, Economics, History, Mathematics, Physics and Education.

35 University Grants Committee, University Development Report on the Years 1947-1952, Cmd. 8875, London: H.M.S.O., 1953, p. 49.

Army Authorities issued orders that the soldiers participating in this scheme were not to be released for daytime instruction, because of the requirements of military training. This action reduced the volume of educational activity, "since although attendance at daytime classes had been voluntary, some men had come less out of enthusiasm for education than because they preferred attendance at a class to military duties".<sup>36</sup> In contrast to these rather depressing developments concerning Army education was the situation in Extension work, where over 1000 students had taken part-time courses, with over a fifth being candidates for the Extension Lectures Certificate.<sup>37</sup>

Starting in 1952 the University of Leeds Department, like all extra-mural departments, was labouring under financial restrictions. The Minister of Education announced that grants for adult education were to be stabilised at the 1951-52 figure.<sup>38</sup> Therefore the Department at Leeds had a restricted income for 1952-53 and for the two succeeding years.<sup>39</sup> Despite this handicap, there was continued development of Adult Education as an academic discipline with J.F.C. Harrison and N.A. Jepson being appointed lecturers in this field of study. The research done by these lecturers formed

36 Ibid.

37 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report, 1951-52, p. 7.

38 This policy was introduced by Miss Florence Horsbrugh, the Minister of Education. Because this financial squeeze resulted in a national crisis, a detailed discussion will be deferred until the events leading to the Ashby Report of 1954 are treated as a separate issue.

39 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 17.

What was true for Leeds was also true for Liverpool and Manchester. Rather than repeat these details for the Extra-Mural Departments of Liverpool and Manchester, it is assumed that all three Universities laboured under the same financial handicap.

the basis of a course of lectures delivered in the academic year 1952-53 entitled "Aspects of the History and Present Organization of Adult Education in England". While Adult Education was being established as an area of study, the decline in the tutorial class picture continued to worry the Joint Committee, who reported that, "Exceptional difficulties were experienced at the beginning of the session in promoting new tutorial classes ... The situation naturally caused concern and prompted a detailed examination of trends since 1946."<sup>40</sup> Meetings were held with tutors and the W.E.A. Emerging from these discussions were new rules governing the recruitment and maintenance of tutorial classes:

The enrolment period ... (was) extended from six to twelve weeks at the beginning of the first year of each class, and classes will not normally proceed after the twelfth meeting unless the tutor is satisfied that at least fifteen students are likely to be regular and satisfactory members of the course. In order to make this possible branches are urged to recruit not less than twenty students during the enrolment period.<sup>41</sup>

These measures indicate that a determined effort was being made to recruit suitable students and require a tutor to use his judgement as to the possible success of his particular class or classes. It is interesting to note how the emphasis had swung away from concern over requiring a certain standard of academic achievement in the classes. The main emphasis now was in trying to ensure that a tutor took responsibility for requiring regular attendance and, in the event of poor attendance, that the matter was reported promptly.

S.G. Raybould was well known for his view that tutorial classes were suitable for workers who had left school at the minimum school leaving

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<sup>40</sup> The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1952-1953, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

age.<sup>42</sup> Such workers did not appear to be coming forward in large numbers and, naturally, this raised the question as to the relevance of this view in the 1950's. Because Raybould was an educator, it was possible to claim that he had a vested interest in promoting his views. Yet support for Raybould's position was forthcoming from the Leader of the Labour Party, Hugh Gaitskell, when he gave an address at the Jubilee Rally of the Yorkshire North District on Saturday, April 25, 1953 about the role of the W.E.A. and commented:

Is there ... any longer the need to provide education for adults who failed to make the grade as children? ... I cannot accept the decision made at the age of eleven as to whether a child is to go into one stream or another should settle the issue of education for life ... It implies a kind of class structure founded upon the educational system which is in direct conflict with the broader ideals of the W.E.A.<sup>43</sup>

Gaitskell obviously felt that the W.E.A. should help to redress the effect of the school system by catering to what Raybould had called the "educationally underprivileged".<sup>44</sup> Having indicated the doctrinaire point of view, Gaitskell delivered an opinion about the value of completing written assignments, by saying, "the great virtue of making people do written work is that it is much harder to write nonsense than to talk nonsense. The process of writing, hard though it is for some people, is an immensely valuable discipline for the mind".<sup>45</sup> One is struck by the support for Raybould's

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42 S.G. Raybould expressed this view in his book The English Universities and Adult Education. A detailed consideration of the argument of this book is deferred until later in this chapter.

43 Hugh Gaitskell, "Adult Education, The W.E.A. and Democracy", The Highway, May to September, 1953, p. 3.

44 The phrase appears in S.G. Raybould, The W.E.A. The Next Phase, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1949, p. 39.

45 Hugh Gaitskell, "Adult Education, The W.E.A. and Democracy", The Highway, May to September, 1953, p. 3.

views by the Leader of the Labour Party. The context is specifically that of the W.E.A. in Yorkshire, although later in this chapter it is proposed to relate these views to the broader question of educational ideology. It needs to be noted also, that in October, 1953, a Chair of Adult Education was instituted at Leeds University and Dr. S.G. Raybould was appointed, thereby gaining well deserved recognition for his work.

The University of Leeds Extension programme concerning liberal studies continued to blossom. New syllabuses on British Social and Political Institutions and English Drama were approved in 1953. Also, Final Examinations were held in "History of Drama", "Modern French Studies", "Theory of Social Organization" and "Geology".<sup>46</sup> Admittedly the hopes for a "considerable expansion" in 1952-53 did not materialise as the stabilization of the Ministry's grants necessitated a reduction in the employment of part-time tutors on the work of the Extension Committee, "in order to make possible the filling of the Extension Lectureship in International Relations which has been instituted".<sup>47</sup> This rather sombre note was replaced, the following year, by delight at the increase in the number of Extension courses:

The programme of classes sponsored by the (Extension Lectures) Committee has been the most substantial in respect of courses, since the institution of the Department ... In all, sixty courses have been provided, of which forty-five have been of the type recognised for grant by the Ministry of Education as courses of liberal education.<sup>48</sup>

The number of students enrolled in Extension courses had increased from 1,050 in 1952-53 to 1,250 in 1953-54,<sup>49</sup> and new courses had been offered in International Relations and "Drama and the Theatre".

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46 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1952-53, p. 9.

47 Ibid.

48 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Report 1953-54, p. 8.

49 Ibid.

It should be noted that the large increase in the number of students in the Extension programme had been helped considerably by the introduction of courses on Criminology. This vocationally oriented course had "proved spectacularly successful. Over four hundred students were enrolled many of them from the police force".<sup>50</sup> Students enrolled in the vocationally flavoured courses were usually males, and their number was often double or triple that of the female students.<sup>51</sup> This aspect reveals a rather interesting contrast to the familiar pattern in tutorial classes where women had usually been in a majority. The new semi-vocational courses were attracting a new type of student while the University was filling a social need. What seems particularly interesting was that these semi-professional courses were offered under the heading of Extension studies, because this focuses upon an historic shift in the use of a word.

The term "Extension" had originated in the nineteenth century as a result of the activity of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in promo-

50 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1953-54, p. 11.

51 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies Annual Reports. The following figures summarise the totals for Extension classes comprised of One Year, Less than Twenty Meetings and other Courses (usually week-end residential schools)

<u>Academic Year</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1951-52	673	273	946
1952-53	586	175	761
1953-54	424	210	634
1954-55	624	287	911

ting lectures for the general public. These lectures aimed at discussing principles involved in scientific and humanistic study and, as such, can be considered liberal study offered to the general public. Now in the early 1950's, the word was used in a much wider context to describe a variety of activity that was frequently vocationally oriented; which meant that the word was often used to describe the opposite of what it had meant earlier. Therefore a phrase that became popular in the 1950's, "University Extension Renascent"<sup>52</sup> has to be used with caution, while keeping in mind that possibly a more accurate phrase to describe this activity would be "Departmental Re-orientation". The clear objective was to offer a comprehensive educational service. Although the importance of traditional liberal study still recognised, there was a greater willingness to ~~counterance~~ the provision of courses relevant to the vocational needs of people seeking to keep abreast of new developments in technology and professional interests.

This trend was evident during an official Inspection between 1952-54, when over half the courses organised by the Extension Lectures Committee were classified as "History and Social Sciences".<sup>53</sup> This classification seems to have been used in a different fashion than what was normally implied within the university, where it referred to courses of liberal education provided for undergraduates by certain academic departments. In the first place, these Extension classes catered to particular vocational groups who wished to further their career, because as H.M. Inspectors pointed out:

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52 Professor S.G. Raybould edited the book Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959., which contained chapters by the various members of the Leeds University Extra-Mural staff. One chapter by J.W. Saunders, that described the 1950's, was entitled "University Extension Renascent".

53 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Courses on History and the Social Sciences Provided in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire by the University of Leeds and the Yorkshire North District of the Workers Educational Association, Inspected September, 1952 - March, 1954, p. 12.

There were, for example, Local Government Officers studying Social and Political Institutions, Police Officers taking courses in Criminology or Law, Planning Engineers and Managers taking a course in Management Studies and National Assistance Board employees, Children's Officers and Almoners studying Human Relations.<sup>54</sup>

Secondly, the subject content of these courses was scrutinized by the Inspectors who made the point that, "Of twenty of these (Extension) courses which were inspected only 4 were clearly of a kind traditionally associated with Liberal Adult Education".<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the Inspectors felt that the development of the new style Extension programme might affect the provision of liberal education, because as they pointed out:

Only a part of the work arranged by the Extension Lectures Committee is designed to attract grant under the Ministry of Education Regulations. The sample of that part which was inspected suggests that through work of this kind the Extra-Mural Department has opportunities of performing a most useful function in so far as it can ensure that the courses retain their liberal purpose. There might otherwise be some danger that in responding to a demand, which could prove to be very large, for less humane instruction, the Department would allow itself to be diverted in some measure from its very valuable share in the education of the general public.<sup>56</sup>

There was substance to this concern about the Department being influenced by the demand for the new form of Extension study. The Inspectors noted during their visits to fairly homogenous classes, frequently composed of members of the same occupation, that the attitude of these students frequently concentrated on gaining "the raw material from which examination answers or occupational expertise could be extracted".<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, when, in some cases, the tutor tried to impart a liberal point of view by providing a wider perspective, the students, "responded with ill concealed hostility".<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.



It would seem that any attempt to justify much of this Extension work as a form of liberal education required an elasticity of terminology unknown to the original Extension movement.

On the other hand, the motive of "social purpose" that had been a strong feature of Adult Education in Yorkshire could, conceivably, reconcile to some extent, the liberal intention of much of this vocationally flavoured study. But there appears to have been a discrepancy between the development of this Extension work, which was primarily vocational, and the publicly declared position of Professor S.G. Raybould, which stressed the traditional liberal subjects:

The distinctive 'adult studies' ... are not technological subjects but the 'humanities' and the social studies: literature, history, philosophy, psychology, economics, politics. these are particularly suited for work in adult classes ... because their subject matter, though communicated in words, is human experience.<sup>59</sup>

Yet it is apparent that the most rapid expansion at Leeds was in vocationally oriented courses where, as H.M. Inspectors had noticed, there might be a resistance to attempts by instructors to impart a liberal flavour. Because of the prominence given to Professor Raybould's criticisms of many extra-mural departments, in departing from the tutorial class tradition, the directors of those departments were naturally interested in any apparent discrepancy between educational philosophy and educational practice at Leeds. This setting need to be kept in mind when the controversy of the 1950's about Raybould's views are reviewed later in this chapter.

The motive of social purpose was still evident in the tutorial classes conducted by the University of Leeds, which continued to receive constant attention from the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies. During the year ending September 30, 1954 there was a slight improvement in the position regarding tutorial classes. Twenty-three new

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<sup>59</sup> S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1951, p. 5.

classes were provided compared to thirteen in the previous year, while the average enrolment per class increased from less than fourteen students to sixteen.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand twelve of these new classes were only allowed to proceed,"as a result of special recommendation by the tutors conducting them, although they had fewer than fifteen students now regarded as the minimum enrolment".<sup>61</sup> Obviously the rules had flexibility and the continued concern of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was revealed by the comment, "The number of small classes is still too large for comfort".<sup>62</sup> In view of the difficulty of enrolling students for tutorial classes, it is noteworthy that the Inspectors who surveyed some local W.E.A. classes between 1952-54 commented:

It may be that, with some change in social conditions since the foundation of the (Workers' Educational) Association, there is now, side by side with a need for the traditional kind of work, also a need for classes ... which prepare them (the students) for an enriched use of leisure ... rather than the formal study of social problems.<sup>63</sup>

There was obvious concern that the tradition associated with G.H. Thompson might not be relevant to the 1950's.<sup>64</sup>

The emphasis on Extension work at Leeds was paralleled by a similar development at the University of Liverpool. The Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Liverpool entered the 1950's with a continuing expansion of Extension work, and a summary of the work on 1949-50 stated:

The most marked feature of the session has been the continued expansion of work in the Extension field ... the

60 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Eighth Annual Report, October 1, 1953 to September 30, 1954, p. 7.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Courses in History and the Social Sciences Provided in the North and West Ridings by the University of Leeds and the Yorkshire North District of the Workers' Educational Association, Inspected September 1952-March, 1954, p. 5.

64 The relevance of tutorial classes to the 1950's was part of a larger national debate, which is considered later in this chapter. The discussion here only relates specifically to consideration of the situation in Yorkshire at this particular point in time.

two year course for Special School Teachers and for Welfare Workers have been brought to a successful conclusion, and among new experiments have been a training course in the use of historical records and a combined language-literature course on French.<sup>65</sup>

Obviously a mixture of vocational and liberal education was being offered in Extension work. In 1949-50 a total of 1,843 students attended fifty-four courses which represented "figures higher than ... any previous year of the Department's history."<sup>66</sup> In the following year, 1950-51, there were exactly twice as many students in Extension work as in tutorial classes, which was surely ironic as "in 1939 the university contemplated abolishing its Extension Board as having outlived its purpose".<sup>67</sup> Moreover, many of the courses in Social Science, Economics, and Psychology were "directed specially to the needs of local industry":<sup>68</sup> such an approach neatly combined the idea of adult education being a form of liberal study with the vocational needs of industry. Such semi-vocational courses often did not qualify for Ministry of Education grants. In any event the Ministry was committed to a policy of financial retrenchment which made it rather unresponsive to the new style Extension courses. Therefore the attitude of Director T. Kelly towards his Extension programme stressed the need to ensure that the demand was actually there before providing courses, a policy that was indicated by this statement:

Courses are either for the general public or for special groups known in advance to be interested. At the present time, for example, for financial reasons, we are tending

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65 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1949-50, p. 12.

66 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1949-50, p. 7.

67 H.A. Jones, "The Liverpool Extra-Mural Area", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, July, 1952, p. 10.

68 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Years 1950-51, p. 13.

to lean increasingly to the latter arrangement. This does involve ... 'special methods' which vary from course to course. We find that simply to offer courses to the general public is a very chancy procedure.<sup>69</sup>

There was a demand for specialist courses in Science and, during the year 1950-51, there ~~were~~ Sessional Classes in Biochemistry, Quantum Theory and Wave Mechanics.<sup>70</sup> At the end of that year, the Annual Report recorded that experience with these type of courses:

prompts the general reflection that extension courses which are aimed at a specific body of students, and if possible arranged in collaboration with some appropriate outside organisation, are commonly much more successful, both in numbers and in the standard of work achieved, than courses which rely on a heterogenous student body gathered by public advertisement.<sup>71</sup>

The demand for scientific and technological subjects continued to grow. because by 1953-54, the Department at Liverpool was offering post-graduate courses in such varied aspects of Science as both organic and inorganic Chemistry, Botany, Biochemistry, Electronics, Metallurgy and Electrical Engineering.<sup>72</sup>

A policy existed of using members of the University staff as lecturers on Extension work, wherever possible, and, "It is this policy more than any other factor ... that prevents the quicker development of University Extension throughout the region, for university teachers are so increasingly burdened with other duties, that a lecture at some distance from home becomes a genuine sacrifice".<sup>73</sup> This reason also helped to explain why so few professors and senior lecturers took tutorial classes, and the need to employ forty or fifty part-time tutors for this purpose.<sup>74</sup> Obviously

69 University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies Office Files, Letter from Mr. T. Kelly to Dr. W.S. Evans of the University of Glasgow, dated September 15, 1952.

70 The University of Liverpool, University Extension Board, Report Book, No. 4, p. 227.

71 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1950-51, p. 6.

72 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, pp.16-17

73 H.A. Jones, "The Liverpool Extra-Mural Area", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, July, 1952, p. 10

74 Ibid.

the University of Liverpool had a different policy concerning the provision of lecturers and tutors for adult education classes compared to that developed at Leeds. Whereas Professor S.G. Raybould placed emphasis on a large staff of full-time tutors employed by the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Study, the policy of T. Kelly seems to have utilised intra-mural lecturers for Extension work and, principally, part-time tutors for tutorial classes.

As the volume of Extension work increased at the University of Liverpool there was a danger that such courses might compete with the district branch of the W.E.A. Therefore, in order to prevent duplication, a policy existed that "wherever the subject matter of an extension course falls within the traditional W.E.A. range, the local branch is invited to be associated with the course and is consulted about it in advance".<sup>75</sup> Such co-operation between the University and the W.E.A. was highlighted by a decision in June, 1951 of the Joint Committee for Tutorial Classes which decided:

to authorise the Joint Secretaries to organise sessional classes in cases where ... a tutorial class was impracticable. It was stipulated that the tutors of such classes must be members of the University staff. As Liverpool has hitherto stood almost alone among the universities in refusing to accept responsibility for W.E.A. sessional classes, this was a historic decision.<sup>76</sup>

Such a point of view concerning the need for a higher quality of tutor was consistent with the attitude that had been expressed by the University Grants Committee (U.G.C.).

Sessional courses consisting of 20 or more meetings ... require a serious effort from the student. The shorter period of the course makes it difficult for him to attain an equal standard to that of the three year course, but much will depend upon the quality of the tutor.<sup>77</sup>

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75 Ibid.

76 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1950-51, p. 9.

77 University Grants Committee, University Development Report on the Years 1947 to 1952, Cmd. 8875, London: H.M.S.O., 1953, p. 49.

One reason for the "historic decision" is indicated by the Annual Report of the West Lancashire and Cheshire District of the W.E.A., which regretted a large decrease in One Year Courses.<sup>78</sup> The W.E.A. noted the formation of University Sessional Classes for the first time in the District, which met for either twenty or twenty-four meetings and were therefore, comparable to One Year Courses.<sup>79</sup> Presumably students who attended Sessional classes under the auspices of the University were not so enthusiastic about studying the same subject in a W.E.A. class. The stress laid upon using members of the University staff as tutors possible indicated that the tutors normally used in Tutorial classes and One-Year classes, who were frequently part-timers, were not seen as conducive to securing work of a university quality.<sup>80</sup>

There was a unique flavour about some of the extra-mural work conducted at Liverpool which stemmed from the cosmopolitan nature of the city's population. H.A. Jones, Assistant Director of Extra-Mural Studies, Liverpool University, noted that, among the diverse groups one expects in a seaport, "for adult educators the more important groups are the Welsh and Irish ... The University offers extension courses in Irish history, literature and language, and in Welsh-i.e. conducted in the Welsh language".<sup>81</sup> Another

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78 W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District, Annual Report 1951-52, p.3.

79 Ibid.

80 A full discussion of the use of such a controversial term as "university quality" will be deferred until the next chapter, when the full range of controversy that centred around Professor S.G. Raybould will be discussed. The idea of university quality is used here purely to emphasize the difference one could expect from a policy that emphasized using members of the University staff, as opposed to the use of part-time tutors who might not have too much contact with the University, and therefore might not be familiar with current developments in their field.

81 H.A. Jones, "The Liverpool Extra-Mural Area", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, July, 1952, p. 12.

unique subject that was popular in Extension Studies was Egyptology.<sup>82</sup> In surveying these diverse human interests, H.A. Jones observed that such varied activity was similar to the geographic diversity within the Liverpool Extra-Mural Area, a maritime province approximately 110 miles long and twenty miles wide, where industrial towns mingled with seaside resorts amid varied agricultural areas.

Within this diverse area were a number of Army and Royal Air Force units that provided the University of Liverpool with the opportunity to continue educating members of H.M. Forces. Unlike the situation that has been discussed with regards to Leeds University and Catterick Camp, the work around Liverpool was decentralised. By 1950, this work for H.M. Forces was undergoing a considerable drop in volume. In August, 1949 the teaching of the English Language to the Polish Re-settlement Corps was ended: followed, soon afterwards, by the impact of an Army decision not to permit the use of civilian instructors for elementary subjects. The consequence of this drop in demand was that Director T. Kelly reported that, "The services of the seven full-time teachers and numerous part-time teachers engaged in this work were accordingly dispensed with as from 1st April, 1950".<sup>83</sup> Therefore it is not surprising that Kelly reported, later in the same year, that "The work of providing civilian assistance to the Forces is now sadly shrunken in comparison to the glories of the war-time years".<sup>84</sup> A remnant of the work remained, primarily concerned with the general education promoted

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82 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report on the Year 1951-52, p. 5.

83 Liverpool Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Interim Report for the half-year ending 30th September, 1950, Minute Book, 1939-1960.

84 Ibid.

through citizenship and current affairs; or assisting officers to prepare for promotion examinations; or classes in practical subjects such as short-hand, cookery and woodwork.

In 1951, Mr. J. Burr, a former Major in the Army Educational Corps, who had many contacts in the area, was given special responsibility for developing Forces work on behalf of the Liverpool Extra-Mural Department. Mr. J.G. Williams was appointed as a tutor specifically charged with working out a programme for those service men and women who had reached school certificate standard and wanted higher education. The first annual report of Williams had a comment that would have seemed very familiar to wartime lecturers such as T. Kelly, S.G. Raybould and R.D. Waller: "at times a visiting lecturer is at a disadvantage when speaking to an audience of permanent staff compulsorily mustered for the occasion".<sup>85</sup> Williams appears to have overcome these conditions, however, because his subsequent comment was, "but normally the mild resentment of the few is not unduly difficult to dispel".<sup>86</sup> More difficult to overcome was the Army's reduction in the amount of educational work that resulted from the Treasury's retrenchment policy. Admittedly, some of this retrenchment policy seems to have been long overdue, as one wonders about the purpose of an Anti-Aircraft Command in the 1950's. The tenacity of service institutions to survive long after their role was obsolete was, however, very helpful to the budget of the Extra-Mural Department in the University of Liverpool. By 1952, the emphasis in providing courses for the H.M. Forces was swinging towards servicing the needs of the Royal Air Force units in the

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85 Liverpool Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Report on the work by J.G. Williams, August 1, 1951 - March 31, 1952, Minute Book 1939-1960.

86 Ibid.



area. Also, the work with Western Army Command began to revive and expand beyond the familiar fare of Citizenship and Current Affairs. Courses were provided in Philosophy, Psychology, Music Mathematics and even Dancing.<sup>87</sup>

A subject analysis of all courses offered by the Extra-Mural Department indicated a considerable degree of consistency. A study made of the period 1948-1952 showed that Language and Literature was the most popular subject area.<sup>88</sup> The least popular subject was Physical Science although, it was recorded in 1952, concerning tutorial classes, that "a start has been made in the provision of classes in the physical sciences".<sup>89</sup> An analysis of the quinquennial period 1950-55 indicates that classes in Languages and Literature remained one-fifth of the total and the number of Physical Sciences classes had trebled. The only real surprise concerned the subjects that had tied for second place in popularity, during 1948-1952, namely "Psychology" and "Geography and World Affairs". In the analysis for the first five years of the 1950's, Psychology sank to seventh place in the number of classes provided, while Geography and World Affairs doubled in percentage terms, and became indisputably the second choice in the classes provided.<sup>90</sup>

87 Liverpool Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Report for the Year Ending 31st March, 1954, Minute Book 1939-1960.

88 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1951-52, p. 6.

The percentages for the subjects analysed for all extra-mural classes during the period 1948-52 were:

Literature and Language	19%	History	8%
Psychology	14%	Biology	7%
Geography and World Affairs	14%	Physical Sciences	4%
Economics and Sociology	13%	Philosophy	3%
Music	12%	Education	3%
		Other Subjects	3%

89 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1951-52, p. 6.

90 See Table 6 in the Appendix covering a subject analysis for the years 1950-55. Subsequent comment on subject preferences for these years is based on these figures.

By 1953-54 the development of the Extension work included the inauguration of University Study Courses, designed for students who had studied a subject up to School Certificate level, and this proved to be an outstanding feature in a year that set new records for Extension work.<sup>91</sup> Director Kelly answered an enquiry about the selection of the title for these courses, and his answer provides an interesting insight into the development of terminology in this period:

The title 'University Study Course' was invented in order to distinguish courses requiring systematic reading and written work by the students from 'Lecture Courses' to which the title 'Extension' has of late years been limited. We now have practically abandoned the use of the word 'Extension' in favour of 'Study Group', 'Study Course', 'Lecture Course' etc.<sup>92</sup>

Possibly also the umbrella term Extension was being over-exposed through the rise of courses of a vocational or semi-vocational nature. To use the word "study" seems an appropriate way to indicate the liberal content of the courses being offered. The subjects chosen to start the new University Study Courses "were Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics, Social Science, the History of Music and History of the Theatre".<sup>93</sup> While this new venture was organised on a sessional basis of twenty meetings, the planning was flexible in terms of allowing for a course "to run for two, three or four years according to the nature of the subject and needs of the students".<sup>94</sup> There was obviously a danger that University Study Courses would compete with traditional W.E.A. tutorial classes: but the initial selection of subjects

91 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 11. The new records for Extension work at Liverpool were 82 courses and 2,682 students.

92 University of Liverpool, Extra-Mural Department Office Files, Letter of Director T. Kelly to Mr. Roy Shaw, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, The University of Leeds dated 15 October, 1954.

93 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 11.

94 Ibid.

indicated a desire to minimize duplication. As time went on there was bound to be some change in the relative strengths of the University liberal study courses compared to those provided by the W.E.A. The evidence suggests that in Literature, Science and History the University Study Courses took over the leading role formerly occupied by the W.E.A. and, by 1954, a similar trend seemed about to happen with Geography and World Affairs.<sup>95</sup>

There seems little doubt that the students enrolled in the University Study Courses were of a high calibre.<sup>96</sup> A report on the initial 150 students enrolled in 1953-54 record that, "The standard of work was high: in every case a substantial amount of reading and written work was done".<sup>97</sup> In the same year that these new study classes were launched, an official inspection by H.M. Inspectors was made of classes in History, Geography and Current Affairs in Merseyside. The selection of these subjects was explained in the aim of the Inspection:

The subjects of Geography and History, since they

95 A COMPARISON BETWEEN PROVISION BY THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL  
EXTENSION ACTIVITY AND TUTORIAL CLASSES PROVIDED BY THE W.E.A.

\*Note that from 1951-52 onwards Sessional Classes are included.

	1950-51		1951-52		1952-53		1953-43		1954-55	
	W.E.A.	EXT.	W.E.A.	EXT.	W.E.A.	EXT.	W.E.A.	EXT.	W.E.A.	EXT.
Geography and World Affairs	15	4	16	3	16	7	14	11	11	10
Literature	15	10	15	9	12	8	11	16	11	19
Music	13	1	13	5	12	8	9	5	9	6
Psychology	6	8	5	6	4	8	4	7	1	6
Sciences	6	10	8	9	5	9	5	13	3	9
Economics and Sociology	8	14	6	11	7	7	6	7	8	9
History	4	6	6	7	7	8	6	8	7	10

Source: University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies Reports.

Abbreviations W.E.A. - Workers' Educational Association  
EXT. - Extension

96 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 11.

97 Ibid.

are frequently linked with the study of Current Affairs, seemed an appropriate accompaniment to the latter, and the total number of classes in the three subjects made up a group of appropriate size for the purpose of this Inspection, the bulk of them being in the subject of Current Affairs.<sup>98</sup>

The results of this Inspection of a range of Extension, tutorial and W.E.A. classes were quite interesting if rather predictable. H.M. Inspectors started by delivering a platitude of "In many respects the classes under review are maintaining highly commendable standards," and continued that "there is room for improvement in many classes in reading and written work by students and their capacity for discussion was disappointing in all except a few instances".<sup>99</sup> But warm praise was bestowed upon the Extension classes, for it was stated:

The handling of the classes was rather more on the lines of full-time University study than on the typical Adult Education class. Sound scholarship was in evidence, and the work of the students, who were mainly of the grammar school type was serious and business like.<sup>100</sup>

Obviously the level of achievement in the new University Study Courses was quickly recognised. But the establishment of these new courses did not mean that the University of Liverpool was losing interest in tutorial classes. The Director of the Extra-Mural Department, T. Kelly, undertook an inquiry into "how far the increased mobility of labour is a factor contributing to the present difficulty in establishing and maintaining three-year classes!"<sup>101</sup> Certainly times had changed since the days when, five years earlier, the tutorial class had comprised the staple diet of the Extra-Mural Department. This changed situation can be seen from the way the activity of the Depart-

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98 Ministry of Education, Report by H.M. Inspectors on Adult Education Courses in History, Geography, and Current Affairs Provided by the Responsible Bodies in Merseyside, Inspected November 1953 to January 1954, p. 2.

99 Ibid., p. 12.

100 Ibid., p. 3.

101 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1953-54, p. 9.

ment was financed, as the University had increased its share of the cost involved almost to the same level as that of the Ministry of Education.<sup>102</sup>

One of the factors that lay behind the reluctance of many adults to embark on an intensive course of liberal study lay in the somewhat unexpected reaction of workers towards increased leisure. Instead of full employment producing students eager to enrol in extra-mural classes, there was a tendency in Merseyside to prefer to work overtime.<sup>103</sup> Other explanations for the missing students were noted by the Director of Liverpool's Extra-Mural Department, in a review of the current scene. "Some blame television" noted the report from Manchester "others think that a mood of slackness and relaxation ~~or perhaps~~ of aimlessness has settled on the nation."<sup>104</sup> It seems evident that Liverpool, like Leeds, retained a basic belief in the importance of the Tutorial class compared to the Sessional. In 1952-53, for

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102 Shown below is a comparison between the way the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was financed:

Source	1947	1951-52
	<u>Estimated Income</u>	<u>Income and Expenditure</u>
Student Fees	-	£ 555
Ministry of Education	£ 8,169	£9,031
L.E.A.s	£ 2,185	£2,074
University of		
Liverpool	£ 2,430.1.8	£8,941
	<u>£12,774.1.8</u>	<u>£ 20,601.</u>

Source: - University of Liverpool Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, Report Book, No. 5, p. 107 (for the year 1947), p. 221. (for the year 1951-52).

103 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra Mural Studies, Report on the Year 1952-53., p. 9

104 Ibid.

example, the proportion of classes offered were very similar; with Liverpool providing sixty-nine Tutorial and five Sessional classes and Leeds having sixty-five Tutorial and seven Sessionals.<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile the University of Manchester had fifty-two Tutorial and seventy Sessional classes,<sup>106</sup> which indicated a preference in favour of the shorter type class. At the University of Liverpool, one interesting aspect of extra-mural classes was that, after 1950-51, women consistently outnumbered male students.<sup>107</sup> In the absence of a detailed study as to why the ratio of women to men remained essentially the same, it would be pure conjecture to attempt an explanation.

An analysis of the vocations of students enrolled in the tutorial classes organised by the Universities of Liverpool and Manchester reveals a fairly dependable pattern. The category described as "Clerks, Draughtsmen, Travellers and Foremen" provided the most students: followed by "Home Duties and Nursing" with Teachers in third place.<sup>108</sup> This similarity in the vocational background of the tutorial class students at both Universities indicates that, in Lancashire, the main sources from which students could be expected were well known. Yet there were differences in local conditions

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105 Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes, "Subject Analysis of Classes", Report on the Session 1952-53, p. 17.

106 Ibid.

107 From 1951-2 until 1953-54 the proportion stayed at a steady ratio of Men Students 46%, Women Students 54%. In 1954-55, there was a slight change when the percentage of women increased to 55%.

Source: The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Reports for the Sessions 1951-52 until 1954-55.

108 The following table has been developed from the Reports of the Extra-Mural Departments of Liverpool and Manchester. The percentages for Manchester were calculated on the raw figures.

	<u>Liverpool</u>		<u>Manchester</u>	
	1949-50	1950-51	1949-50	1950-51
Manual Workers	14%	16%	16%	17%
Clerks, Draughtsmen, Travellers and Foremen	26%	22%	30%	28%
Shop Assistants	2%	2%	4%	3%
Teachers	17%	20%	15%	16%
Civil Servants and Postal Workers	5%	6%	5%	6%
Professional and Social Workers	8%	9%	5%	5%
Home Duties and Nursing	22%	20%	20%	21%
Miscellaneous	6%	5%	5%	4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: - In 1951-52 Sessional Classes were included in the University of Liverpool Reports. Therefore the comparison between tutorial classes at both universities has not been extended to subsequent sessions.

and the development of adult education at Manchester will now be considered.

Between October, 1950 and March, 1951 there was an official survey of adult education provided by the University and the W.E.A. within the County Borough of Manchester. The area involved was about forty-two square miles with a total population of 766,000. H.M. Inspectors visited roughly three-quarters of the fifty-six classes of various types held in the Manchester area, and, it is clear from some of the comments made on the subject of written work, that similar problems existed to those discussed for the Universities of Leeds and Liverpool. The Inspectors approved of the stand of the University of Manchester Extra-Mural Department, expressed in the "Notes for Tutorial and Sessional Classes", which clearly stated, "Written work is an essential element in such classes and tutors are advised to make this clear from the beginning".<sup>109</sup> But in practice H.M. Inspectors found that such instructions to tutors did not produce very good results, for the written work they saw produced the comment:

(it) was in the main thin both in quantity and quality and did not provide evidence of any very wide reading. Nor was it possible to escape the conclusion that regular writing is not yet regarded by the majority of the students as a really vital part of their work, even though they have been repeatedly told that it is.<sup>110</sup>

It is revealing to learn that the exhortations to insist on written work, from the Manchester University Joint Committee, had been accompanied by a survey of tutors to learn the methods "they used to extract written work".<sup>111</sup> The need to "extract" written work makes the concept of attaining university standards, seem somewhat of a mockery. Such an impression is supported by the reports of the tutors of their methods of extracting written work which is revealed that, in some cases, the standard of work required was only a perfunctory exercise:

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109 Ministry of Education, A Survey of Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies within the County Borough of Manchester, London:H.M.S.O.,1951,p. 9.

110 Ibid.

111 W.E. Styler, "Written Work", The Tutors Bulletin, Autumn, 1950, p. 3.

One (tutor) reported that initially he only asked for only 10 lines, and later increased it to 20 ... Another (tutor) says that he always offers three subjects at a time, one very easy, one easy and one moderately difficult. This tutor, like others, also says that he allows students to write on a subject he has not proposed himself, if it is related to the course.<sup>112</sup>

A further impression conveyed by these admissions regarding written work is that tutors felt that students might be discouraged if faced with a high tutorial standard. Yet, even after all allowance is made for this tolerant approach, there was still difficulty in getting students to commit themselves to a strenuous course of study, which was reflected by the "often repeated statement of W.E.A. Branch officers, 'we find it hard to get people to promise for three years ahead'.<sup>113</sup> The interest of students who did join Tutorial classes were also changing. There were for example, twelve classes in Philosophy and ten in Appreciation of Music in 1950-51, compared to a pathetic two classes in each of Economics and Politics plus one class in Social History.<sup>114</sup> Interest in education for leisure seemed to be outstripping the older motive of social purpose. In view of these difficulties, it is not surprising that it was easier to recruit students into Sessional classes.

This trend of student being unwilling to enrol in classes for more than a year perturbed members of the Manchester University Joint Committee: although "No member of the Committee took the extreme view, advanced by Dr. Raybould of Leeds, that the University should refuse to provide sessional courses".<sup>115</sup> One explanation that was offered as a contributory cause for this imbalance of tutorial classes relative to sessionals was that

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112 Ibid.

113 W.E. Styler, "Manchester University Extra-Mural Department", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, 1952, p. 8.

114 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1950-51, pp. 10-11.

115 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1951-52, p. 2.



there had been a shift in population. W.E. Styler of the Manchester Extra-Mural Department, expressed such a view:

it is partly the results of a pre-war economic depression in East Lancashire and the considerable shift in population ... which have occurred in the last 20 years. Of the nine Lancashire County Boroughs in the (North-West) District of the W.E.A. all lost population except Bury (which remained the same), but the Boroughs and Urban Districts on the outskirts of Manchester gained considerably.<sup>116</sup>

When potential students moved to the large urban centre of Manchester they tended to be lost to the W.E.A., as there was the opportunity to attend Extension courses at the University. W.E. Styler noted that "Extension classes are mainly confined to Manchester, where students attending them outnumber students attending W.E.A. classes by about two to one".<sup>117</sup> Professor R.D. Waller was in an uncomfortable position after being elected Chairman of the North West District of the W.E.A., as he then had loyalties to both the University and the W.E.A. Moreover, the policy of Waller was scrutinised by a vigilant female educator named Lady Simon of Wythenshawe who, in addition to being the wife of the Chairman of Council at the University of Manchester, happened to be a Vice-President of the national W.E.A. and a Raybouldian. Under these circumstances, a policy that minimized competition between the two responsible bodies seems politic. It needs to be pointed out that the possibility of an extra-mural department competing with the local W.E.A. District organisation was part of a national problem because, as an article in The Times Educational Supplement pointed out:

in some fields the universities, L.E.A.s, W.E.A. and the newer residential colleges are tumbling over themselves in giving essentially similar courses - who could tell nowadays without looking at the handbill, which of the four would probably be running a course on 'local history'?<sup>118</sup>

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116 W.E. Styler, "Manchester University Extra-mural Department", The Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education, 1952, p. 8.

117 Ibid.

118 The Times Education Supplement, August 15, 1952, p. 685.

ional and better educated".<sup>121</sup> This conclusion was reinforced by the investigations that W.E. Styler had been making about the "Occupations of Students", which included examination of class registers over the period 1947-51. One investigation in 1950-51, for example, revealed that of 651 students attending Extension courses, Teachers comprised 34.1% of the group; Professional, Managerial and Scientific workers 21.8%; and clerical workers 12.1%.<sup>122</sup> Expressed another way, these categories accounted for over two-thirds of the sample group. From such studies Styler concluded that:

as one would expect, clerical and administrative workers, and workers in the lower professional groups, who owe their occupational status to the exploitation of their literacy, are more interested in opportunities for adult education than workers whose ability to do their work does not depend to such a marked extent upon their intellectual abilities.<sup>123</sup>

The Times commented on these results from Styler's study entitled "Who were the Students?" After remarking that this analysis of the students in the Manchester area showed that little over 44% of the students had left school at fourteen, the Times went on:

These figures are discouraging. They suggest plainly that adult education is failing to attract the manual worker, and it is worth asking whether the right kind of education is being offered .... the academic evening class is unlikely to attract any manual workers. They are people who were early judged to be unsuited to academic study. If they are to continue of their own free choice, classes meant for them will have to be framed on non-academic lines.<sup>124</sup>

Possibly this newspaper commentary was a more realistic approach to the manual worker than the Albert Mansbridge tradition, which assumed that the manual worker had a high degree of interest in academic subjects, plus an innate ability for study. Certainly the surveys by W.E. Styler confirmed

121 R.D. Waller, "W.E.A. and Extension", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, Summer, 1952, p. 63.

122 W.E. Styler, "Extension Courses and W.E.A. Classes", Adult Education, Vol. XXIV, Spring, 1952, p. 302.

The remainder of the students comprised, Retired 9%: Housewives 6.6%: Manual Workers 6.1%: Public Administration 4.7%: Commerce 3.3% and others 2.

123 W.E. Styler, Who Were the Students? London: National Institute of Adult Education, 1950, p. 27.

124 The Times, March 27, 1950, p. 5.

that participation in adult education tended to be confined to educationally conscious citizens, a point of view reflected by those extra-mural departments who felt that their future might lie in educating the educated.

The study of the characteristics of students was extended into the attendance pattern within tutorial classes provided between 1949-52 by the Manchester University Joint Committee. The study entitled Attendance Achievements in Tutorial Classes revealed that about half of the original students enrolled in the first session qualified for admission to the third session.<sup>125</sup> What was more revealing, however, was the comparison drawn between the survival rate of the major occupational groups from which tutorial class students were drawn. Housewives had the best record, with 59.5% of them entering the third year: Teachers ranked second with 53.2%, followed by Industrial workers with 48.7% and Clerical workers with 43.5%.<sup>126</sup> The fact that, in this particular study, housewives were shown to be most reliable in attendance tends to confirm the pattern that was noted for similar classes sponsored by the University of Liverpool. Another yardstick of comparison is that the overall figures for Manchester compared very favourable with the general standard of achievement expected by the Central Joint Advisory Committee (C.J.A.C.) for Tutorial Classes, which took a national view. The C.J.A.C. considered that responsible bodies should have at least six original students attend two-thirds of the class meetings held in the third year of a tutorial class, and fulfil all the requirements concerning reading and written work. Since responsible bodies generally aimed at securing an enrolment of eighteen students for new tutorial classes, this meant that the minimum attendance

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125 W.E. Styler, "Attendance Achievements in Tutorial Classes", Adult Education Vol. XXV, 4, Spring, 1953, p. 309, Table II.

126 Ibid, p. 311, Table III.

achievement asked for is that, "33 per cent of original students, or a little more in the case of classes which enrol fewer than eighteen students, should qualify in the third year".<sup>127</sup> The percentage on attendance for the Manchester tutorial classes, were usually well above this minimum standard.

Contradicting the decline in the number of Tutorial classes at Leeds and Liverpool, there was an increase in classes conducted by the Manchester University Joint Committee. The Number of Tutorial classes increased from fifty-two in 1952-53 to sixty-one in 1953-54, mainly by the conversion of the most successful new Sessional classes into Tutorials, so that the number of Tutorial classes was higher than any year since before the Second World War.<sup>128</sup> If the "six Extension Tutorials ... are taken into account, it will be seen that the number of Tutorial classes ... is higher than at any previous time in its history".<sup>129</sup> This development at Manchester University was an encouraging sign for the revival of Tutorial classes. The Director of the Extra-Mural Department, Professor R.D. Waller, tended to take a broad philosophical view of the situation: he commented that allowance had to be made for "the cyclical ebb and flow which characterises all large movements".<sup>130</sup> So far the discussion of developments in adult education at the University of Manchester has concentrated on traditional courses provided for the W.E.A. It is time to expand the perspective on the Department because, "Even at universities like Manchester where it is departmental policy to avoid any kind of competition with the W.E.A., Extension work has nevertheless been developed".<sup>131</sup>

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127 Ibid., p.310.

128 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1953-54, p. 2.

129 Ibid.

130 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p.8.

131 J.W. Saunders, "University Extension Renascent" in S.G. Raybould, ed. Trends in English Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 55.

During the years covered by this chapter, which relate to the academic sessions from 1949-50 until 1953-54, the annual average number of students enrolled in Extension courses and lectures was 3,451.<sup>132</sup> An analysis of those years reveals that the bulk of these students were enrolled in short or residential courses and it is proposed to consider these types of course before turning to the Sessional and Terminal courses. The residential college at Holly Royde provided a wide range of courses, usually of a duration of one or two weeks, and tending to cater for vocational groups. While Holly Royde could be filled fairly readily at weekends, the real problem was how to maintain a flow of students into courses during the normal work day. The solution appeared to lie in running specialised courses for vocational groups, which had the further virtue that this tended to keep vocational training separate from the delicate situation concerning possible competition between Extension work and the W.E.A. R.D. Waller recorded some of his thoughts concerning the developments of this period which indicate his rather equivocal attitude. "Extension work has increased in amount and in variety, but its development has been opportunist and haphazard ... Of course we have not wished to press it too purposefully for fear of harming the W.E.A."<sup>133</sup> But there seems to have been little doubt that Waller recognized the trend towards refresher courses and specialised vocational training, for he wrote, "The future is anyone's guess; in my opinion the big

<sup>132</sup> University of Manchester Extra-Mural Department, Extension Courses and Lectures.

YEAR	SESSIONAL		TERMINAL		SHORT COURSES		RESIDENTIAL COURSES		ANNUAL
	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	Total
1949-50	18	435	28	872	32	1264	47	1264	3339
1950-51	11	261	17	469	38	1629	42	1445	3095
1951-52	14	385	29	571	33	834	43	1443	3023
1952-53	10	219	15	305	29	681	41	1456	3461
1953-54	9	194	16	316	24	736	43	1487	2733
TOTAL NUMBER OF ENROLMENTS									17,256
AVERAGE ANNUAL TOTAL									3,451

<sup>133</sup> Manchester University, Department of Adult Education, "Memorandum by the Director on Work 1937-1953", n.d., Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book, February 1948 - May 1959, p. 180.

advances in adult education are likely to be related to vocation".<sup>134</sup> Many of the courses at Holly Royde were arranged for vocational groups and, during the session 1950-51, the official survey of adult education in the Manchester area found that:

courses were held for School Welfare Officers, Home Teachers of the Blind, and the Staffs of Home Office Children's Homes - with the intention of placing the problems and experience of the individual worker against a wider background of economics and so giving him a clearer sense of purpose.<sup>135</sup>

There was apparently an effort to impart a liberal element to this vocational training.

The Inspectors who made the survey of 1950-51 remarked that it was difficult to discern any clearly defined line of demarcation, "between the University Sessional Class and the One-Year Workers' Educational Association class".<sup>136</sup> Conflict was avoided through the Extra-mural Department policy of regarding work done in conjunction with the W.E.A. as the first call upon resources. Furthermore, the Department at Manchester sought to explore new avenues of approach that might appeal to adults. An example of this experimentation occurred in the effort to expand the number of courses that were offered in Science. The motivation for this venture was spelled out quite clearly:

It appears to be agreed on all sides that science should occupy a more conspicuous place in adult education than it does at present; W.E.A. Branches for one reason or another seem disinclined to ask for scientific subjects except in the case of biology, and it will clearly first be necessary to demonstrate in the Extension field the varieties of work which are profitable and worthwhile.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ministry of Education, A Survey of Adult Education Provided by Responsible Bodies Within the County Borough of Manchester, London: H.M.S.O. 1951, pp. 11-12.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>137</sup> University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1949-50, p. 4.

Therefore, a Dr. Butler "entered the historical field, so often recommended nowadays",<sup>138</sup> with his sessional course called "Pioneers of Biology", which sought to introduce the subject by dealing with its historical development. Another venture was the planning of a course to attract young people between eighteen and twenty-five which was called "The World and You" and employed a number of lecturers.<sup>139</sup>

The University of Manchester embarked upon an experiment of a three year tutorial class, independent of the W.E.A., in the 1949-50 Session. Manchester thus made their initial experiment at the same time as Leeds, and four years before Liverpool embarked on similar courses entitled University Study Courses in 1953-54. The Manchester Extra-Mural Department launched their first course of three years duration, under Extension auspices, with a title of "The Proper Study of Mankind": the declared intention was that this course "was held as a pilot experiment to see whether courses of this kind might be valuable in W.E.A. work".<sup>140</sup> Written work was made from the start an inescapable condition of attendance. A high standard of work was achieved through the study of a limited number of classics in the various fields of knowledge, patterned cautiously on the example of the University of Chicago and its Great Books courses.<sup>141</sup> The instruction pioneered a new approach in the way the lectures were presented:

14 members of the University staff contributed to the teaching, seven of them members of Senate; while unity and continuity were secured by the layout of the syllabus and by the presence at most meetings of a tutor-in-charge. Most professors nowadays are too preoccupied to undertake Tutorial classes; composite arrangements of this kind are perhaps the only means by which members of Senate can be brought into contact with the more serious forms of our work.<sup>142</sup>

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138 Ibid.

139 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1950-51, p. 4.

140 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1949-50, p. 3.

141 Ibid.

142 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1951-52, p. 4.

There was concern at Manchester that there should be a link between the academic standards prevailing intra-murally and Extension work. R.D. Waller held the view that:

it should be fairly easy to ensure that extra-mural work is genuinely an 'extension' of the university if the **tutors are full time members of the staff** ... indeed it could be argued that it is only the internal staff who can genuinely represent the university in the outside world as was the practice in the early days of University Extension.<sup>143</sup>

At the start of the 1952-53 session three University Tutorial classes were introduced under the titles of "Italy Past and Present", "French History and Culture" and "Mathematics". These three year courses were rapidly filled and R.D. Waller commented, "It will be noticed that the subjects are not of a kind likely to be chosen by W.E.A. Branches, and the classes when formed proved to be dissimilar in constitution from ordinary W.E.A. classes ... In the course on Italy Past and Present, for example, at least seven of the students were university graduates".<sup>144</sup> This type of student obviously wanted courses at a more advanced level than could be supplied by the W.E.A. The course on Mathematics attracted thirty students of whom "few had any kind of professional interest in the subject,"<sup>145</sup> therefore the surprising aspect of this enrolment was an indication that some members of the public enjoyed doing mathematics for pleasure in their spare time.

Discovery of the possibility that Mathematics might be a liberal offering suited to the 1950's appears to have generated interest at Liverpool. In 1953-54 the University of Liverpool started a three-year course and the description emphasized the liberal content, as this course was

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143 Political and Economic Planning, "The Universities and Adult Education", Planning, Vol. XVII, No. 328, May, 1951, p. 290.

144 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1952-53, p. 6.

145 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1952-53, p. 26.



intended to provide:

an appreciation of modern mathematical ideas mathematical techniques being introduced only in so far as they were necessary for the understanding of these ideas. Topics were selected for their beauty, their philosophical interest, and their importance: problems of number and configuration in the first year, geometry in the second, and topology and analysis in the third.<sup>146</sup>

The Extra-Mural Department at Liverpool also appears to have shared a similar point of view to Manchester with regards to the desirability of extra-mural tutors having contact with intra-mural activity. At Liverpool the Extra-Mural staff tutors did about two hours internal teaching or tutorial work each week.<sup>147</sup> At Manchester a policy was adopted of having a large proportion of classes conducted by members of the University staff, by using whenever possible, intra-mural teachers as part-time tutors and lecturers.<sup>148</sup> There would seem to have been two advantages to such a policy. Firstly, the range of specialised topics offered in Extension courses could be increased, which meant that the possibility of conflict with the W.E.A. could be minimised. There were, for example, in 1953-54 courses in Astro Physics, Vacuum Physics, the Polarising Microscope and Modern Electrical Inventions.<sup>149</sup> Secondly, the stimulus that extra-mural students received from University scholarship could provide an important element in maintaining a high quality of instruction.

One of the main reasons why extension lectures were of high quality was the method of finance. Extension work could be financed through university funds and received support from intra-mural lecturers because, in relative terms, they were paid more than tutors who were principally financed

<sup>146</sup> J.W. Saunders, "University Extension Renascent", S.G. Raybould, ed. Trends in English Adult Education, Toronto, Heinemann, 1959, p. 70.

<sup>147</sup> W.E. Styler, and R.D. Waller, Tutors and their Training, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 12.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>149</sup> Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 17.

through grants from the Ministry of Education. Raybould put his finger on the problem of attracting intra-mural lecturers to work for a Joint Committee organising tutorial classes, where Ministry of Education grants were based on maximum rates for teaching costs. Raybould noted that the Regulations of the Ministry provide:

under each heading the maximum rates it is prepared to recognise, and in the case of salaries, these rates have never corresponded in the past, and do not now correspond to any recognised scales for intra-mural teaching. At the present time the normal maximum which is recognised for grant is much nearer the minimum than the maximum of the generally accepted scale for internal lecturers.<sup>150</sup>

Until such time as the methods of financing the work of extra-mural work were changed, there was little likelihood of intra-mural lecturers showing the same enthusiasm for Joint Committee work as they did for Extension work. Under these circumstances the directors of extra-mural directors naturally took an interest in trying to ensure that instructors employed part-time on Joint Committee work were trained in teaching methods, which would, to some extent, maintain a minimum level of instruction. The use of grammar school teachers was particularly appropriate as, despite the repeated claims about university standards, much of the work done in tutorial classes had to be at a secondary school level, because of the presence of students who had not had a secondary school education. However, not all Joint Committee tutors were professional teachers and therefore some interest was exhibited in providing courses in formal teaching methods.

There would appear to have been reservations at the University of Manchester about the possibility of training tutors to teach by formal teaching methods. In 1950 the Extra-Mural Department introduced a course on "The Art of Lecturing"; this course "attracted a very mixed group who practiced that art on each other with unabated enthusiasm and considerable success

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<sup>150</sup> S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and English Education, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1951, p. 60.

throughout the winter".<sup>151</sup> It is noteworthy that when the Department instituted a Certificate in Adult Education, the year long course was "designed especially for foreign students".<sup>152</sup> The primary reason for recruiting foreign students appears to have been that their governments were able to finance such study: but, apart from finance, there was it seems a feeling that Englishmen involved in adult education did not need any formal training. Possibly the long held view that adult education meant liberal education reinforced a resistance to the idea of making adult education a subject in its own right. Moreover, the Directors of the Extra-Mural Departments at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester seem to have regarded their full-time staff tutors as academics primarily concerned with specialist areas of knowledge. On the other hand, at Manchester, there seems to have been a faction who saw group activity as a most important aspect of adult education. The two points of view within the Manchester Extra-Mural Department were reflected by R.D. Waller, when he stated:

Mr. Ralph Ruddock, a member of my own staff, has just been saying in Adult Education that members of (adult education) classes sometimes learn very little and that what matters is the group experience. Of course the group or social aspect of these classes is important, but I wouldn't agree that satisfactory group relations are properly the only concern or the chief concern of the tutor ... The root of the matter for us old stagers lies in the simple proposition that knowledge is a good thing, and that if you want knowledge you have to sweat for it.<sup>153</sup>

The everlasting discussion concerning teaching, regarding whether "how" one teaches is as important as "what" one teaches, obviously extended into Extra-Mural departments.

The question as to how adult education might best be taught was

<sup>151</sup> University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session, 1949-50, p. 5.

<sup>152</sup> University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session, 1952-53, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> R.D. Waller, "Challenge and Response in Adult Education - The Established Tradition", Adult Education, Vol. XXVII, Winter, 1954, p. 175.

but one aspect of a larger discussion concerning the purpose and objectives to be pursued in extra-mural work. As the policies of the Extra-Mural Departments of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester have now been reviewed in this chapter down to 1954, thereby providing a framework of what had actually developed by the early 1950's, the discussion can now take cognizance of the major issue in adult education at that time.

A controversy developed over the type of work that extra-mural departments ought to be undertaking. Professor S.G. Raybould, Director of the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies at Leeds, was the main protagonist. Raybould's book The English Universities and Adult Education, published in 1951, propounded the thesis that universities were undertaking work of a kind for which they were unfitted. In Raybould's view university standards should apply to extra-mural work and he discussed, in chapter one, the significance of his chapter title "university standards". A related point concerned the limited educational level of most W.E.A. students. Raybould argued that mature students willing to pursue a long and sustained period of study could achieve a university standard of work, particularly in the study of humanities. In one of the key paragraphs of the book, Raybould expressed the following view:

Three years of part-time study under a university teacher affords time for the attainment of a good standard of work in a limited field, even by students whose initial equipment is very limited; provided that the teaching is systematic and that the work in class is backed up by regular and directed work at home by the students ... Three-year classes do not attain a university standard merely because they last three years: duration is not a guarantee, but only a condition of good quality.<sup>154</sup>

Having stated his yardstick of how a university standard could be achieved, Raybould then measured the actual performance of England's extra-mural departments. An exhaustive analysis of the types of courses offered between

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<sup>154</sup> S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1951, p. 25-6.

1924-25 and 1948-49 indicated that, in national terms, there had been a trend of fostering the development of short courses. The suggestion that much of this work had been of an elementary character was supported by figures that indicated for example, that, since 1937-8, the increase in short courses not involving written work was 1000 per cent.<sup>155</sup> On the other hand during this same period, 1937 to 1949, the increase in all types of courses involving written work had been only approximately thirty-three per cent.<sup>156</sup> In addition, each University or University College was allocated a page in the Appendix of the book on which the record of that particular institution was closely scrutinised. Revelations of this type were hardly likely to endear Raybould to other extra-mural directors, particularly, when they were probably aware that Raybould's statistical evidence had gained him the distinction of a Ph.D. degree at the University of London.<sup>157</sup> One can understand a certain degree of irritation developing when Dr. Raybould seemed to publicly exhort extra-mural directors to release about a thousand courses of an elementary type to the W.E.A. and seek repentance for past sins. At the Annual Conference of the W.E.A., in 1951 the views of Raybould were paramount and led to a decision to organise more tutorial classes for working men and women. However, given the prevailing English view of a university as essentially an elite institution, there were definite problems in trying to relate the work of an "educationally underprivileged" group, taking tutorial classes under the auspices of an extra-mural department, to the concept of university standards.

E.P. Thompson who lectured in History for the University of Leeds Department of Extra - Mural Studies wrote a paper entitled "Against 'Univer-

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155 Ibid, Table V, p. 116.

156 Ibid.

157 Dr. S.G. Raybould submitted his Ph.D. thesis for a London University Degree (External) in March 1951. The title was A Critical Study of the Organisation of Extra-Mural Work in England and the content essentially the same as his book The English Universities and Adult Education published the same year by the Workers' Educational Association.

sity' Standards" in which he examined some of the current discussion in educational circles. Thompson made some penetrating comments about the fundamental assumptions of some adult educators as to the aims that should be pursued:

It is frequently suggested ... that, in the process of learning there is somehow generated an 'attitude' ... that the aim should be to develop ... this attitude (variously described as 'objective', 'tolerant', 'gentlemanly', 'calm', 'equitable', 'wise', or a combination of these), and that the advertised subject-matter of the course is only a means ... for fostering it. This view has reached the extreme point that it is considered laughable to suggest that classes are run in order to study history, or economics or literature ... classes are judged as 'attitude developers', like dumb-bells or chest expanders for the physical muscles.<sup>158</sup>

The danger started when "any subject (is) scrutinised and found wanting in the right sort of attitude developing powers",<sup>159</sup> which implied that indoctrination into some preconceived attitude was the goal of adult education. Thompson argued that a point of view that extolled the value of an impersonal exchange of opinion within society could be faulty, because he observed:

Study is distinct from social behaviour, precisely because, in our class (room), opinion is separated temporarily from action. Outside the class, the student is affected in his person by social forces and must take personal action: his action cannot be impersonal.<sup>160</sup>

In essence, Thompson seemed to be noting that because social action is distinct from pure thought, the inculcation of a "university attitude" might do an injustice to some students. Particularly might this be true for workers who had a right, in Thompson's view, to some indignation at past suffering. Thompson was highlighting the distinct difference in approach of adult educators, between those who believed that "the movement" had a

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158 E.P. Thompson, "Against 'University' Standards", University of Leeds Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Education Papers, July 1950, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 17.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid., p. 24.

social purpose, as contrasted to those who merely thought of providing classes for the general public. But regardless of the motivation of the individual organiser of adult education classes, the concept of university standards held a danger when related to creating an attitude. The coinage of the university could be debased when scholarship was replaced by the concept of attitude producing, because, in the pursuit of truth, human experience or natural phenomena had been organised into disciplines, and the transmission of knowledge involved mastering a particular subject. This analysis by an extra-mural lecturer coincided with the view held by many critics within the universities; namely, that extra-mural work could not be up to university standard, principally because neither instructors nor students were recruited on the same basis as applied to intra-mural work,

Raybould received strong support, however, from the Vice-Chancellor of his own university, C.R. Morris, who wrote a foreword for The English Universities and Adult Education. Morris was Chairman of the Council of the National Institute of Adult Education and stated, "I would say that the greatest value of all earlier education is that it builds up for the education which can come only in maturity ... adult education ... provides the crowning case for the rest of education".<sup>161</sup> Another supporter of what might be termed the Raybould thesis was Alan Bullock of Oxford University. Bullock pointed out that, after the Second World War, a large expansion had taken place in English extra-mural work, financed by the University Grants Committee. These funds permitted the growth of administration and full-time tutorial staff on a more lavish scale than was possible for the W.E.A.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, the extra-mural work should have developed work of a higher quality than that possible for the W.E.A., but, "Now seven years later, some

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161 E.M. Hutchinson, ed., Aims and Action in Adult Education 1921-1971, London: National Institute of Adult Education, 1971, p. 38

162 Alan Bullock, "The Universities and Adult Education, Mr. Raybould's Argument Considered", The Highway, Summer, 1952, p. 3.

of us who belonged to the party of progress ... are beginning to wonder whether there was not more substance in the doubts than we were prepared to admit at the time".<sup>163</sup>

The main resistance to the Raybould thesis came from the longest established Professor of Adult Education, R. Peers of Nottingham University. This was not really surprising, because Raybould had noted that the introduction of elementary work had started in 1924, when:

the Board (of Education) ... as a temporary measure granted Chapter 3 powers to the University of Birmingham and Nottingham University College, it was influenced by the argument that in the areas of these bodies ... such a step was desirable to stimulate the development of adult education by pioneer activities ... The concession was never revoked.<sup>164</sup>

The Director of the University of Birmingham Extra-Mural Department, D.R. Dudley, was also prominent in opposing Raybould's views but, as Peers was the doyen of extra-mural directors, it was his resistance that attracted attention. Essentially, Peers based his objection on the ground that the Tutorial class started in 1907, might not be suitable for the society of the 1950's, when many more adults had received secondary school training. Furthermore, Peers switched the discussion to one of "university quality",<sup>165</sup> and claimed Raybould had not defined "university standards". Raybould replied in the next issue of Adult Education, in a rather heated manner, drawing attention to the fact that the first chapter of his book The English Universities and Adult Education had discussed "university standards": and then remarked "I find it very difficult to discover from Professor Peers article how the term 'university quality' is to be interpreted".<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, Raybould argued that, while "university standard" applied to the

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> S.G. Raybould, The English Universities and Adult Education, London: Workers' Educational Association, 1951, p. 102.

<sup>165</sup> See R. Peers, "The Future of Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, Autumn, 1952, p. 93.

<sup>166</sup> S.G. Raybould, "Standards' or 'Quality'", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, 3, 1952, p. 176.



student and implied hard work through reading and written assignments, the substitution of "university quality" shifted the discussion to analysis of the tutor. Raybould "corrected"<sup>167</sup> what he regarded as misleading statements about his position concerning the role of adult education and, for good measure, pointed out that the Peers policy at Nottingham had always been to resist the W.E.A. taking over any of the elementary work.

Peers argued that the W.E.A. should cease to be a teaching body, and merely act as a body recruiting students: a view supported by the Director of Sheffield University's Extra-Mural Department, M. Bruce, who stated, "Let the W.E.A. produce the students: the universities can provide for them".<sup>168</sup> Bruce criticised Raybould's book The English Universities and Adult Education on the grounds that "statistics are notoriously unreliable in educational matters".<sup>169</sup> One can understand this defensive attitude on the part of an extra-mural director, which was similar to the response of the W.E.A.'s General Secretary, Ernest Green, when faced with Raybould's critique entitled The W.E.A. The Next Phase. Bruce, however, did make a valid point that was worthy of consideration, when he declared:

the statistics tell us too little ... they reveal nothing about the motives and interests of students, and indeed suggest that groups of students, working under the same regulations, are identical under all conditions of time and place. Regulations are but a rule of thumb and, despite all the efforts of administrators, administrative neatness is not the aim of education.<sup>170</sup>

This appraisal pointed to the possibility of variation in academic standard from say tutorial classes in one area to those of another. Bruce seemed to be speaking from his own experience when, furthermore, he pointed out:

If a course lasts for three years ... it is classified under Regulation 24(a), and we learn from the Regulation that the class has been required to undertake work and

167 Ibid., p. 172.

168 Maurice Bruce, "The Universities and Adult Education", The Highway, November, 1952, p. 61.

169 Ibid., p. 54.

170 Ibid., p. 55.

reading under guidance. But has it actually done that work? ... Have there been no subterfuges, or has the log-book (blessed device) proved a mutually satisfactory way of meeting formal requirements.<sup>171</sup>

One is reminded of Ernest Green's comment that, "The W.E.A.'s main danger comes from without rather than within. It is all too ready to lay itself open to exploitation by providing classes for the type of tutor who views the movement as a racket and gives nothing in return".<sup>172</sup> To have pursued this line of reasoning in public debate, about an academic "racket" that employed "subterfuges", would have tended to undermine confidence in the integrity of those responsible for running Tutorial classes. Having made his point, Bruce did not develop this theme. Another critic of Raybould was Professor A.J. Allaway at Leicester University who felt that Raybould had not bothered to find out what was going on in short courses. Allaway contended that short courses were not "sub standard" and students were better educated than Raybould had assumed.<sup>173</sup> Allaway also contended that the subject matter of the traditional Economics class, as promoted by the tutorial class tradition, was difficult for the "educationally underprivileged" to grasp, because of the sophisticated jargon that had developed since the glorious days of 1908.<sup>174</sup> These criticisms by Peers, Bruce and Allaway were worthy of consideration. The core of resistance to Raybould's thesis was supplied by the point that extended duration of a course did not guarantee university standards and, also, by the claim that a better educated student existed in the 1950's compared to pre-war days.

The University of Liverpool was exempt from the general charge that elementary style work had been fostered through extra-mural departments, and had, indeed, been a strong advocate of Tutorial classes. T. Kelly

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171 Ibid., p. 54.

172 E. Green, "Looking Backwards", The Highway, October, 1950, p. 8.

173 A. John Allaway, Thought and Action in Extra-Mural Work, Leicester, 1946-1966, Leicester: University of Leicester, 1967, pp. 30-1.

174 A. John Allaway, University Adult Education: Its Problems and Possibilities, University of Leicester, 31st March, 1953, Unpublished Manuscript, p. 16.

contributed to the Raybould controversy some views on the extra-mural function of universities. Essentially Kelly felt "that the extra-mural task of a university is to make the maximum impact on the region within it stands ... In the vocational field, the university should limit its extra-mural provision to work which cannot easily be provided by other agencies: in the non-vocational field it should seek to make provision for all groups able to profit by its services".<sup>175</sup> A similar point of view had been taken by M. Bruce at Sheffield University. Kelly discussed the future role of tutorial classes and, also, pointedly referred to Raybould's use of the politically oriented term "educationally underprivileged", when he wrote:

I feel it is a mistake to suppose that courses of this (tutorial class) type will in future form the only, or even the principal form of extra-mural provision. What we may call the grammar school public also requires a wide provision of shorter courses - courses designed to supplement their existing education, to open up new interests, and to provide light ... on important questions of the day. And just because it is the grammar-school public - should we say the educationally privileged? - it is able to profit by university teaching without a long preliminary apprenticeship.<sup>176</sup>

The reference to the use of labels to designate groups of students as privileged or not brought up a very important issue. H.A. Jones, the Assistant Director of Extra-Mural Studies at Liverpool University, had remarked that "Always one is brought back to the thought that Adult Education is no more than people ... whom it is much easier to think of as friends and allies than as the Student Body or the Educationally Underprivileged".<sup>177</sup> Kelly amplified the thought:

The body of knowledge and the cultural values which the universities possess are the inheritance of mankind

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175 Thomas Kelly, "The Extra-Mural Function of Universities", The University Review, Vol. 25, 2, February, 1953, pp. 102-3.

176 Ibid., p. 102.

177 H.A. Jones, "The Liverpool Extra-Mural Area", The Tutors Bulletin of Adult Education, No. 87, July, 1952, p. 12.

and should not be limited to the privileged few. This is true on the purely cultural level: it is even more true today on the social, economic and political levels. The contemporary world, bedevilled by slogans and slick generalizations, torn by rival creeds and passions, needs above all things the knowledge, the critical faculty, the power of dispassionate judgement for which the universities pre-eminently stand.<sup>178</sup>

Such a point of view attempted to survey the discussion precipitated by Raybould in a wide focus, while keeping in mind the liberal virtues that stemmed from the university traditions.

Some of the basic premises of Raybould were attacked at a meeting called at the University of Manchester, when the Joint Committee for Adult Education discussed his book The English Universities and Adult Education.

W.E. Styler expressed the view that:

A great weakness of Dr. Raybould's argument was that he was not realistic and constantly glorifies the tutorial class. In his (Styler's) experience and observation tutorial classes very frequently did not rise to a fine culmination in their third year as Dr. Raybould says they should; on the contrary, they commonly lose strength in their second year and often reach the third year much depleted and without the best students who had started the course, so that it sometimes happens that the third year, instead of being the crown of the work is more like an anti-climax.<sup>179</sup>

Support for this point of view was expressed by C.D. Legge, who "agreed with Mr. Styler that tutorial classes only too often turned out to be quite different from what they are meant to be and he had himself found his short courses more successful than his tutorials".<sup>180</sup> Professor Waller also criticised Raybould's attitude as being based too exclusively on theoretical consideration and statistics.<sup>181</sup> Obviously at Manchester there

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178 Thomas Kelly, "The Extra-Mural Function of Universities," The University Review, Vol. 25, 2, February, 1953, pp. 102-3.

179 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minutes of the Meeting held Wednesday, February 27, 1952, Minute Book February 1948-May 1952, p. 137.

180 Ibid.

181 Memorandum by R.D. Waller, n.d., University of Manchester Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book February 1948-May 1952, p. 141.

were grave doubts in the minds of some individuals as to the validity of Raybould's views on tutorial classes.

By now, the fervent discussion precipitated by Professor Raybould's book tended to produce a picture of the prophet of Leeds being assailed by nettled directors of other extra-mural departments. R.D. Waller was invited to referee what he called the "Great Debate" and his effort to pour oil on the stormy sea of adult education produced some very pertinent comments. Waller started from the premise that, during the debate, "people here and there have suggested that the alleged decay in University extra-mural teaching is the fault of extra-mural departments". Waller continued:

The suggestion is that they (extra-mural departments) develop a momentum all of their own, almost independent of their Universities and building up their separate empires, end by betraying both the W.E.A. and the Universities themselves.<sup>182</sup>

Waller regarded this as an absurd charge but pointed out, quite reasonably, that such a distortion of fact should not be refuted by an extra-mural director. In Waller's view, there was naturally some inevitable loss when a professional element enters into a missionary calling, "but that happens all along the line in adult education".<sup>183</sup> So much for the charge of empire building which Waller tried to bring into reasonable perspective.

Waller reviewed the discussion about the main charge that university standards had been lowered and noted that:

there is one very odd thing about this kind of charge - it appears faintly in Raybould, but clearly enough in Dr. Bullock's article,<sup>184</sup> that if a University teacher gives six lectures for the W.E.A. he is doing good work, if for the University he is not. But they would be the same lectures. I can't understand this at all.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> R.D. Waller, "The Great Debate", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, 2, Autumn, 1952, p. 259

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> See Alan Bullock, "The Universities and Adult Education. Mr. Raybould's Argument Considered", The Highway, Summer, 1952.

<sup>185</sup> R.D. Waller, "The Great Debate", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, 2, Autumn, 1952, p. 255.

This comment draws attention to one of the main bones of contention: what should be the role of the W.E.A.? Waller felt that it was a mistake to contend that, without the W.E.A., the extra-mural departments would have no students to teach. The universities could organise long courses of three years duration without the aid of the W.E.A., and Waller cited that Manchester had done so.

The clash of opinion between the universities and the W.E.A. had deeper roots than merely that of competing courses. Alan Bullock drew attention to the frustration of all adult educators at their inability to make an impact on the public that could, for example, be compared to that of the Press, the cinema, television and the football pools. Bullock felt that this frustration "finds a misleading expression in the W.E.A.'s resentment at the attitude of the Extra-Mural Departments and the Extra-Mural Department's criticism of the W.E.A.". <sup>186</sup>

The attitude of the W.E.A. towards the Great Debate needs to be considered. Harold Shearman, Education Officer of the national W.E.A., expressed his support of Professor Raybould's contention that the extra-mural departments should leave elementary or pioneer work to the W.E.A. <sup>187</sup> But Shearman also argued that it was unlikely that this neat division of spheres of action would occur; because, under the Further Education Regulations of 1946, the Ministry of Education approved programmes of work as a whole instead of individual classes. In the view of Shearman, the book The English Universities and Adult Education ignored the change of spirit in the Further Education Regulations, which had tended to minimise distinctions between the various types of classes.

The dilemma of the W.E.A. was really one of trying to determine the purpose of the Association in the 1950's. R.H. Tawney had confused the

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186 Alan Bullock, "Summing Up", The Highway, Vol. 44, March, 1953, p.203.

187 Harold C. Shearman, "The Future of Adult Education", The Highway, December, 1952, p. 84.

issue by a pronouncement, during the 1947 Annual Conference, that the term "worker" meant "all those, whether in factory, mine, office or home, who render useful service to their fellows".<sup>188</sup> Such a universal definition excluded very few people and had little significance as the definition of a social class with common aims. But, in 1953, R.H. Tawney had shifted ground by denying that the W.E.A. was a universal provider of liberal education, and supporting Raybould's contention that the W.E.A. should cater to the worker who was educationally under-privileged.<sup>189</sup> It should be pointed out that Tawney appears to have been a better humanitarian than he was an educational theorist, as was illustrated, for example, by an incident that occurred when he visited Leicester University on behalf of the University Grants Committee. A member of the extra-mural staff at Leicester expressed his deep concern about the middle-class element in classes, and was confounded by Tawney's question "Are they not also the children of God?"<sup>190</sup> Such a broad approach to life did, however, tend to create confusion regarding who was a worker, particularly when Tawney on other occasions supported the much narrower position of Raybould. Therefore this confusion over whether the W.E.A. was a universal provider of education, or had a mission to the educationally underprivileged, provided a continuous controversy within the W.E.A.

The proposal of Raybould that the term "worker" should be defined in purely educational terms had two great advantages. First, to concentrate on the "educationally underprivileged", or those who left school at the minimum school leaving age, implied a sanguine future for the W.E.A.; as around eighty-five per cent of the adult population had not attended the grammar

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188 Workers' Educational Association, The Future in Adult Education: A Programme, London: 1947, pp. 4-5.

189 R.H. Tawney, "The Moral of it All", The Highway, Vol. 44, April 1953, p.242.

190 A.J. Allaway, Thirty Years an Extra-Mural Director, April, 1968, Unpublished paper, p. 11.

or boarding school.<sup>191</sup> Secondly, the term "educationally underprivileged" had a fine democratic ring which tended to support the W.E.A. contention that the Association was non-political. But the weakness of Raybould's position was that it tended to disregard the social roots of the W.E.A., which often reflected a cross section of the population rather than merely an association of the working class. In fact, it had been recognition of this tendency to recruit middle-class students that had led Raybould to crusade on his theme that the W.E.A. ought to get back to its historic class mission of aiding the educationally underprivileged. Raybould was proposing that the W.E.A. expand its provision for elementary education, a policy which would enable the universities to concentrate on providing adult education worthy of a university. This diagnosis sounded reasonable, but had the disadvantage that District and Branch Secretaries were expected to give up catering to a great number of able middle-class students, in order to service the needs of individuals who might be embittered about education, because of having been considered unworthy of secondary school training. In view of the wartime scars left on some adult educators when trying to inspire captive audiences formed of members of H.M. Forces, one can appreciate that the prospect of educating that mysterious man in the street was not likely to enthuse W.E.A. Secretaries. Apart from the possibility of exchanging co-operative middle-class students for more recalcitrant students, there was a problem concerning the range of subjects that could be offered which might prove suitable. Under the Ministry of Education Regulations, the teaching of the English language provided vocational training, and came within the province of the L.E.A.: similarly such "practical" subjects as painting, acting, and music making were not available as liberal study.

In his presentation Raybould had updated the concept of a social mission for the W.E.A. In the age of the Welfare State, social purpose was

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191 J.F.C. Harrison, "The W.E.A. in the Welfare State", in S.G. Raybould, ed. Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 15.



to be interpreted in terms of responsibility, since emancipation had largely been secured. Training workers for responsibility made sense but was hardly likely to kindle enthusiasm among workers, compared to the counter attraction of alternative leisure pursuits. Ernest Green the former General Secretary of the W.E.A. noted in his tract for the times, entitled Adult Education. Why this Apathy? that, in a complex world conscious of atomic bombs, the worker was often less interested in studying international problems, than in saying eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die.<sup>192</sup> There was a note of exasperation in Green's comment that "Even in the W.E.A. the single subject most in demand since the war has been musical appreciation".<sup>193</sup> The W.E.A. had long been the Salvation Army of the educational movement but the familiar social gospel was becoming more difficult to preach in the 1950's. A few die-hards in the W.E.A. still clung to the older notion of social emancipation, exemplified by G.H. Thompson, but they were a dwindling minority.<sup>194</sup> Ernest Green recognized that the social environment of the welfare state had encouraged workers to have a sense of security: such benefits as socialized medicine, pensions, and unemployment benefit encouraged an impression that "these things are theirs by Divine right".<sup>195</sup> This sense of security reduced the critical attitude towards social organization that had been such a feature of public debate before 1939, during the lean years of unemployment.

A searching reappraisal continued within the W.E.A. in an attempt to discover an answer to the question posed by Ernest Green in his title

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192 Ernest Green Adult Education. Why this Apathy? London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 41. The views expressed in this book are based on a total of 1,885 completed questionnaires returned from W.E.A. students.

193 Ibid.

194 H.V. Wiseman, "University Extension Work Since 1945" Adult Education, Vol. XXIV, 3, Winter, 1951, p. 185.

195 Ernest Green, Adult Education. Why this Apathy? London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 40.

Adult Education. Why this Apathy? Green had noted that, for many manual workers, the very concept of liberal education provoked a tendency to ridicule the idea:

Nearly all the manual workers who comment on this fear of ridicule claim that it needs courage to admit that one is interested in the study of 'abstract subjects'. The reaction of their mates is studying philosophy, literature, economics - what good will that do you? What do you get out of that?196

The fear of being ridiculed might act as a powerful deterrent to a worker who might be mildly interested in pursuing liberal study. Furthermore, those workers who discouraged their mates from taking classes had, strangely enough, allies among the schoolmasters attending classes. Green's book pointed out that the fiercest critics of the W.E.A. classes were often school teachers whose main criticism was that "the tutors were too high-brow",<sup>197</sup> One schoolmaster claimed that "It frequently happens that I am approached to explain 'what exactly the tutor meant?'"<sup>198</sup> Similar testimony came from a van driver aged forty-eight who said that:

I have been told by mates who attend W.E.A. classes that it takes them all their time to understand some of the words used by the teacher, let alone the subject.<sup>199</sup>

A schoolmaster made another criticism of the style of presentation when he commented, "the tutors lecture and do not teach. They plod wearily on".<sup>200</sup> On the other hand, to confuse the issue, there was a charge that some tutors were guilty of teaching adults in a schoolmaster's style, for a housewife complained:

Some tutors have a habit of talking down to us as if we were a children's class - one even wrote every word of more than two syllables on the blackboard! <sup>201</sup>

196 Ibid., pp. 45-6.

197 Ibid., p. 49

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid., p. 44.

200 Ibid., p. 49.

201 Ibid., p. 50.

One can sympathise with a tutor in this situation. If the tutor uses an academic approach he is accused of losing his audience: alternatively, if he concentrates on communication, he could be accused of talking down to his audience as if they were children. Moreover, one academic even claimed that the increasing proportion of female students constituted the real root of the problem. Dr. C.E.M. Joad, a nationally known philosopher, wrote an article which contended:

there seem to be far more women than men in the classes, and more middle than working-class women. They seem predominantly to study literature and the drama, things which ... are not meant to be taught ... but enjoyed. The point is important for three reasons. First, it wasn't for them that the W.E.A. was started; secondly, too many women make a bad class, lacking in bite and 'come back', lacking, in a word, in 'guts'. Thirdly, one gets the impression that the W.E.A. tends only to get the women men don't want, the inference being that they are there, not because they are impelled by a drive for education but because they hope for husbands or have nothing better to do.<sup>202</sup>

These published views of schoolmasters, manual workers, a housewife and an academic reveal a conflict of opinion as to what ailed the W.E.A. This diversity of views within the W.E.A. served to suggest that the social base of the Association rested on a cross section of society.

Considerable attention was paid to any information which provided an insight into the personal characteristics of students attending classes organised by the W.E.A. and the Extra-Mural departments. Ernest Green confirmed the trend noted by W.E. Styler in his study of Manchester adult education classes, where the white collar segment of the population provided the bulk of the students. Green's national figures for Tutorial classes in 1952 revealed that manual workers combined only 13.88% of the students en-

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202 C.E.M. Joad, "I Pontificate", The Tutor's Bulletin of Adult Education, April, 1952, p. 5.

rolled:<sup>203</sup> although, as one would expect, the percentage increased when shorter classes were included, but even then the percentage of manual workers comprised only 17.6% of the students.<sup>204</sup> Professor R. Peers observed that the proportion of women in Tutorial classes had increased from 51.8% in 1950-51 to 55% by 1954-55.<sup>205</sup> Similarly, if one considered the total of the 137,200 students registered in classes organised by Extra-Mural Departments and the W.E.A., during 1952-53, the proportion of women was 54.3%.<sup>206</sup> It seems reasonable on the basis of these figures to conclude that there was an overall trend in classes conducted by the Extra-Mural Departments and the W.E.A., whereby the Manual Worker was a diminishing proportion of the student body, while the ratio of women continued to increase.

Even more important was the decline in the total number of W.E.A. students, which steadily dropped from a peak of 113,351 in 1948-49 to only 84,356 in 1953-54.<sup>207</sup> This decline in numbers represented a novel exper-

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203 Ernest Green, Adult Education. Why this Apathy? London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953, p. 135. The following percentages for those students attending Tutorial classes in 1952 reveal the domination of white collar workers.

Civil Servants	19.96%	Manual Workers	13.38%
Teachers	19.55%	Shop Assistants	13.25%
Clerks, draughtsmen travellers and foremen	18.97%	Home Duties and Nursing	11.24%
Professional and Social Workers	16.14%	Miscellaneous	6.25%

204 Ministry of Education, The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 14. There were 15,768 Manual Workers among a total of 89,518 students enrolled in W.E.A. classes for 1951-52.

205 Robert Peers, Adult Education: A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Paul, 1958, p. 173. The percentages stated by Professor Peers are calculated from the figures supplied in the Annual Reports of the Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial classes.

206 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Technical Age, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd., 1955, p. 35. Of these 137,300 students, 62,750 were men and 74,450 were women.

207 J.F.C. Harrison, "The W.E.A. in the Welfare State", in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 2.

ience for the Association, as there had been so much decline after the expansion following the First World War. What particularly perturbed some members of the W.E.A. was that university extra-mural departments did not experience a similar trend but, on the contrary, their work continued to steadily expand to a new record in 1954-55.<sup>208</sup> Such contrasting trends were bound to increase the tension between the W.E.A. and extra-mural departments that had been generated by the discussion launched by the publication of Raybould's books. The depth of feeling concerning the rivalry that had developed between some university extra-mural departments and their local W.E.A. Districts can be gauged from the reaction of R.H. Tawney. At this time, Tawney confessed that his contribution to the 1919 Committee in, "proposing separate university extra-mural departments with their own directors was one of the ... biggest mistakes of his career".<sup>209</sup> Tawney's comment was natural for a man who had launched the tutorial movement in Edwardian England, when a spirit of voluntarism had blended with paternalism, to motivate a band of academics and bishops into enthusiastically serving the manual worker. But those far-off days could not be recaptured and, in an age when the State had come to dominate most aspects of the social services, the crucial field of education was being administered by professional educators. These professionals in adult education were mainly to be found in extra-mural departments and, having a career to make, were possibly a little irritated when their expertise was not given the same type of recognition long accorded to the W.E.A. District Secretary, who espoused the voluntary principle.

Yet, on the other hand, it is only fair to point out that the increasing difficulty of integrating the work of the Responsible Bodies was partially due to the confusion of purpose within the W.E.A. R.H. Tawney had

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208 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report 1954-55, pp. 6-8.

209 A.J. Corfield, Epoch in Workers' Education, London: The Workers' Educational Association, 1969, p. 173.

contributed to the confusion.<sup>210</sup> If the W.E.A. became a general consumers' organisation for adult education, then it was possible that its work could be fused with the University Extension Programme, but the total effect would be to produce a middle-class character, and the special mission of the W.E.A. to the working classes would be lost. On the other hand, if the W.E.A. clung to its working-class image, as proposed by the followers of Professor Raybould, and the University cultivated the middle classes, the result could perpetuate educational distinctions that existed between the grammar school and the secondary modern school. Adult education was supposed to bridge economic and social barriers rather than merely reinforce the distinctions made at the secondary school level. The dilemma of the W.E.A. contributed towards the sense of frustration felt by the administrators of the Responsible Bodies, and the solution to this situation will form the central theme of the next chapter.

There were a number of ideas concerning liberal education that deserve attention. One of the assumptions made by some educators was that, given the security of a welfare state, workers would be interested in education for leisure. Furthermore, demographers projected a picture of an aging population which, again, indicated a steady flow of students eager to pursue some hobby. In the words of W.E. Styer, "constructive leisure means choosing on one's own account some activity which has to be worked at if it is to be successfully pursued"<sup>211</sup> But the post-war dream of millions of former servicemen eager to tackle a peacetime continuation of the A.B.C.A. had not materialised. Some of the reasons for the failure of the "shallow old slogan: Education for Leisure"<sup>212</sup> reflected political, economic and social factors

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210 See P. 332 in this chapter.

211 W.E. Styer, ed. Learning and Working, Frederick Denison Maurice, London: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 12.

212 Brian Groombridge, "New Objectives for Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXX, 1, Summer, 1957, p. 203.

because, as a correspondent wrote:

Apart from the knock which 'Education for Leisure' took from the Cold War, and from the drive to produce more, compete more, or die, it was also undermined by its own superficiality. Adult Education has perhaps been insufficiently interested in its attitude to recreation, with sometimes the suggestion that anyone not attending a tutorial must be up to no good.<sup>213</sup>

In contrast to the limited appeal of the traditional approach to adult education, the evening institutes under the control of the L.E.A.s enrolled large numbers of students. These evening institutes, usually called Colleges of Further Education, did offer adults recreational education within a broad framework of courses of a liberal character. By 1951-52, in England and Wales, there were 1,954,714 students participating in a wide range of subjects and activities: within this educational army, 69.7% were studying "women's subjects" which meant handicrafts, art, music, drama and keep fit classes.<sup>214</sup> J.F.C. Harrison remarked, in Learning and Living 1790-1960 upon the expansion in Leeds evening classes, which was made possible by the development of technical and commercial colleges, and the transference of much vocational education, especially for the young people, from evening to day work.<sup>215</sup> The evening institutes were thus freed to cater for the needs of adults. Furthermore, this development constituted a break through in the philosophy concerning education for adults, because the masses of people who attended Colleges of Further Education were involved in the education of adults, as opposed to the restrictive meaning of adult education. An educator pointed out that there had been confusion about equating adult education with the education of adults, "the latter meaning the whole population and not a select few".<sup>216</sup> Unfortunately, the financial squeeze of

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213 Ibid.

214 Ministry of Education, Evening Institutes, Pamphlet 28, H.M.S.O., 1956, p.48.

215 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 315.

216 F.D. Flower, "Adult Education in the Technical College," Adult Education, Vol. XXIV, 2, Autumn, 1951, p. 108.

the early 1950's restricted the growth of education for adults, thereby leaving the W.E.A. and extra-mural departments to emphasise adult education.

There was one abortive idea that concerned a desire to spread liberal education and this was the idea of establishing a large number of residential colleges. W.E. Styler had argued that the tutorial class did not fit the 1950's and, given an age of anxiety which wished to get quick results, "possibly we should teach in short bursts rather than continuous application. In other words is the short-term residential college best suited to our age?"<sup>217</sup> While it was true that the University of Manchester had successfully developed Holly Royde as a short-term residential college, experiments elsewhere, frequently under the auspices of the L.E.A.s, were not so successful. Guy Hunter who had been warden of two residential colleges bluntly stated the basic dilemma, of either finding students from Monday to Friday or going bankrupt.<sup>218</sup> Hunter's views on adult education made him sound like a disciple of Professor S.G. Raybould when, for example, he expressed the view that "the maintenance of ideals and standards is critical. It is the occupational disease of educational movements, when faced with difficulty to relax standards and popularize, and it is the surest way of ... inviting failure".<sup>219</sup> Writing some time later, Hunter felt that some of the residential colleges were succumbing to the occupational disease because he stated:

At present the very rapid stream of students through the colleges is being bought at the expense of quality ... the tendency (is) to run more and more courses of shorter and shorter duration, to over work the staff, to admit trivial work and to be content with trivial results.<sup>220</sup>

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217 W.E. Styler, "A Note on Adult Education Studies", The Tutors Bulletin, Spring, 1950, p. 10.

218 Guy Hunter, "Vocation and Culture - A Suggestion", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, 1, Summer, 1952, p. 8.

219 H.C. Dent, Growth in English Education, 1946-52, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 161.

220 Ibid.



Such reflections make it clear that Professor Raybould's strictures on the direction taken by the W.E.A. and extra-mural departments also had application to the essentially sound concept of residential colleges. As was pointed out in Chapter Five, Sir Richard Livingstone had been an earnest advocate of this idea of short term residential colleges: but, alas, possibly Sir Richard did not allow for the occupational disease that Hunter had diagnosed in education.

During the early 1950's the continuous problem of how to liberalise training in scientific and technological establishments received attention. The number of university students in these areas had risen from 12,949 in 1938-9 to 27,759 in 1950-51, an increase of 114 per cent.<sup>221</sup> Simultaneously, there was a demand for technical education by those in industry and "In many areas there were not nearly enough places in technical colleges for those who wished to enrol".<sup>222</sup> An indication of the surge of interest can be gauged from the rapid expansion in the number of students who were awarded National Certificates, which accelerated from 5,088 students in 1944 to 13,518 in 1950.<sup>223</sup> This type of training appeared to be unquestionably vocational, but caution was needed in trying to distinguish educational institutions on the basis of whether their function was vocational or non-vocational, because:

In one sense all education can be considered as vocational whether the subjects taught are arts or science, pure or applied. On the other hand, even a National Certificate course can be a liberal education if the teacher approaches his subject in the correct way. If

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221 Ministry of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, Technical Education, Cmd. 9703, H.M.S.O. 1956, p. 13.

222 Ministry of Education, Education 1951, Cmd. 8554, H.M.S.O., 1952, p. 17.

223 Ministry of Education, The Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year 1950, Cmd. 8244, London: H.M.S.O., 1951, p. 50.

These figures were consolidated from the individual figures, for both Ordinary and Higher National Certificates. The subjects were Electrical Engineering, Chemistry, Building, Applied Physics, Metallurgy and Mechanical Engineering.

we apply this distinction rigidly, (concerning vocational training) should not a University Extension Diploma Course be classed as vocational since the students themselves consider the diploma at an additional qualification.<sup>224</sup>

Obviously terms such as "vocational" and "non-vocational" were not mutually exclusive and, while they might have relevance within a particular context, it was a barren pursuit to insist on rigidly separating educational institutions teaching adults on this basis. Unfortunately, one of the by-products of the heavy expansion in technical education was that, as John Lowe observed, "Further Education is usually equated with only vocational education".<sup>225</sup> Professor S.G. Raybould commented that even the trade union movement was displaying interest in technical education, as opposed to the traditional liberal non-vocational study.<sup>226</sup> Given this trend towards an interest in technical education, it is not surprising that the perennial question of how to introduce a liberal element into such training received renewed attention.

The National Institute of Adult Education printed the results of a survey of technical colleges and art colleges entitled Liberal Education in a Technical Age. The reason for launching this enquiry was clearly spelled out:

The term 'liberal' (with a small 'l') is one of the current words of approbation. A liberal education is commonly felt to be a desirable form of education ... we think it wise to say ... that we regard a liberal education as one which includes a training in the use of language, in the handling of ideas, in recognising relationships, and in establishing values as touchstones by which questions of taste and morals are to be tested. To what extent are these values affected if a man undertakes a study from motives connected with personal advancement?

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224 F.D. Flower, "Adult Education in the Technical College," Adult Education, Vol. XXIV, 2, Autumn, 1951, pp. 107-8.

225 J. Lowe, Adult Education in England and Wales. A Critical Survey, London: Michael Joseph, 1970, p. 24.

226 S.G. Raybould, ed., "Changes in Trade Union Education", Trends in English Education, London: The Workers' Educational Association, p. 37.

It was noted that the post-war development of technical education may have owed something to American influence, as American trade unionists had visited Britain on Fulbright Scholarships. The explanation of American influence is plausible, although it needs investigation, because it is too easy to blame any post-war influence on Americans.

To what extent are they excluded from certain studies because of their subject matter? These are the fundamental questions to which the enquiry has been directed.<sup>227</sup>

All of the principals of the technical colleges covered by this survey felt that the teaching of English provided the bridge from the technical to the non-technical. While this approach sounds very sensible it was not without pitfalls, as was stated by Dr. D.E. Mumford, Technical College and School of Art, Cambridge. Mumford said:

Now a proposal to include English in a course probably does not appear startling or different to accept ... But the simple term, English, can cover a multitude of sins. As long as the English lesson is limited in scope to a humdrum exercise in elementary communications, designed primarily to enable the student to understand factory notices, write comprehensible reports and avoid the worst clichés of the business letter, then 'The Establishment' will accept the intruder or even accord it a grudging welcome.<sup>228</sup>

Included in this general attitude of "the establishment" was the thought that time tables were already congested, and "the students themselves want to concentrate on learning for a job and resent being deflected from (their) straight, if narrow path."<sup>229</sup> A rather depressing conclusion was drawn that, "Here and there attempts are being made ... to treat vocational education broadly, but at present these are scarcely more than a pinpoint of light emphasizing a general darkness."<sup>230</sup> The overall impression conveyed by this survey entitled Liberal Education in a Technical Age is that if Further Education was not liberal enough, it was because there was not a sufficiently widespread or strong desire to have it otherwise. Possibly this attitude accounts for the

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227 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Technical Age, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd. 1955, p. 45.

228 National Institute of Adult Education, Adult Education and Working Life, London: 1955, p. 21.

229 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Liberal Age, London: Max Parris and Co., Ltd., 1955, p. 45.

230 Ibid., p. 117.

lack of effort in trying to further a college atmosphere that would stimulate students to take a broad view of their studies. One factor that was particularly relevant to creating a college atmosphere within a technical institution was the library. An article entitled "The Library in Adult Education" summarised the benefits:

A library can, if it is well selected, be a subtle instrument in the 'liberalizing' of technical courses. A student will generally go there in his own time, and although he may be looking primarily for material on his own subject he can hardly fail to observe books on related or contrasting subjects. Informal talks by the librarian can also be valuable. But in the last resort it is the bookstock which can speak most potently.<sup>231</sup>

Yet, as the author went on to say, library provision in British colleges has been sadly neglected. Moreover, in 1953, a Canadian visitor wrote that, "One of the most serious shortcomings of the technical colleges in England is their seeming indifference to the importance of having well-stocked, well-staffed, attractive libraries, for their students."<sup>232</sup> While an evaluation of this statement would require an investigation into provision for library facilities at comparable Canadian institutions, there is little doubt that the overseas visitor had pointed to the crucial need for establishing good libraries in technical colleges.

But, for a technical college, there was an even more essential element than a good library which could impart a liberal attitude, and this concerned the manner in which Science was taught. Fortunately, unlike libraries, Science could not be ignored, particularly when, for example, the Duke of Edinburgh claimed in a speech that "Progress in almost every form of human activity depends upon the continued efforts of scientists. The nation's

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231 Michael Argles, "The Library in Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXVIII, 2, Autumn, 1955, p. 128.

232 Alex M. Ross, "Some Consideration of the Antithesis Between a Liberal and a Technical Education", The Vocational Aspect, Vol. II, Autumn, 1953, p.100. Alex M. Ross was a Master at Lakehead Technical Institute, Port Arthur, Ontario.

wealth and prosperity are governed by the rigid application of science to its industries".<sup>233</sup> But the question relevant to this study is whether Science could be taught in a liberal manner. In general, the view seems to have existed that where fundamental principles and not industrial applications were studied, such courses could be regarded as "liberal". Moreover, the emphasis placed by the State upon industrial or military applications of science could lead a young student to conclude that efficiency was far more important than moral valuations. A classic example was the moral dilemma posed, during World War Two, regarding the destruction of human life by nuclear energy; while the Cold War build up of weapons indicated that there was a need to project a humanistic attitude towards the use of Science. This concern about relating a humane influence to Science was the main factor that led, in the case of adult education, to the publication of a booklet written by Professor R. Peers, entitled Science in the Extra-Mural Work of the Universities. Peers appropriately remarked:

Those who feel strongly about science in adult education argue more convincingly when they speak of science as belonging to the humanities, since it deals with man and his environment. But they do not speak with one voice; and the question is not so much whether science is or might be a branch of humane study, but whether it is in fact taught as such.<sup>234</sup>

A similar approach was taken in an article entitled Science and Human Values by J. Bronowski, Director of the National Coal Board Central Research Establishment, who pointed out that "No scientific theory is a collection of facts ... All science is a search for unity in hidden likenesses".<sup>235</sup> Bronowski showed a sense of humour, as well as of proportion, when commenting, "I have had of all people a historian tell me that science is a collection of facts,

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233 Ministry of Education, Britain's Future and Technical Education, London: H.M.S.O., 1957, foreword.

234 R. Peers, Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 5.

235 J. Bronowski, "Science and Human Values", Universities Quarterly, Vol. X, 3, 1956, p. 254.

and his voice had not even the irony of one filing cabinet reproving another".<sup>236</sup> It would seem to follow that if history could be taught as a liberal subject, then so could science. What was essential to both subjects was an instructor who himself reflected a liberal outlook. In another article entitled Science and Values Bronowski had argued that "Non-scientists constantly fall back into the fallacy of thinking that science is a fact-finding activity. It is not. Science is a fact arranging activity."<sup>237</sup> Bronowski observed that a fact arranging science changes with the passage of time and is constantly re-inventing the truth.<sup>238</sup> One is struck by the analogy to the writing of history, while Bronowski himself saw a philosophical value to the way Science brought together diverse fields of experience and grouped them around concepts:

They (concepts) are ways of giving a rational order to the facts, and for me they rank precisely with the abstract values - concepts which give unity to ethics - with love, and loyalty and singleness of mind. Both (scientific and non-scientific) are those magnetic centres which give meaning to the pattern of conduct, in nature or in man.<sup>239</sup>

Viewed from Bronowski's perspective, "Truth ... means a manifold and coherent pattern into which all the factors and experiences of the universe fit".<sup>240</sup> This admirable broad view of the totality of man's experience contributing towards truth made science an unquestionable part of a liberal education, just as Matthew Arnold had argued many years earlier.

But, within the spectrum of academic subjects that formed the usual fare of adult education, the place of Science was far from secure. Of the courses offered at universities, in 1952-3, ten per cent were courses

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236 Ibid., p. 253.

237 J. Bronowski, "Science and Values", Adult Education, Vol. XXV, 2, 1952, p. 98.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid.

240 Ibid.

in Science, subdivided into 4.4% in the physical sciences and 5.6% in the biological sciences.<sup>241</sup> During the same period the W.E.A. arranged for 6.8% of its courses to concern Sciences, which subdivided into 2.1% in the physical and 4.7% in the biological.<sup>242</sup> These low percentages indicate the small impact that Science had made in Adult Education. Professor Peers in his booklet Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities rejected the view that the relative lack of success in promoting science courses was "due to the fact that organisers of adult education are not scientists and are therefore biased in favour of other subjects".<sup>243</sup> Peers saw the problem as being one of a lack of demand from students:

the most serious obstacle in the way of a rapid development of science courses in adult education is the absence in the population generally of any previously created interest in science, and this will remain until science is given its proper place in the general curriculum of the schools.<sup>244</sup>

The real problem seems to have been that there was a demand for Science in adult education, but it came from vocational groups requiring highly specialised courses in applied science. Such courses enabled a specialist to keep pace with latest developments in his particular field. Yet any attempt made to cater to such a demand raised a very fundamental question of policy concerning the role of extra-mural departments. Peers summarised the issue:

The Universities in their internal Departments offer advanced instruction in a number of technologies such as engineering, mining, metallurgy, agriculture etc. Are their Extra-Mural departments to be not only Responsible Bodies under the Regulations of the Ministry of Education concerned with the liberal education of adults, but also the external agents of their Universities, offering to the public expositions of all the work which is going on in the University?<sup>245</sup>

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241 Robert Peers, Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 9. Peers drew his figures from the relevant annual reports of the Universities Council for Adult Education and the W.E.A.

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid., p. 11.

244 Ibid., p. 12.

245 Ibid., p. 13.

This was not an easy question to answer. There was a wide gulf between those who viewed extra-mural departments "as the last refuge of the humanities",<sup>246</sup> and those who viewed extra-mural machinery as a convenient way to make available to the public all the varied studies pursued in the University. The Peers study noted that the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool were offering Science as a general interest subject, in university courses intended to run two or three years. Also, both Universities were developing post-graduate work with extra-mural students who had no specialist qualifications. Obviously, the Directors of both Extra-Mural Departments were pragmatists who supported both the liberal and the vocational approaches regarding the role of an extra-mural department. Although, at the same time, the policy of using University lecturers to teach Science as a general interest subject had historical precedents going back to the origins of Extension work in Nineteenth-Century England. Moreover, the prominence in the previous century of course in Science for the general public<sup>247</sup> reminds one that a pool of potential students existed, after the earnest student of tutorial or specialist background had been provided for. Professor Peers recorded that courses in the History of Science designed to interest the general public in science had not been successful.<sup>248</sup> There was a paradox, as the first Extension courses ever provided in England had comprised courses entitled "The History of Science" and had been provided for audiences,

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246 Ibid.

247 See G.W. Roderick and M.D. Stephens "Science in the Extra-Mural Departments of British Universities 1946-67", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, October, 1970, pp. 277-8. Roderick and Stephens emphasize the heavy concentration in courses in natural science in University Extension, from the time of the pioneer work of James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge, until the late 1890's.

248 R. Peers, Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 15.



in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield.<sup>249</sup> On the other hand, courses of a biographical character dealing with the lives and achievements of the great scientists of the past had been well received.<sup>250</sup> Possibly it was unfortunate that historians had not devoted anything like the attention to scientists, either as individuals or as seminal thinkers, that had been directed to Kings and statesmen.

The subject of History was the topic of a number of articles. As a subject, History had increased in popularity in tutorial and sessional classes in the universities from 584 classes in 1951-52, to 597 in 1952-53, up to 684 classes in 1953-54.<sup>251</sup> History was an exception to the general trend that saw virtually all other academic subjects decrease in popularity.<sup>252</sup> An analysis of the popularity of the blanket term History provides some insight into the motivation behind this surge of interest. Local History became very popular and, in 1953-54, accounted for exactly forty per cent of the total courses in history.<sup>253</sup> At Manchester three students in local history classes successfully completed research projects for M.A. degrees.<sup>254</sup> In Chapter Five the well known historian A.J.P. Taylor was cited as advocating the development of local history for adults, particularly because such an approach enabled the students to have access to primary material and write original work. Moreover, local history had the virtue of dealing with the specific and concrete rather than the general and abstract issues covered by general history. This surge of interest in local history tended to be re-

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249 G.W. Roderick and M.D. Stephens, "Science in the Extra-Mural Departments of British Universities 1946-67," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, October, 1970, p. 277.

250 R. Peers, Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 16.

251 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 14.

252 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1952-53, p. 23. also U.C.A.E. Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 15., which for contrast, showed the disastrous fall in the number of Psychology classes from 294 classes in 1950-51 to 184 in 1953-54.

253 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 15.

254 Ibid.

moved from concern about social emancipation and so, as had been the case with music, the traditionalists saw this interest as an escapist one.<sup>255</sup> What seemed evident to Norman Dees, Staff tutor in King's College Extra-Mural Department at Durham, was that the interest in local history was a reaction against concern with contemporary dilemmas.<sup>256</sup> There appears to have been one exception to the view expressed by Dees as, at the University of Liverpool, Mr. J. Burr, Assistant Director in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, reported that education for H.M. Forces was still very strongly in favour of international relations and current problems.<sup>257</sup> But public indifference towards "current events" was shown at the University of Liverpool, in 1953-54, when there was a poor attendance for a course on American Civilisation in the Twentieth Century, conducted by distinguished American scholars.<sup>258</sup> What seems to be indicated by this turning away from current events or international affairs is that, apart from weariness at listening to a catalogue of problems, there was an awareness that Britain's role on the international scene had diminished, and therefore the relevance of international problems was likewise diminished. Daily coverage of the news over television revealed Britain as a satellite of America and, possibly, encouraged students to turn inwards to examine their own local roots. In any event, the distant past exercises a fascination through its very remoteness from vexatious modern problems and, moreover, local history has the appeal of homely things that are familiar. There was interest in other countries, but the motivation was not inspired by a succession of political crises, such as those that had excited the interest of a generation of students in the 1930's. In the early 1950's, there was interest in tourist travel as ordinary

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255 N. Dees, "History in Adult Education", Journal of the Institute of Education of Durham University, Vol. 3, May, 1952, p. 21.

256 Ibid.

257 Liverpool Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Minute Book, 1939-1960, Minutes of a Meeting held in the University of Liverpool on Thursday 22nd May, 1952.

258 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1953-54, p. 16.

people could finance trips in a way unthinkable to an older generation, while television stimulated a desire to travel.

To some extent classes in History suffered from the tendency of adult educators to use the discipline as a means of providing background material for current events. Norman Dees expressed the view that history for adults had been strait-jacketed in contemporary international relations.<sup>259</sup> But apart from the content of History courses, the methods employed by some instructors were hardly conducive towards encouraging students to take a serious interest in the subject. For example, a tutor with the Manchester Joint Committee outlined his methods, by stating that:

In History classes essays on factual subjects tend to be dull ... It is better to ask students to write about the abstract and moral questions which arise in the study of history and are equally relevant and important at the present day e.g. the use of force in politics, and historical inevitability versus the power of individuals to influence the historical progress (sic).<sup>260</sup>

The identity of this particular tutor was not revealed. Certainly the point of view makes one wonder how many of the history classes were not taught by historians for the approach departs from generally accepted criteria. The purpose of writing "dull essays" is to encourage careful weighing of data, assembled with patience, which should help a student to make an objective appraisal. To ask students to write about historical inevitability requires a fairly high degree of sophistication, if such an exercise is to be anything more than a mere parroting of that inconclusive riddle about the man making the times, or the times making the man. Possibly the desire to make History popular accounts for this approach: but what was gained in popularity was surely apt to be lost by superficiality. Furthermore, such an approach makes one wonder as to how seriously tutorial classes in History encouraged the idea of university standards, or university quality, about

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259 N. Dees, "The History Class", The Highway, 43, April 1952, p. 251.

260 W.E. Styler, "Written Work", The Tutors' Bulletin, Autumn, 1950, p. 6.

which so much has been written. Certainly such a virtue as the encouragement of an objective approach to the pursuit of truth, along with a balanced presentation, were hardly likely to be features of work that resulted from the approach to the teaching of History employed by the Manchester tutor. The testimony of Norman Dees tends to suggest that the attitudes of the Manchester extra-mural tutor was not uncommon.<sup>261</sup> However, in fairness to this tutor, it need to be pointed out that he was not alone in his casual approach. The Ministry of Education Pamphlet Teaching History provides an example of the grab-bag philosophy deplored by Norman Dees: the term History covered apparently assorted fields of study:

It seems reasonable to group together as 'history' those classes listed as general history, economic history, political and social science, current affairs, international relations, and 'religious history and literature'.<sup>262</sup>

Elsewhere the pamphlet makes the point that many classes in literature and drama are incidental classes in history.<sup>263</sup> In view of this casual attitude towards defining history as a subject, one could argue that University intra-mural historians might become prejudiced against extra-mural activity and that, therefore, the trend towards the study of local history was a good sign. If adult students were prepared to work at a topic from local records then such research helped to compensate for some of the assorted activity that was described as History.

This chapter has surveyed the practice of adult education during a short span of only four years, 1950-54, but the amount of activity in these years was considerable. On the one hand, it is possible to see a per-

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261 N. Dees, "History in Adult Education", Journal of the Institute of the Institute of Education of Durham University, Vol. 3, May, 1952, p. 21.

Dees makes the point that history in adult education often has been forced to masquerade "as something else". It is often a "background" and makes fitful entrances to illuminate various subjects.

262 Ministry of Education, Teaching History, Pamphlet No. 23, London, H.M.S.O., 1952, pp. 86-87.

263 Ibid., p. 81.

iod of decline, as the tutorial class movement faltered, and Government funds began to dry up. On the other hand, there was intense philosophical speculation as to the purpose of adult education, accompanied by a pragmatic approach that saw vocational training introduced under the umbrella term of Extension. In this short space of time the Responsible Bodies were forced to make a searching re-appraisal of their role in the educational spectrum.

The degree of co-operation between an extra-mural department and a local W.E.A. District appears to have varied throughout England. In Lancashire and Yorkshire, where W.E.A. traditions were strong, there seems to have been some common features and local variations in the policies adopted in the early 1950's. The Universities of Leeds and Liverpool experienced a decline in both the number and quality of tutorial classes while Manchester had the unique experience, by 1954, of actually increasing its number of tutorial classes. All three University extra-mural departments experimented with liberal style three-year courses that were independent of the W.E.A. The Universities were in a stronger position than the W.E.A., and an illustration of this strength was the policy adopted by Leeds University Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies. At Leeds a large full-time staff of extra-mural tutors had been recruited to teach tutorial classes. With the decline of tutorial classes, and a Treasury freeze on funds, the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies re-deployed its teaching staff into Extension work where money could be obtained through the University Grants Committee. Such a policy carried with it, however, the danger of antagonising intra-mural departments who might view the new vocational style Extension courses as a rival. Manchester and Liverpool were more secure from intra-mural critics as they used internal University lecturers to teach their Extension courses. In fact, it would seem that one of the ways that an extra-mural department sought to gain acceptability, in the eyes of its University, was to promote Extension work that was generally of a higher calibre than classes run for the W.E.A. Moreover, vocationally oriented courses, run under the banner of Extension,

could be financed by the Treasury, as in the case of Social Service, or through an organisation that desired this service, or through student fees. In any event, the Extra-Mural Department could help to defray part of their teaching costs through money received from University funds derived from the University Grants Committee. In view of this financial strength in developing a balanced programme, the extra-mural departments would naturally be envied by a W.E.A. that saw its tutorial class tradition steadily deteriorating, and was wracked by internal dissension about the purpose of the Association.

But if there were forces tending to divide the historic partnership between the Extra-Mural Department and the W.E.A., there was also a force that was more powerful in causing them to coalesce. The next chapter will consider the impact of the financial restrictions imposed in the early 1950's that led to the creation of a Committee, by the Minister of Education, to review the whole field of Organization and Finance of Adult Education. Many of the influences discussed in this present chapter were to receive a public scrutiny from the first official study made of adult education, since the classic review in 1919 by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

THE ASHBY REPORT AND ITS AFTERMATH

In the last chapter attention was focused on the practice of adult education amid changing social and economic conditions, which included a growing gulf between extra-mural departments and the W.E.A. While these cleavages of opinion were important to the bodies involved, the differences paled into insignificance compared to the threat to the whole field of adult education posed by financial restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, in this chapter, there will be an examination of the various factors that led to the establishment of a committee to conduct a public enquiry into "The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales".

In 1951-52 the total grant paid to the Responsible Bodies was £340,000.<sup>1</sup> A new Minister of Education, Miss Florence Horsbrugh, who had taken office following the Conservative win at the polls in 1951, noted with alarm that expenditure on Responsible Bodies had trebled in six years. The Minister decided to stabilise grant-aid and in order to do so fixed a maximum grant for each Responsible Body for 1952-53 at the level which applied in the previous year. Applying this brake to expenditure on adult education sent tremors through extra-mural departments and the W.E.A. The Universities Council for Adult Education stated that this freeze on expansion of funds had "come as a blow" and went on to say that:

'stabilisation' itself amounted to a 'cut' for it did not allow for increments on staff salaries ... Students have been discouraged. The result has been a slight shrinkage in new classes and reluctance to take risks or undertake experiments which are decidedly to the disadvantage of extra-mural work as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

An example of what the freeze meant to an individual extra-mural department can be illustrated from the experience of the University of Liverpool during 1952-53. Salary increases and increments were paid to staff members

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1 Ministry of Education, Education in 1952, Cmd. 8835, London: H.M.S.O., 1953, p. 20.

2 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1952-53, p. 6.

but this necessitated cutting down on the planned programme for the Extension side of the Department's work. There was a reduction in the number of grant-aided courses and concentration "on more specialised courses which can hope to be self-supporting without Ministerial aid".<sup>3</sup> Also, there was a cutback on the Joint Committee work, with a reduction of six tutorial classes: actually eight conducted by part-time tutors were cancelled, but the two Assistant Directors each picked up one class.<sup>4</sup> From this specific example it is possible to see why the Minister's "freeze" would be seen by the extra-mural department as a "cut".

But Miss Horsbrugh had not finished yet. In January, 1953 she announced that there might have to be a ten per cent reduction in the estimates for 1953-54. If the previous Ministerial freeze had been seen as a cut by the Responsible Bodies the implications of an actual Ministerial cut were devastating. A ten per cent reduction would require the dismantling, by each individual Responsible Body, of some of the adult education empire that had been built during the past few years. This situation was much more serious than the effect of a freeze which essentially meant the postponement of future plans. The reaction to Miss Horsbrugh's announcement that she "might" have to reduce expenditure for 1953-54 was swift. A storm of protest arose with adult educators in extra-mural departments and the W.E.A. closing ranks in a spirit of camaraderie. Within a few weeks there was a delegation to see the Minister of Education comprised of representatives from the W.E.A., C.J.A.C. and the U.C.A.E.<sup>5</sup> Professor S.G. Raybould

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3 University of Liverpool, Extension Board, Report Book, No. 5, p. 5.

4 Ibid.

5 University of Leeds, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Minutes, Meeting of February 24, 1953., p. 1.



was a member of the delegation and was also active in Leeds during the month of February. On February 21, 1953 the Leeds Branch of the Association of Tutors passed a resolution, moved by Raybould, that the reduction in Ministry Grant was deplored, with copies going to the Minister of Education, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, all M.P.'s in the Leeds District, plus the Yorkshire and Lancashire Press.<sup>6</sup> Three days later, on February 24, a similar resolution was carried by the University of Leeds Joint Tutorial Classes Committee.<sup>7</sup>

Four Labour M.P.'s tabled a motion in the House of Commons condemning the cut as "a vicious attack on one of the most vital and worthwhile sections of our educational system".<sup>8</sup> From the Midlands came some pertinent remarks from Professor A.J. Allaway who, in an appropriately titled article called "Adult Education: Necessity or Luxury" pointed out that the proposed ten per cent cut was but a "small fraction of what the government intends to spend on the coronation".<sup>9</sup> It was certainly possible to interpret the actions of the Minister of Education as an indication that she felt adult education was a luxury rather than a necessity, particularly as the financial squeeze affected the salaries of individual members of the staff of university extra-mural departments. In the previous year the Report of the U.C.A.E. had noted that the financial squeeze had meant not giving an increment in salary. By March, 1953, at the time

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6 Association of Tutor in Adult Education, Leeds Branch, Minute Book, Meeting on February 21, 1953.

7 University of Leeds, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Minutes, Meeting of February 24, 1953, p. 1.

8 Times Educational Supplement, February 20, 1953, p. 160.

9 A.J. Allaway, "Adult Education; Necessity or Luxury", Phoenix, March, 1953, p. 2.

Queen Elizabeth II was crowned as Monarch in May, 1953.

that A.J. Allaway published his article reflecting about necessity or luxury, the Ministry of Education had sought more information from Responsible Bodies, which included being told "of their commitments on salaries of whole-time staff".<sup>10</sup> Obviously such a request would generate some concern about the prospect of a further freeze on salary increments, and this may have helped to intensify the reaction to the Minister's enquiries.

Soon there was correspondence in the Press and deputations waiting on the Minister of Education. Admittedly the W.E.A. did not have the political leverage inside the Conservative party that it had in the departed Labour party, but their allies in the Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) could exert political pressure. A resolution by the T.U.C. demanding the reversal of this "most reactionary decision" was forwarded to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The wording of this resolution indicated that, somewhere, there was at least one influential adult educator who had chosen to misread the announcement of the Minister of Education for, as Churchill gently pointed out in his reply, "When you speak of 'this most reactionary decision', I can assure you that nothing has been settled by the Department or by the Cabinet".<sup>11</sup>

Winston Churchill had not spent a lifetime in politics without learning how to ride out a storm. It was hardly likely that Churchill would consider antagonising the T.U.C. for the sake of saving £34,000 from a total educational expenditure of £200,000,000. But the immediate task was to placate the T.U.C. and, on March 11, 1953 a magnificent piece of Churchillian prose took the sting out of the situation. One of the paragraphs of Churchill's letter provided an historic statement of, the place of liberal education in a technological society:

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10 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 66.

11 Ibid.

There is, perhaps no branch of our vast educational system which should attract within its particular sphere the aid and encouragement of the State than adult education. How many there must be in Britain, after the disturbance of two destructive wars, who thirst in later life to learn about the humanities, the history of their country, the philosophies of the human race, and the arts and letters which sustain and are borne forward by the ever-conquering English language? This ranks in my opinion far above science and technical instruction, which are well sustained and not without their rewards in our present system. The mental and moral outlook of free men studying the past with free minds in order to discern the future demands the highest measures which our hard pressed finances can sustain. I have no doubt myself that a man or woman earnestly seeking in grown-up life to be guided to wide and suggestive knowledge in its largest and most uplifted sphere will make the best of all the pupils in this age of clatter and buzz, of gape and gloat. The appetite of adults to be shown the foundations and processes of thought will never be denied by a British Administration cherishing the continuity of our Island life.<sup>12</sup>

Such language was enough to make the hearts of adult educators swell with pride. But the punch line was contained near the end of this letter with, "But these are no reasons for not looking through the accounts, and making sure that all we can give is turned to good advantage".<sup>13</sup> After this letter from Churchill had defused a potentially explosive situation, there followed somewhat embarrassed discussions between the Minister of Education and the representatives of the Responsible Bodies. With Churchill and the T.U.C. maintaining a watchful stance these discussions led to the threatened cutback being rescinded and the grant stabilised at the figure for 1951-52. The Ministry of Education endeavoured to cover its confusion by appointing in June, 1953, a small committee under the chairmanship of

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12 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, pp. 66-7. This is the official title of the Ashby Report presented by Dr. Eric Ashby. The T.U.C resolution and Churchill's letter are here reproduced in full.

13 Ibid.

Dr. Eric Ashby, Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, with the following terms of reference:

To review the present system by which extra-mural departments of universities, the Workers' Educational Association and the other responsible bodies provide local facilities for adult education, with special reference to the conditions under which the facilities are organised and are aided by grant from public funds: and to make recommendations.<sup>14</sup>

Ashby's committee was to make the first systematic review of adult education since 1919. The committee invited submissions from interested parties and one of the respondents was the University of Liverpool.

Some of the points made in the submission from the University of Liverpool are worth examining as they illustrate the point of view of the Extra-Mural Department. First of all there was the anomalous position held by adult education in university circles, because, "At present Extra-Mural Departments occupy a somewhat peculiar position half in and half out of the universities, half in and half out of the public educational system".<sup>15</sup> The disadvantages of being part of the public educational system were set forth:

it is not too to say that the extra-mural work of the universities is now rapidly outgrowing the Ministry regulations under which it is carried on. Those Regulations make available a grant of 75% of the teaching costs on courses for the liberal education of adults. Vocational courses are excluded for grants entirely, and semi-vocational courses e.g. courses of background study for professional groups are looked on with grave suspicion. Language studies are also barred, apparently as being vocational, so that a cultural course in say French, embracing a systematic study of the language as well as a study of French History and literature would be ineligible for grant ... the Ministry's control had undoubtedly become a hampering influence on the development of extra-mural work.<sup>16</sup>

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14 Ibid., p. 1.

15 University of Liverpool, "Memorandum submitted by Senate and Council to the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Education", p. 4. Report Book, No. 32, p. 98.

The Memorandum is attached to p. 98 of the Report Book and all the references that followed apply to a page of the actual Memorandum.

16 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Further points were made about the inadequate grants for part-time tutors and the exercise, by the Ministry of Education, of academic control over the work through H.M. Inspectors which ran contrary to university academic freedom. But there was, also, a clear recognition of the main advantage derived from being part of the public educational system.

Against all the disadvantages must be set the undeniable fact that Ministry assistance has made it possible for the universities to expand their work on a scale which they would probably have never contemplated otherwise.<sup>17</sup>

This overriding consideration led the Extra-Mural Department to conclude that the financial arrangements with the Ministry of Education should be continued.<sup>18</sup>

There was a recognition that the relationship with the W.E.A. had been affected by social and educational changes. This issue was seen in terms of social class, with the view being expressed that the old tradition had been for the W.E.A. to take care of the working class with the Extension movement catering to the middle class.<sup>19</sup> One can speculate that this premise of a division along the lines of social class is a debatable topic. While the Nineteenth century extension movement had tended to cater to the middle class, the researches of S.G. Raybould seemed to indicate that, between the two World Wars of the Twentieth Century, the middle class became a large section of the W.E.A. Admittedly the idea of class embraced a fluid concept so that, for example, school teachers were elevated into the middle class in the public consciousness. The University of Liverpool recognised that one of the difficulties of the 1950's was that the working class community was no longer clearly defined:

In this area at the present time half the members of the Joint Committee classes belong to the manual or clerical classes: the rest are teachers, professional

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17 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

workers and others who might just as easily be recruited into some other type of class ... Conversely, Extension courses, though aimed at the student with a grammar school background may easily attract other students who might be better off in a W.E.A. group.<sup>21</sup>

Naturally, as the submission pointed out, there was bound to be "a certain amount of overlapping" with the W.E.A., "which can on occasion lead to friction".<sup>22</sup> It is noteworthy that the frank recognition of the possibility of an overlap with the W.E.A. had a different orientation compared to the protestations of W.E. Styler and R.D. Waller of the University of Manchester, discussed in Chapter Six, that no conflict need exist. On this particular issue the research of S.G. Raybould indicated that there was a problem of overlapping between the work of an extra-mural department and the W.E.A.; therefore, Raybould's conclusions supported the contention of the Liverpool submission to the Ashby Committee. At the same time the possibility of overlap with the work of the W.E.A., and some occasional friction, did not essentially alter the general pattern of co-operation on the part of the Liverpool Extra-Mural Department, because as was pointed out:

In the Liverpool region ... nearly two-thirds of the work sponsored by the Department (reckoned in terms of student hours) still consists of classes arranged in collaboration with the W.E.A. (mostly three-year tutorial classes) ... In return for its organising work the W.E.A. is permitted to retain the students' fees for all Joint Committee classes, and receives an annual grant of £310 per year. The University also assists the Association in a number of other ways, e.g. by providing free accommodation for nearly all the Liverpool classes.<sup>23</sup>

Undoubtedly the number of tutorial classes has declined since the peak years of the late 1940's but, as noted in Chapter Six, the struggle to get back to pre-war class standards had dissipated much of the mushroom growth in marginal classes. So, by 1953 the attitude of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was friendly to the W.E.A., but not committed to relying upon the efforts of the West Lancashire and Cheshire Branch for producing virtually all the

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21 Ibid., pp. 11-12.

22 Ibid., p. 12.

23 Ibid., p. 6.

The brackets are contained in the original copy.

students taught by the Department.

Obviously the demand for the education of adults was bound to influence the policy of an extra-mural department. In the brief that the University of Liverpool submitted to the Ashby Committee, the point was made that the demand came not only from the W.E.A., but also from the L.E.A.s, from industrial concerns, from a variety of cultural and professional organizations, and of course, from the general public. This demand was distinguished by the feature that it went beyond the traditional type of liberal course and represented "a new and growing demand for courses of a vocational character",<sup>24</sup> which could be sub-divided into two types:

(a) High level refresher or post graduate courses for teachers, clergy, industrial research workers, etc. Courses on such subjects as Modern Inorganic Chemistry, Recent Advances in Electronic Techniques, The Ecology of Sand Dunes formed one-sixth of the total number of Extension courses at Liverpool during the past session, and so far the demand is only beginning to be explored. (b) Vocational or semi-vocational courses on subjects which fall outside the normal range of technical or commercial colleges e.g. social science, psychology, industrial relations.<sup>25</sup>

In the light of this demand for vocational training added to the long accepted liberal education, it was a reasonable conclusion to declare that, from the point of view of the University of Liverpool:

We believe it to be the extra-mural task of each university to make its teaching resources available (as far as they can legitimately be spared from its intra-mural purposes) in the most effective manner possible throughout the region it serves.<sup>26</sup>

This idea of serving the needs of the region obviously caught the attention of the Ashby Committee because it would emerge as one of the criteria for assessing the financial needs of an extra-mural department. Similarly, the proposal that "provision be made for grant on vocational and semi-vocational courses"<sup>27</sup> may have influenced the Ashby Committee during their deliberations.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.12.

T. Kelly was quite active in his support of a group formed by D.R. Dudley, the Extra-Mural Director at the University of Birmingham, to act in their own words as "a ginger group" in promoting the cause of extra-mural departments.<sup>28</sup> This group that met at Primrose Hill, Birmingham on June 8, 1953 comprised the extra-mural directors of the Universities of Leicester, Liverpool, London, Aberystwyth and Birmingham. Before considering the actions of this group, it would seem helpful to briefly outline the relevant background of two members of this ginger group. The group's leader, D.R. Dudley, had created for his department an avant garde reputation<sup>29</sup> and had been one of the pioneers in launching Summer Schools for American students. Birmingham University's extra-mural work had been criticised by Raybould for its emphasis on short elementary courses, as revealed by statistics up to the late 1940's but, by the period beginning 1951, the Birmingham situation was rapidly changing. As the financial squeeze took effect, Dudley recorded that "this standstill ... has had far-reaching effects. Pioneer work has been all but abandoned to give a clear field for more advanced work".<sup>30</sup> Raybould's criticism of Birmingham was based on past performance, as revealed through past statistics. Therefore, one can understand Dudley's complacent reaction to paragraph 95 of the Ashby Report suggesting that universities ought to restrict themselves to tutorial and sessional classes. Dudley declared that this request was unlikely to cause any problems, as the promotion of elementary work had

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28 University of Birmingham, "Report of Meeting held at Primrose Hill, Birmingham, June 8-9, 1953", p. 1. A copy of the minutes is located in the University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department, Office File on Birmingham University, 1946-1957.

29 This opinion was expressed in a letter from Professor A.J. Allaway to J.A. Blyth dated February 14, 1973.

30 D.R. Dudley, The Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Birmingham, A Survey of New Developments 1945-1955, p. 17.



virtually ceased.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Dudley deliberately refrained from encouraging extensive co-operation with the W.E.A.; such a policy provided him with a freedom of action that appears to have <sup>been</sup> viewed rather wistfully by T. Kelly at Liverpool.<sup>32</sup>

Another member of the group who was concerned about the tendency of the W.E.A. to seek domination over the organization of adult education was A.J. Allaway, Head of the Department of Adult Education at Leicester. Allaway had an extensive knowledge of the field, that extended back to being an organising tutor in Lancashire in the 1930's, and strongly resisted the conclusions drawn by Raybould. Essentially Allaway's resistance to Raybouldian thinking stemmed from the conviction that discussion of university standards could not be based on statistics, but required visits to university extra-mural classes to see what was actually happening. Moreover, Allaway felt that the type of work being done in Extra-Mural Departments, such as the booming Extension programmes, were not understood by the general public. Therefore, at the meeting at Birmingham, Allaway declared that the general public had the false impression that university adult education was the same as twenty-five years earlier, when it specialised in providing tutors for three-year classes organised by the W.E.A. Allaway contended that an interest group maintained this stereotype and that it was an illusion that had to be destroyed.<sup>33</sup> In the opinion of Allaway, the publicity given to the financial restrictions had, on the one hand, given an impression that the ten per cent

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31 University of Liverpool, Extra-Mural Department, Office File on Birmingham University, 1946-1957. Letter from D.R. Dudley to T. Kelly dated September 9, 1954.

32 Ibid., Letter from T. Kelly to D.R. Dudley dated February 16, 1950.

33 University of Birmingham, "Report of Meeting held at Primrose Hill, Birmingham, June 8-9, 1953," p. 1.  
University of Liverpool, Extra-Mural Department, Office File on University of Birmingham, 1946-1957.

cut constituted an attack on the W.E.A.: while, on the other hand, there was a feeling that the bureaucratically run extra-mural departments were affluent but not pulling their weight in adult education. Allaway felt there was need for publicity on the development of independent provision by the Universities.<sup>34</sup> Kelly undertook to approach the editor of the Times Educational Supplement concerning the publication of articles. Dudley agreed to monitor any misleading articles that appeared in the press and to call upon members of the group to write an answer, if he considered that necessary.<sup>35</sup>

A further discussion centred around the desirability of transferring finance from the Ministry of Education to the University Grants Committee. The minutes of the meeting record a unanimous decision in favour of going over completely to the University Grants Committee.<sup>36</sup> On this occasion, T. Kelly appears to have agreed to a course of action respecting the desirability of transferring financial responsibility to the University Grants Committee which was the opposite of the final decision of the submission of the University of Liverpool.<sup>37</sup> Similarly Allaway's support of the unanimous decision at Birmingham had to be modified in practice when he submitted a personal brief to the Ashby committee. This submission proposed that Ministry of Education grants should cover the total costs of a broad programme of work with grants being made available on a quinquennial basis.<sup>38</sup> However, Allaway was not too hopeful that this was practical to the Ministry so, as an alter-

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34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 See the details of the Memorandum submitted by Senate and Council to the Adult Educational Committee of the Ministry of Education, under footnote 18 in this chapter.

38 A.J. Allaway, Submission of the Head of the Department of Adult Education to the Adult Education Committee set up by the Ministry of Education, University of Leicester, October 7, 1953, p. 7.

native, proposed that, "Serious consideration ought, therefore, to be given to the possibility of extra-mural work being financed, like other university work, mainly out of general university resources".<sup>39</sup> The University of Leicester declined to give official backing to Allaway's submission,<sup>40</sup> although the financial proposals were couched in moderate terms.

Kelly followed up on his undertaking to approach the editor of the Times Educational Supplement, as, on February 19, 1954, an article by him appeared under the somewhat familiar title of "Outside the Walls".<sup>41</sup> In this article, Kelly stressed that the availability of public funds had tended to encourage extra-mural work to develop in isolation from the main body of university teaching. Although, there had been a recognition by universities that they had to bring their extra-mural departments within the university fold, and a tendency "to insist that extra-mural work was only worthy of the name if it was done by members of university staffs".<sup>42</sup> A second point was developed from a reference to the Bible of adult education, the 1919 Report, where it had been proposed that a diversified range of courses be provided "for municipal civil servants, teachers, trade union officials and other groups of people".<sup>43</sup> Kelly commented that development of post-graduate courses for teachers and industrial workers had a vocational slant and, while the usefulness of such courses was generally admitted, there was the difficulty that "the Ministry's regulations did not allow aid for vocational courses".<sup>44</sup> The major problem was "that extra-mural departments are now rapidly outgrowing

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39 Ibid.

40 Professor A.J. Allaway verbally explained this to J.A. Blyth on February 23, 1973 at his home in Leicester.

41 One is reminded of the book by T. Kelly, published in 1950, entitled Outside the Walls. Sixty Years of University Extension At Manchester 1886-1946. The articles in the Times Educational Supplement that followed Kelly's Article, by A.J. Allaway and D.R. Dudley, were likewise entitled "Outside the Walls".

42 T. Kelly, "Outside the Walls", Times Educational Supplement, Friday, February 19, 1954, p. 171.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

the administrative framework which sufficed for the past generation ... which followed the recommendations of the ... Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919".<sup>45</sup> What was essentially being advocated was that the Ministry of Education Regulations should be brought into line with the practice of extra-mural departments in the 1950's, which meant subsidising vocational style training, as well as liberal studies. While the argument certainly sounded plausible, one wonders if using the Bible of adult education for the purpose of locating a suitable paragraph that could justify what had happened represented a valid premise. Unfortunately the far reaching imaginative prose of R.H. Tawney had produced a work that could easily be used to justify a point of view, if an extract was used as a text. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Six, there was an indication that the prophet of 1919 had become disenchanted with extra-mural departments and could therefore, conceivably, disavow to the Ashby Committee that the classic 1919 Report constituted a justification for their own views.<sup>46</sup>

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45 Ibid

46 See p.338 in Chapter 6 concerning the quotation from A.J. Corfield, Epoch in Workers' Education. Also, as long time President of the W.E.A., R.H. Tawney was one of the influential figures supporting Raybould's criticisms of extra-mural work. In fairness to extra-mural directors, it should be pointed out that the view of Tawney could be interpreted in at least two ways. The alternative interpretation is that Tawney was annoyed at the Universities for giving token support to adult education, by setting up extra-mural departments, and then regarding the action as fulfilling their commitment to adults.

Nevertheless there was no doubt that, as the article in the Times Educational Supplement pointed out, the contribution of the university was greater than it had ever been, and included the familiar tutorial classes as well as a varied programme labelled University Extension. The description of the current Liverpool programme was impressive, in terms of scope and imagination, because it included:

for example, ... general lecture courses on subjects ranging from 'The Dead Sea Scrolls' to 'Science in the Twentieth Century' from 'Geoffrey Chaucer' to 'Modern American Civilization'; post-graduate courses for industrial staff on biochemistry, colloids, metallurgy and electronics; courses for teachers, for youth leaders, and for professional groups such as personnel managers and mental health workers; and long-term 'study courses' in various arts and sciences, beginning at the 'ordinary' G.C.E. level.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover there was a timely reminder that adult education attempted to pursue such liberal forces as truth and freedom, objectivity and tolerance.<sup>48</sup>

The next article entitled "Outside the Walls" was published one week later and was written by A.J. Allaway. This article, for the edification of the Ashby Committee, concentrated on the irksome nature of the Ministry of Education Regulations:

the universities are coming to feel that Ministry control is far too detailed and restrictive. Many wish to be free from the obligation to submit programmes in advance to the Ministry and to justify every proposed course that doubtfully conforms to a rather narrow conception of a liberal education ... heads of extra-mural departments occasionally sigh for the day when they will be permitted to operate in a more simplified administrative framework.<sup>49</sup>

The thrust of this article follows the same direction as that of Kelly's, a week earlier, namely that extra-mural directors wanted more freedom.

There was one interesting aspect in the argument of Allaway that illustrates

<sup>47</sup> T. Kelly, "Outside the Walls", Times Educational Supplement, Friday, February 19, 1954, p.171.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> A.J. Allaway, "Outside the Walls", The Times Educational Supplement, Friday, February 26, 1954, p. 193.

the double thinking of some extra-mural directors; this concerns what the University of Liverpool submission had called the "peculiar position" of an extra-mural department "half in and half out" of both the universities and the public education system. Allaway started off by saying "the universities are coming to feel that Ministry control is far too detailed and restrictive": presumably this means that extra-mural directors speak for "the universities" and not for just their department. But the only part of a university that operated under the Ministry of Education Regulations was the extra-mural department. Moreover, speaking as if the extra-mural departments and "the universities" were synonymous ignored the intra-mural critics of adult education. Admittedly to speak of "the universities" provided a useful stick with which to lambast the Ministry of Education Regulations: but the logical development of that position would have been to refuse to accept money from the Ministry and request "the universities" to finance virtually all the work of extra-mural departments. University funds were derived from the Treasury through the University Grants Committee and were therefore free of Ministry of Education control. Allaway's article seemed to suggest that extra-mural directors wanted the security of possessing Ministry money, allied to freedom in the accounting for these public funds, on the premise that the "universities" felt very restricted. Apparently the hope of getting the best of both worlds turned on the use of the word "universities".

The above commentary on the use of the word "universities" should be qualified by noting that, at the University of Leicester, Professor A.J. Allaway had been appointed to the first chair created. Furthermore, as the senior professor, Allaway encouraged his staff to mix with the internal staff so they did not feel outsiders. But this situation appears to have been far from typical, and possibly owes something to the relatively small size of a new university, that in turn encourages a more intimate atmosphere

among members of the staff. A more common attitude at the larger universities appears to have been that expressed by D.R. Dudley when, for once, he shared a view of S.G. Raybould, in observing, "Standing outside the usual University machinery an Extra-Mural Department must depend in a measure on the sympathies of the Vice-Chancellor".<sup>50</sup>

The articles of the ginger group that appeared in The Times Educational Supplement were obviously polemical in nature and intended to influence the opinion of the educationally conscious readers of the weekly. So far as the Ashby Committee was concerned such discussion was merely part of the diverse opinion with which they were dealing. Possibly the premise of Kelly's argument would receive some attention from the evidence that R.H. Tawney was to give to the Committee, and it would then be possible to judge whether the writer of the 1919 Report felt that the extra-mural directors of the 1950's were following in the spirit of that classic on adult education. Similarly a committee which included such members as Vice-Chancellor Eric Ashby, Professor W.L. Burn and Alan Bullock would not be easily influenced by Allaway's implication that "universities" and extra-mural directors had the same outlook towards tiresome Regulations issued by the Ministry of Education.

But the heart of the matter concerned the use of the word "liberal". Traditionally the meaning of the term "liberal education" had implied "non-vocational education" and, in fact, English adult education had been defined as liberal education. Some extra-mural directors wanted to discard what they felt was an outworn concept and include vocational training for purposes of obtaining grants from the Ministry of Education. But to leave the narrow interpretation of the word "liberal" was fraught with political danger; as on the one hand most of the extra-mural directors did not want to

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50 D.R. Dudley, The Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Birmingham, A Survey of New Developments 1945-1955, p. 19.

deny themselves access to Ministry funds, while on the other hand, the L.E.A.s, Technical Colleges and regular University departments might resist competition in the field of vocational training. The obvious solution was to recast the official definition of the word "liberal" and therefore, the antonym that was stressed was "illiberal" not the official "vocational".<sup>51</sup> Once it had been established that the word "liberal" should be concerned with the spirit in which any subject was approached then it followed that, for a layman, a course on such an ostensibly vocational and practical subject as plumbing was liberal training. If the logic of this line of reasoning was conceded, then surely such semi-vocational courses as, for example, Psychology for Social Workers or Religion for Ministers should be considered as liberal education. In short the new approach to defining the word "liberal" emphasized the spirit in which any subject was approached<sup>52</sup> and suggested that past official attempts to define the word involved a distortion in the use of terms. A pair of antonyms such as "vocational" and "non vocational" had, according to this claim, no connection to the true opposites of "liberal" and "illiberal". It is true that the implication that university lecturers were mainly liberally minded individuals would be popular within the university; yet, at the same time, adult students in pursuit of specialist knowledge might well find that a specialist often tended to see his subject in a narrow focus. But the most important consideration was the reason why liberal education for adults had been defined in terms of non-vocational study, which had little to do with devising

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51 Professor T. Kelly was kind enough to point out in conversation the line of approach used to influence the Ministry of Education.

52 The 1919 Report of the Adult Educational Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction had stressed this approach. See p. 46, footnote 108.



a convenient way of distributing Treasury funds. Non-vocational training for workers permitted then to grow as individuals and prevented employers training their employees at the expense of the taxpayer. What had affected the validity of this argument in favour of non-vocational training had been the emergence, in the welfare state, of the State as a large employer.

Paradoxically, any attempt to recast the official definition of liberal education tended to run in opposition to the innate conservatism of both the Conservative and Labour parties. As the introduction of financial restrictions on adult education had indicated, the Conservative party appeared to feel that, in Allaway's words, adult education was a luxury rather than a necessity. In other words the Conservatives viewed adult education as liberal, non-vocational training. Similarly, the Labour party championed the idea that liberal, non-vocational training should be encouraged by supporting the W.E.A. traditions. Moreover, the political strength that could be mustered by the W.E.A. had forced the Conservative government into creating a face-saving committee under Dr. Eric Ashby. While some extra-mural directors seem to have been drifting away from the W.E.A. connection, the financial crisis had forced them into supporting the T.U.C. protest. In short, an extra-mural director might discern a trend away from the traditional liberal education for adults but, because of the political circumstances that prevailed, might feel compelled to play a waiting game until conditions were more favourable for publicly urging his views with Raybouldian style fervour.

It would seem also that at an administrative level there was, within the governmental machinery supervising adult education, a strong resistance to change. A.J. Allaway hinted at the difficulties encountered in trying to influence the thinking of officials in the Ministry of Education:

I suspect that it (the Ministry) is obliged to act as if it were still educationally speaking in the backwoods because it has to work within an organisational framework which took shape when the distinction between liberal and vocational, and liberal and practical was generally speaking accepted as valid. That framework, can, no doubt be remodelled, but only at the cost of unsettling the many

interests that have become neatly fitted into its various sections. The Ministry naturally dislikes causing more unsettlement than it can avoid.<sup>53</sup>

From this statement it can be assumed that the Ministry of Education permanent officials showed a resistance to changing the traditional concept of "liberal" education.

There were undoubtedly vested interests and educational cross currents felt by the Ashby Committee. However, before reviewing the findings of the Committee, possibly it is worth observing that what was really being examined was the English tradition of adult education. Liberal education had been extolled as a unique approach to teaching adults that spread educational benefits among a relatively small proportion of the population. Essentially the approach was elitest with the tutorial class being represented as the apex of this educational structure. Yet in a paradoxical way, many of the custodians of this tradition, the extra-mural directors, seemed to want to depart from the tradition by promoting vocational training. Admittedly, this statement needs to be qualified by the reservation that extra-mural departments also wished to continue to promote the familiar liberal concept of adult education. In short, extra-mural directors wanted a foot in both the liberal and vocational areas of interest and it was the W.E.A. that tended to be the unswerving champion of the traditional liberal education. In one sense the "Great Debate" concerning the purpose and methods of adult education was moving into the public spotlight, through an examination of these matters by a committee whose recommendations could deliver a verdict on the merits of the opinions expressed by opposing factions. Yet, in a larger sense, this situation was rather typically English, with the theory of adult education being developed after the practice had been analysed. Therefore, the job of the Ashby Committee was to make their Report read in such a way that not only was it acceptable to both Conservative

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53 A.J. Allaway, University Adult Education. The Problems and Possibilities, unpublished manuscript, January 31, 1953.

and Labour parties, but reconciled the pragmatism of adult educators to a tradition where adult education was supposed to mean liberal education. By August, 1954 the Ashby Committee had reported. Naturally there was great interest in the findings of the Committee which was possibly heightened by the fact that, while the Committee sat, grants from the Ministry of Education were frozen at the level of 1951-52.

Surprisingly, there emerged a unanimity of feeling from Professors Raybould and Peers regarding the primary importance of the tutorial class. In the words of the Report:

Some extra-mural department (e.g. those in Leeds, London and Nottingham) regard the provision of three-year tutorial classes requiring written work as still the university's prime function in adult education ... The extra-mural department at Nottingham refrains in general from providing courses which do not demand from the students work between meetings.<sup>54</sup>

One wonders what happened to the distinctions, drawn in published articles, between Professor Peers' preference for tutor "quality" contrasted to Professor Raybould's university "standards" for students. Professor Peers seems to have minimized the professional controversy, in order to present a unified front for the greater cause of presenting adult education to an investigating body that was charged with the responsibility of making recommendations for the future. Other extra-mural departments from the Universities of Birmingham, Leicester and Sheffield repudiated the view that tutorial classes were of prime importance. These three extra-mural departments presented a point of view which emphasized:

The type of student recruited for adult education has changed in the last thirty years ... He is interested in a wider range of subjects than were covered by the old tutorial class; subject, it might be said, suitable for the cultural emancipation for which he is seeking rather than the economic emancipation which he has already attained. Owing partly to ... full employment often with overtime, and partly no doubt to the counter attractions

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<sup>54</sup> Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, pp. 25-6. The brackets are contained in the original copy.

of the radio, television and the cinema, the modern student is not disposed to pledge himself to long courses involving written work. Nor is the good university teacher, who has his career to make through research, prepared to pledge himself to teach such courses.<sup>55</sup>

This point of view appeared to be consistent with the declared opposition to the ideas of Professor Raybould.

The Ashby committee summarised its reaction to the attitudes conveyed to it by extra-mural departments and this summary is worth quoting at length, because it conveys an effective appraisal of the views of some Directors of extra-mural departments:

some universities assert that they no longer 'share the mystique' of the conventional tutorial class. They do not regard it as the pinnacle of the adult education system, and they believe that their future contribution to adult education lies in short courses, at a high intellectual level, for students who already have secondary or even tertiary education: classes in the humanities for scientists and technologists; classes in archeology, geology, local history and music for those who have the taste and leisure to enjoy these pursuits ... They believe also that classes should be organised for those who already share a common interest e.g. clergymen, doctors, teachers, miners and dock workers.<sup>56</sup>

In short, adult education was best suited to educated adults which, while consistent with the history of the Twentieth century adult education, was contrary to the declared aim of helping manual workers, in a tradition that ran from Albert Mansbridge to S.G. Raybould. One wonders at the prominence of the statement about having classes in the humanities for scientists and technologists, as there seems little evidence that extra-mural departments had successfully induced scientists to pursue literary pursuits, such as English literature, history or philosophy. Certainly, at the University of Leicester, chemists and physicists had studied industrial economics but this would, at best, be considered a liberal subject in the social sciences rather than the humanities.

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55 Ibid., p. 26.

56 Ibid., p. 26.

Professor A.J. Allaway of Leicester had a clear vision of the way in which adult education was developing, and expressed this view in the evidence he gave to the Ashby Committee:

University extra-mural work is developing into a public service provided for the benefit not of the 'educationally underprivileged' of the population, but increasingly for those who have received the advantage of a full-time higher education ... increasingly the emphasis is on the further education of the products of the grammar schools, technical colleges and universities.<sup>57</sup>

The tone of this summary seems to imply that most extra-mural directors were not influenced by any particular philosophy, but, rather had a pragmatic approach towards recruiting students and providing courses. Professor Raybould's controversial ideas had stemmed from what he thought departments "should" be doing: yet, like many other extra-mural departments, Leeds had promoted the idea that liberal training was a form of education that complemented provision for vocational training, rather than being the paramount form of education that it had been in 1939. One can understand the chagrin of a veteran such as R.H. Tawney, who had helped to father the birth of extra-mural departments through his influence on the 1919 Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. Tawney's infants had grown into a family that were, to some extent, turning their back on the primacy of the liberal tradition, as nurtured by the W.E.A., in order to incorporate considerable vocational training in their sphere of activity. Viewed in an historical context, the revolution had been wrought since the Second World War by reversing the meaning of the word Extension, and possibly some purists might regard this as prostitution of the proper function of adult education.; namely to provide liberal education for adults.

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<sup>57</sup> A.J. Allaway, Thought and Action in Extra-Mural Work, Leicester, 1946-1966, University of Leicester, 1967, p. 37.

The source for stating that these views were expressed to the Ashby Committee is T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1970, p. 364.

The Ministry of Education grants were intended to support liberal education for adults. It could be argued that, if extra-mural departments wished to reorient the emphasis of their programmes, the logical development would have been for the Ministry to withdraw from participating in financing classes. Proposals were made by a minority of extra-mural directors to the effect that their departments should cease to receive Ministry of Education grants, and compete for funds within the university structure; but the Ashby Committee rejected such proposals, principally on the grounds that it did not feel the universities would be receptive.<sup>58</sup>

Study was given to the relations between the extra-mural departments and the W.E.A. The Ashby Report commented that the departments varied in their willingness to work with the W.E.A., many preferring that the Association concern itself with "remedial" education for workers.<sup>59</sup> When it was the turn of spokesmen for the W.E.A. to give evidence, the definition of "worker" was the universal definition expressed by R.H. Tawney which was discussed earlier in this thesis.<sup>60</sup> Generally speaking, the W.E.A. said that it was reasonably satisfied with the existing pattern of organization and finance.<sup>61</sup> The members of the Ashby Committee, which included Alan Bullock, heard the arguments of Professor Raybould expressed by W.E.A. spokesmen and their report noted:

58 Ministry of Education, The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 39, para. 97.

59 Ibid, p. 26, para. 60.

60 The Workers' Educational Association, Implications of the Ashby Report, London, n.d., p. 4. See p.332 for a discussion of the implications of a definition that included "all those, whether in factory, mine, office or home that rendered service to their fellows!"

61 Ministry of Education, The Organisation and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 23, para. 50.

There seems to be disappointment that some extra-mural departments have launched into pioneer work and elementary short courses of the kind which the Workers' Educational Association considers itself well equipped to do. This, we are told, may in the long run lower standards.<sup>62</sup>

On this much debated question of standards the Ashby Committee expressed a view that no single criteria, such as the length of a course, could be used. Additional factors had to be considered, such as the nature of the course, the competence and experience of the teacher and the ability of the students. The conclusion drawn from this review of the various factors that related to the issue of "university standards" was that the tutorial class should not be emphasized as a yardstick. Accordingly, the Committee proposed that:

Regulations 24 and 25 of Further Education Regulations No. 6 (1946) should be amended so as to give less prominence to the length of course as compared with other and equally important criteria.<sup>63</sup>

The long reign of the tutorial class as the pinnacle of adult educational achievement was threatened as, for the first time, it was proposed that this type of class was not to be given privileged position for grant purposes. Naturally the W.E.A. on learning of this recommendation "regretted ... that the Ashby Committee have not placed the same value as the W.E.A. on the tutorial class".<sup>64</sup> Harold Shearman of the W.E.A. voiced his opinion about the tutorial class being reduced in status, when he stated, "the Committee have listened to siren voices from certain quarters where continuous and unspectacular work is out of fashion".<sup>65</sup> One gains the impression from this rather malicious commentary that some officers of the W.E.A. viewed some of the extra-mural directors as competitors, who had successfully promoted what were seen as their vested interests to the Committee. On the other hand, the Ashby

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62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., p. 49, Recommendation 10.

64 The Workers' Educational Association, Implications of the Ashby Report, London: n.d., pp. 4-5.

65 Harold Shearman, "The Ashby Report", Phoenix, No. 7, November, 1954., p.2.

Committee must have viewed the overall administrative arrangements as harmonious, because their Report approved of the existing four way partnership involving voluntary bodies, universities, L.E.A.s and the Ministry of Education.

In a tribute that evoked memories of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919, the Ashby Committee admitted that adult education only touched a minority of the population but, "adult education students represent in relation to the community at large a social and intellectual asset".<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the Ashby committee sought to aid adult education by proposing a change in the method of supplying funds from the Ministry of Education that would increase flexibility in planning. Instead of limiting grants to a Responsible Body, based on mechanical application of Regulations 24 and 25, it was proposed that a maximum annual grant, not to exceed seventy-five per cent of the teaching costs, should be provided for an entire programme. To allay the fear of the Ministry of Education and the Treasury that this system would lead to another burst of financial expansion, the Committee recommended that the Ministry approve a programme submitted in advance. The criteria to be used by the Ministry of Education were to include, "consideration of the quality and standards of work being done by the responsible body, as well as its proposed programme, the needs of the region in which it operates and the activities of other interested bodies in the region".<sup>67</sup> Professors Peers and Raybould must have nodded approval of the use of the words quality and standards, while Director T. Kelly probably felt that the criteria of using the needs of a region was taken from the University of Liverpool submission. The Ashby committee thus neatly com-

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66 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., p. 34, para. 82.

67 Ibid, pp. 42-3, para. 106.



bined the talisman words "quality" and "standards" but admitted that it was not easy to implement a policy based on these words, when declaring, "It is of course more difficult to use a qualitative than a quantitative criterion in assessing allocations".<sup>68</sup> But this difficulty was resolved to the satisfaction of the Committee by a display of intellectual agility that neatly passed the problem to the Ministry of Education:

But the value of liberal adult education lies in its quality as well as its quantity. We believe our proposals to combine both criteria would give the Ministry an opportunity to encourage initiative and experiment in a way that is difficult under the present system.<sup>69</sup>

The criteria concerning "the needs of the region" was a useful phrase which could, conceivably, relate to the new approach of meeting vocational needs, or back to the older concept of social purpose. Furthermore, as officials of the Ministry of Education had to approve programmes, the Ministry would have to work closely with the Responsible Bodies. In effect, the Ashby Report proposed a reversal of the policy of the 1946 Further Education Regulations, which had stimulated a devolution of responsibility by trying to make Responsible Bodies truly responsible. In its place was the idea of making the Ministry truly responsible, which centralised the decision making at Whitehall. In political terms, this approach was very astute as the Ministry could hardly complain about the rising costs of adult education programmes that it had approved. Moreover, the scope for a programme was enlarged beyond the provision of liberal education, defined as non-vocational training: because included in the recommendations were two proposals that made it possible for vocationally oriented courses to qualify for grant.

Recommendation No. 11 proposed that classes for special groups of students should be acceptable for grant provided that the enrolment of other students is not unreasonably prohibited while recommendation No. 12 expressed

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68 Ibid., p. 43, para. 106.

69 Ibid.

the view that "Classes of high quality should not be excluded from grant on the grounds that they might have a vocational interest for some students".<sup>70</sup> While these recommendations were cautiously worded, they represented a break in the English tradition of supporting only liberal education for adults. Moreover, as S.G. Raybould had constantly pointed out, any easing of official regulations meant that some directors of extra-mural departments were often willing to dilute their programmes. Intra-mural critics of extra-mural activity at universities had usually based their case on the central theme that much of the work done was not of university quality. Recommendations 11 and 12 of the Ashby Report opened the way for vocational training to be funded through the Ministry of Education and, the fact that these proposals were made, indicates that the Ashby Committee concluded that extra-mural directors would use these powers with discretion. Apart from the break with the tradition that only liberal education would be supported by the State, the new proposals could help to create a situation where there might be friction within a university. If, for example, extra-mural departments trained social workers, there could one day be a conflict with an intra-mural department that regarded such training as falling within its jurisdiction. Furthermore, the fact that much of the new style Extension work was financed through the University Grants Committee intensified the possibility of a clash with an intra-mural department competing for those same funds. It can be concluded that, while the extra-mural departments had to some extent asserted their independence of the W.E.A. in the provision of liberal education, they had yet to learn if continuous development of their vocationally flavoured Extension programmes was acceptable to other departments within their universities.

The term "adult education" appears to have been used in at least two senses. Churchill's letter to the T.U.C. extolling the virtues of adult

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70 Ibid.

education emphasized the familiar arts subject of history, philosophy and languages. But Churchill was probably more familiar with the Albert Mansbridge - R.H. Tawney line of descent than with the developments inside Responsible Bodies in the 1950's. University extension courses were often vocationally oriented and, as was noted in Chapter Six,<sup>71</sup> H.M. Inspectors who surveyed some classes under the auspices of the University of Leeds, between 1952-54, had difficulty defining what classes could be described as liberal education. Moreover, the terms "extension" and "extra-mural" seemed virtually interchangeable to the public, as was noted for the University of Manchester.<sup>72</sup> The public would be unlikely to see any significance between whether a course was offered under the auspices of either the extension or extra-mural branch of the same Department. In view of this trend, the proposal that courses with vocational content should qualify for grant purposes represented an acceptance of the term "adult education", in the broad sense in which it was being practiced by many extra-mural departments in the 1950's.

From the point of view of the W.E.A., their prime interest in extra-mural departments did not relate to the matter of whether they promoted liberal education, vocational training, or a combination of both approaches. A more basic issue for the Association was their difficulty in financing their activity and, after listening to the spokesmen of the W.E.A., the Ashby Committee recorded:

The point is that extra-mural departments can secure from university funds (more than half of which come from the Treasury) the balance of teaching costs not paid by the Ministry, whereas the Workers' Educational Association has to draw upon funds from local education authorities or from private sources for this balance. The proportion of the Association's total income which comes from non-statutory sources is impressive: it amounted in 1952 to £70,000 while the total grants from public funds was no more than £98,502.<sup>73</sup>

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71 See p. 292.

72 See p. 251.

73 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 23.

Furthermore, the Committee recorded that since extra-mural departments "have access to government funds from the Ministry and the Treasury and, since the Treasury contribution is free from constraints and regulations, they have opportunities to experiment which are denied to the other partners who provide adult education".<sup>74</sup> The W.E.A. had obviously kept an eye on the rapid expansion of Extension activity by the universities. Moreover, because of the existing financial arrangements, the W.E.A. could not hope to compete with extra-mural departments who had 219 full-time tutors compared with only thirty-six employed by the W.E.A. Districts.<sup>75</sup>

But the extra-mural departments were vulnerable to attacks from within the universities. The unique method of financing extra-mural work, described as "a 'protected' activity in universities",<sup>76</sup> by the Ashby Committee, provided ammunition for intra-mural critics. Such critics felt that extra-mural departments competed unfairly for funds and this point of view was well known to the University Grants Committee. While the Ashby Committee believed that the Ministry of Education should continue to finance a large proportion of university extra-mural work, there was concern about the long range status of adult education in university circles, and the Committee expressed the view that:

We see dangers in maintaining extra-mural work indefinitely as a 'protected' activity in universities. Unless adult education fights its own way for recognition, unless it establishes its right to a share of the university's finances it will never become an accepted part of university work in the sense that psychology or dentistry are accepted. Sooner or later this fight for recognition must take place but we do not think this is the occasion to precipitate it.<sup>77</sup>

The Ashby Committee accepted the existing financial arrangements because they feared that, if Ministry of Education grants were discontinued and extra-

74 Ibid., p. 37.

75 The Workers' Educational Association, Implications of the Ashby Report, n.d., p. 6.

76 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 39.

77 Ibid.

mural departments forced to compete for an increased share of money from the University Grants Committee, adult education would be the loser. In the words of the Committee:

If universities regarded extra-mural and intra-mural work as of equal importance, with no more emphasis on one than the other, this would not put adult education at a disadvantage. But sympathetic as universities have now become to extra-mural work, we do not believe their sympathy runs as deeply as that and we are not convinced that in a time of financial stringency universities would regard adult education as no less important than research and undergraduate teaching.<sup>78</sup>

Such thoughts echo the idea that extra-mural departments were not completely acceptable to the University fraternity, and it behoved the Directors to be vigilant. Professor A.J. Allaway had reflected on the status of extra-mural departments and his appraisal reinforces the impression conveyed by the Ashby Committee, because Allaway claimed:

In the eyes of their universities extra-mural studies are, presumably, of less importance than geography, zoology, or even education. The low status ... of a head of a department of extra-mural studies is sometimes defended on the ground that his duties are primarily administrative and not academic ... it is unfortunately true, in practice, of far too many extra-mural departmental heads. That, however is due in many cases to their not having been given adequate administrative and clerical assistance.<sup>79</sup>

There was obviously a gulf between the recommendation of the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction that an extra-mural department should have an "academic" head, and the way in which a director had frequently been viewed by the universities.

It could be argued that, in university circles, status was something that had to be earned, and each extra-mural director had to demonstrate his talents in a way acceptable to the particular academic fraternity with which he was associated. The only true test was scholarship, and this was

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78 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 34.

79 A.J.Allaway, University Adult Education. The Problems and Possibilities, University of Leicester, 31st January, 1953, unpublished manuscript. p. 42.

difficult in the absence of adequate administrative assistance and, in fact, the only extra-mural director who seems to have clearly succeeded in this realm by 1951 was S.G. Raybould. Yet, paradoxically, the scholarship produced by Raybould in his two books pertaining to the W.E.A. and Extra-Mural Departments had re-inforced an image of the tutorial class being the pinnacle of achievement: although the directors of extra-mural departments, including Raybould, were active in promoting the new style Extension work.

In general, the recommendations of the Ashby Committee suggested that it was wise to leave well alone. Considering the political climate of the time, involving a desire by a Conservative Government to limit expenditure, coupled with the T.U.C.'s resistance, there could hardly be any other verdict. Also in view of the wide diversity of conflicting advice provided by the Responsible Bodies, the Committee was hardly likely to advocate sweeping changes. There was, for example, the dichotomy between the opinions expressed by extra-mural departments:

One group of statements reflect satisfaction with present arrangements. The other group of statements is from departments which consider that universities have outgrown the Ministry's regulations and have developed adult education beyond the horizon of 1946 ... (this group) considers that the universities have a responsibility to a much wider public than can be recruited by voluntary bodies and over a much wider range of knowledge than is covered by the conventional subjects of tutorial classes. The more extreme statements of evidence are in favour of a radical change ... including a separation from the Workers' Educational Association as provider of students and from the Ministry as provider of finance.<sup>80</sup>

The Committee was careful to note that only a "minority of extra-mural departments ... favoured the withdrawal of the Ministry (of Education) from the field"; and went to comment, that this view was taken "for reasons some of which seemed to us superficial: namely that acceptance of grant involved them in tedious clerical work and imposed irksome restrictions on their use of the money".<sup>81</sup> As the Ashby Committee observed, all institutions that

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<sup>80</sup> The Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O. 1954, pp. 24-25.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

use public money are expected to do some clerical work, and even the University Grants Committee required from each university an elaborate annual return of statistics. A majority of extra-mural departments lined up with the W.E.A. in resisting any change to the existing financial arrangements: and one of the factors that prompted this attitude was political. There was a concern that if university extra-mural work was not financed by the Ministry of Education, then the W.E.A. could be the only large scale adult education organisation directly associated with the Ministry. Shorn of some of its allies among some of the extra-mural directors, the W.E.A. might find itself in a very exposed position, because a belief existed that:

Miss Florence Horsbrugh's proposal to reduce the Ministry's Adult Education grants ... was due to Conservative dislike of the W.E.A., and to the associated belief that the attack would have been stronger, and probably more successful, but for the fact that a reduction in grants would affect not only the Association but the universities.<sup>82</sup>

The political currents that formed the background to the Ashby Report meant that the Committee was hardly in a position to propose a root and branch re-organization of adult education. But the Report was valuable in the sense that it surveyed the field of Adult Education, and gave an opportunity for various parties to declare their point of view. Furthermore, the Report skilfully endorsed the virtues of the traditional approach to adult education: while conceding the merits of the radical proposals about including some vocational training for grant purposes; and placing the onus for assessing financial need squarely upon the shoulders of officials of the Ministry of Education. Given the circumstances in which the Committee had been formed and had to function, this solution was no mean political feat.

One of the few emphatic expressions of feeling by the Ashby Committee came when it stated, "we are unanimously of the opinion that voluntarism as exemplified by the Workers' Educational Association is essential if the

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82 S.G. Raybould, "The Ashby Report and Afterwards", Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 238.

spirit of adult education is to be preserved".<sup>83</sup> As a postscript to the Report of his committee, Sir Eric Ashby added his personal convictions in a speech at Birmingham in 1955. On the one hand, Ashby saw that difficulties had arisen because "the voluntary spirit as exemplified by the W.E.A. has in some ways lost its momentum and its sense of dedication".<sup>84</sup> At the same time the universities had not responded helpfully, and enabled the W.E.A. to recover its strength; instead they had taken advantage of its weakness to work independently.<sup>85</sup> Sir Eric confessed that:

I have a vision of resident tutors beating up classes with the cheerful persistence of a sports organiser on a trans-Atlantic liner; of extra-mural directors deploying their forces through the English countryside, themselves deciding what classes are suitable for the people of Swindon and Banbury and Slough; of district organisers calling on mill hands in the remotest dales of Yorkshire with the regularity of the man who collects the rent.<sup>86</sup>

Such an image of professional adult educators drumming up business like salesmen would obviously be resented by directors of extra-mural departments. Against this charge, M. Bruce, the Director of the Sheffield University Extra-Mural Department, had argued quite reasonably, three years earlier: without an effective student organization to take the lead, the unfortunate administrator must try to devise courses which he thinks will be acceptable.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, the argument that professionalism was bad compared to the voluntary spirit was a response of the 1950's when, because of the rise of an administrative structure to run the welfare state, some critics deplored

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83 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 36.

84 Eric Ashby, The Pathology of Adult Education, William F. Harvey Lecture delivered in Birmingham, March 24, 1955, p. 9.

85 Ibid., p. 15. See also R. Shaw, "Controversies" in S.G. Raybould ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 209.

86 Ibid., p. 18.

Sir Eric Ashby was undoubtedly aware that during the early 1950's, the monopoly of the Three-year tutorial by the W.E.A. had been challenged. By 1953-54, there were 29 tutorials being run by extra-mural departments, which meant the number had increased tenfold since 1948-49. Admittedly, the W.E.A. still administered 97% of the tutorial classes given in 1953-54, but the process of erosion was clearly underway. See Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Session 1954-55, p. 8.

87 R. Shaw, "Controversies" in S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 210-211.



what they termed bureaucracy. But, even if one accepts the argument that Sir Eric Ashby was misguided, the fact still remains that these personal thoughts, by the former Chairman of the Ashby Committee, convey the idea that some extra-mural directors had not presented a very good image.

The reaction of extra-mural directors to the Ashby Report was generally favourable, as was indicated, for example, by the view expressed at the University of Manchester. The sub-committee for tutorial classes declared "that is wished to place on record its satisfaction with the general attitude and findings of the Report".<sup>88</sup> This general response is not surprising, as extra-mural directors had gained the opportunity to put on semi-vocational or vocational courses, under certain conditions; while the proposals for increasing the contribution of the Ministry towards the salaries of full-time tutors, and the fees paid to part-time tutors, would obviously be welcome. No longer was the tutorial class to be regarded as worthy of special consideration, and receive a higher grant; which meant that part-time tutors need no longer press for teaching tutorial classes because of the higher fee that was paid.

D.R. Dudley circularised the "ginger group" with a summary of the recommendations, expressing pleasure at most of them, but calling attention to the implications of Numbers 6 and 18. Recommendation 6 referred to the allocation of a maximum grant to each Responsible Body while No. 18 proposed; "The Minister should consider setting up a small committee to advise her from time to time on the subjects and types of adult education courses which should receive priority in qualifying for grant".<sup>89</sup> Dudley's circular to other members of the ginger group observed that most heads of extra-mural

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88 University of Manchester, Minutes of October 26, 1954 of Sub Committee for Tutorial Classes, Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book February, 1948 - May, 1959, p. 337.

89 Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 49.

departments were agreed that these recommendations implied detailed control, by the Ministry of Education, and that H.M.I.'s would allocate the grant money between the different extra-mural departments.<sup>90</sup> The message was clear. Any official attempt to strengthen control over extra-mural directors must be resisted. T. Kelly showed a similar concern when envisaging permanent and detailed interference by the Ministry, if the recommendations were adopted.<sup>91</sup> Objections to the offending recommendations were submitted to the Ministry of Education by both the Universities of Birmingham and Liverpool during November, 1954. On November 29, at a Joint Meeting of the University Extension Board and Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, at Liverpool, the Secretary drew attention to the Ashby Committee proposals. A resolution was carried that:

The Joint Committee is bound to express ... its serious disquiet concerning the suggestions made in recommendations (6) and (18) ... These suggestions are ... such as gravely to imperil the freedom hitherto enjoyed by the universities to determine the subject and content of their extra-mural courses.<sup>92</sup>

The Secretary was authorised to bring the resolution to the notice of the Minister of Education, and to consult with his colleagues in the Universities Council for Adult Education and the Central Joint Advisory Committee on tutorial Classes with a view to framing constructive alternative proposals.

As the Ministry of Education obviously faced determined opposition against implementing recommendations 6 and 18, it is not surprising that they were not completely carried out. The idea contained in recommendation 18 of establishing a small consultative committee to advise the Minister on priorities was abandoned. Recommendation 6 was substantially implemented, so

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90 D.R. Dudley, "The Ashby Report", a summary sheet attached to an acknowledgement by T. Kelly dated October 13, 1954, University of Liverpool, Extra-Mural Department, Office File on Birmingham University, 1946-1957.

91 Letter from T. Kelly to D.R. Dudley dated September 13, 1954, University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department, Office File on Birmingham University, 1946-1957.

92 University of Liverpool, Extension Board Minutes, 1931-1955, p. 180.

that a major change took place in the way grants were allocated, with an annual block grant, were not to exceed 75 per cent of teaching costs replacing the former method of an automatic grant for each individual course in a programme. T. Kelly has ably summed up the impact of this change as being "to create a more flexible system and to rid the Responsible Bodies of many irksome detailed controls, while at the same time giving the Ministry a firmer grip on the general level and pattern of expenditure".<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, most extra-mural directors were content with a view expressed by the Ashby Committee, that an extra-mural department should use a number of criteria in satisfying itself that any course offered could be properly given as part of the university contribution to adult education.<sup>94</sup> The initial fear of some extra-mural directors that their freedom might be restricted by the Ministry appears to have soon subsided. Possibly with the exception of S.G. Raybould, extra-mural directors welcomed the tolerance of the new Further Education Grant Amending Regulations,<sup>95</sup> because, for example from August 1, 1955, no longer would written work be required of tutorial and sessional classes. Once again, it would seem that the Ministry had brought the Regulations into line with the practice of adult education, bearing in mind the long catalogue of complaints over the years about the difficulty of extracting written work from students.

Generally speaking, the overall impact of the recommendations of the Ashby Committee had been to provide a greater latitude of action for

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93 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970, p. 342.

94 Ibid., p. 366. The criteria concerned the nature and length of the course, its length, the competence and experience of the teacher, and the ability of the students. See Ministry of Education, The Organization and Finance of Adult Education in England and Wales, London: H.M.S.O., 1954, p. 38.

95 Ministry of Education, The Further Education Grant Amending Regulations No. 4, 1955.

extra-mural directors in planning their programmes. Such freedom carried with it a tendency to weaken past traditions that had developed within the more rigid Ministerial Regulations of the past. Possibly the most vital break with the past was the abandonment, to some extent, of the concept that adult education meant liberal education defined as non-vocational. The experiences of Dr. Eric Ashby in chairing the committee that investigated the contemporary scene appear to have stimulated him to speculate on the relevance of liberal education. Ashby reflected upon the traditional view of liberal education, and remarked:

according to the Oxford Dictionary, liberal education means education fit for a gentleman. I suppose there was a time when it was not gentlemanly to be a specialist ... Today a gifted man cannot play his part in society unless he is something of a specialist. Therefore instead of fighting a rear guard action on behalf of general education against specialisation should we not ask whether the benefits of humanism cannot be acquired through not in spite of, specialisation?<sup>96</sup>

This was a provocative line of discussion. Ashby hammered home his point of view by saying that "the old humanism ... has become impotent. We are, whether we like it or not, entering a civilisation of experts and technicians".<sup>97</sup> Ashby went on to advocate what he termed Technological Humanism where technology was an essential ingredient in presenting a relevant philosophy applicable to modern society. In Ashby's view, technology concerned itself with the creative acts of man and he made this point:

To rave about Gothic churches and Tudor town halls and not even glance at Viscount aeroplanes and stressed concrete bridges cannot be justified on the grounds that only the former are creative acts of man. It is simply an unwillingness to face the present.<sup>98</sup>

Ashby was conscious of the danger of extolling technological humanism as a panacea that replaced the older literary tradition. This is why Ashby said,

95 Ministry of Education, The Further Education Grant Amending Regulations No. 4, 1955.

96 E. Ashby, "Growing Points in Adult Education: Strategy and Tactics", Scottish Adult Education, December, 1955, p. 6.

97 Ibid., p. 8.

98 Ibid., p. 9.

"let us not lose sight of the fact that development in this direction (of technological humanism) is only a fresh path up the same mountain; in the end it should lead us to reflect on the perennial problems: love and hate, justice and mercy, beauty and ugliness, good and evil".<sup>99</sup> Having mapped out his proposals on strategy for adult education, Ashby passed on to tactics, and emphasized the importance of the vocational group when he said:

Having taught many W.E.A. classes, I am sure an initial degree of coherence in the class is essential if much is to be accomplished; and I am sure it is absent from many classes. Therefore I think any growing point in adult education should exploit for its own ends the present pattern of social coherence ... the greatest coherence these days is among people of the same calling ... Let us take advantage of this natural cement among people in the same walk of life, by organising ... tailor-made courses for composers, dockers, clergymen, press photographers and so on.<sup>100</sup>

Such a pronouncement must have sounded like music to the ears of extra-mural directors, who had been developing semi-vocation and vocational courses since the late 1940's. But whether technological humanism could form the basis for developing courses was debatable because, as Sir Herbert Read, a well-known man of letters, pointed out, the similar concept of "scientific humanism" was "a contradiction in terms because the essence of the scientific method is that the human element must be eliminated".<sup>101</sup> Although, in theory, all subjects can be taught in a liberal manner, the difficulty with having a class recruited only from one particular technological calling was that there was a natural tendency to talk shop, and thereby squeeze out humanistic study.

Soon after Ashby had delivered these personal sentiments on the relevance of liberal and vocational study, another round of discussion regarding their respective merits began among extra-mural directors. H.C. Wiltshire triggered off the discussion by an article entitled, "The Great Tradition" in the journal Adult Education. Wiltshire pointed out that the

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99 Ibid., p. 10.

100 Ibid., p. 11.

101 Sir Herbert Read, "Adult Education and the Arts", Scottish Adult Education, No. 18, December 1956, p. 5.

great English tradition in adult education was liberal training, particularly with emphasis on understanding social issues. Since the Second World War, however, the tradition seemed to be dying as there was increased professionalisation in almost every occupation. Wiltshire recorded his opinion that:

One result of all this is a shift in public opinion: the prestige of what used to be called 'education for its own sake' declines and that of 'useful', diploma producing, vocational courses rapidly rises. Thus the committal to the liberal studies and to non-vocational courses, central to the great tradition, is now no longer deeply felt.<sup>102</sup>

Wiltshire said that the "new policy" of university extra-mural departments was to modify their commitment to the liberal and social studies and, thereby replace an "educational movement" with an "educational service". While he admitted that subjects could be liberal or technical, or a student's motives vocational or liberal, Wiltshire held the view that:

We know in fact that there are some subjects which primarily involve consideration of values and which concern us as men, and that there are some subjects which primarily involve acquisition of skills and which concern us as technicians.<sup>103</sup>

Wiltshire went on to make some very pertinent comments about the new policy followed by fellow extra-mural directors, which are worth quoting at length because they summarise many of the contemporary influences in adult education:

Now why are these ... distinctions (concerning the nature of the different subjects) ... regarded by the new policy either as non-existent or educationally unimportant? Partly, I suspect, because the wheels have to be kept turning, classes have to be organised and students recruited and this is so much easier if we can engage vocational as well as non-educational interests and embrace technical as well as liberal studies. But the main reason is I believe that ... the new adult education is conforming to the pattern of the age. Not a week passes but that some educational pundit, large or small, declares that liberal and technical, vocational and non-vocational studies are equal in the sight of all right thinking men, and denounces any attempt to distinguish between them as snobbish and outmoded obscurations.<sup>104</sup>

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102 H.C. Wiltshire, "The Great Tradition in University Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXIX, 2, 1956, p. 90..

103 Ibid., p. 94.

104 Ibid., pp. 94-95.

Wiltshire diagnosed this desire to blur distinctions as due to "the cant of our time: understanding and well-meaning cant, for it springs from a desire to rescue technical and vocational studies from the stupid disdain with which they have been regarded".<sup>105</sup>

Essentially Wiltshire wanted to preserve adult education."as the last refuge of the liberal studies".<sup>106</sup> Moreover, one of the characteristics of his great tradition was that it combined "democratic notions about the educability of normal adults and rejects any attempt to select students for adult education".<sup>107</sup> These ideas stirred one apostle of the "new approach" to describe Wiltshire as "an adult-educational Conservative",<sup>108</sup> and it was the latter notion of drawing students from the general public, without reference to past educational attainment, that provided ammunition for two critics. P.A.W. Collins, Warden of Vaughan College, Leicester took up the cudgels to make the point that, in his opinion, extra-mural work must aim at some group or groups and that:

it should be aimed at the educational elite ...  
It sounds a cruel thing to say, but it remains true,  
I think, that extra-mural departments simply have not  
the resources to go specially in search of those un-  
fortunate intelligent individuals who failed to attend  
grammar schools.<sup>109</sup>

Collins urged that an extra-mural department should make available a range of provision to fill the various demands of the students, including those of the Great Tradition.

Another respondent was Mr. T. Kelly, Director of the Extra-Mural Studies, University of Liverpool who suspected that he would be classed with the innovators, who were abandoning the Great Tradition.<sup>110</sup> Kelly advanced

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105 Ibid., p. 95.

106 Ibid., p. 97.

107 Ibid., p. 89.

108 P.A.W. Collins, "Mr. Wiltshire's Great Tradition: Some Disagreements" Adult Education, Volume XXIX, No. 3, Winter, 1956, p. 167.

109 Ibid., p. 170.

110 Thomas Kelly, "The New Approach in University Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXIX, 3, Winter, 1956, p. 174.

some thoughts in his article about "The New Approach in University Adult Education". After noting that Wiltshire had expressed an attachment to social studies and had talked of a "movement", Kelly drew the conclusion that, "he (Wiltshire) is thinking of the W.E.A. tutorial class".<sup>111</sup> But Kelly felt that this approach was too narrow and commented:

I do think it should be said ... that the real 'great tradition' in university education has in itself nothing to do with social classes or social movements: it is a spirit and an attitude that persists through all social changes, and clothes itself in different forms to meet the needs of different times. The W.E.A. tutorial class is one of its forms, and an extraordinary fruitful one, but it was not the first, nor will it be the last.<sup>112</sup>

Kelly felt that fulfilment of a need for tutorial study could still be met by collaboration between the universities and the W.E.A. But there were other needs for "the advance of school education has produced a new clientele in the products of our grammar schools ... eager for more (education), able to advance more rapidly".<sup>113</sup> In order to cater to this demand Liverpool University had devised the "University Study Course" which took for granted a minimum background of general education. Kelly pointed out that it would be impossible to promote such liberal studies, free of vocational purpose, in such subjects as mathematics and Classical Greek Language and Literature, unless the students had a common foundation of knowledge.

Kelly then moved on to consider Wiltshire's concern about the increase in vocational study and argued that this "is no new thing",<sup>114</sup> illustrating this point with the following analysis:

For many years the teaching profession has provided the nucleus for many adult education classes, including W.E.A. tutorial classes. Everyone recognises that in part these teachers have a vocational interest, but this has not prevented them from approaching their studies in a liberal spirit. Now this approach is being extended

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 176.



and made more systematic, so that extra-mural programmes include courses for bankers, business men, personnel managers, policemen and so on. Even the W.E.A. is now basing much of its work on the vocational groups which are represented by the trade unions.<sup>115</sup>

Some of the past stalwarts of the W.E.A., who believed in the mythology of the manual worker-scholar, must have turned over in their graves: but, as Kelly rightly observed, "there is no pattern of extra-mural teaching laid up in heaven".<sup>116</sup> Kelly defended the right of Extra-Mural departments to do what seemed appropriate and useful, and this included high-level vocational courses designed to present the most recent advances in different fields of university scholarship. A concluding thrust stated:

I hope I have said enough to indicate that those of us who are experimenting with new approaches to university adult education are not unprincipled opportunists. I hope, too, that the fact that some of our experiments are successful will not prejudice Mr. Wiltshire against them.<sup>117</sup>

Wiltshire replied to Collins and Kelly in an article published in the Summer of 1957, and claimed that his critics wanted to impose a selection procedure when recruiting students, noting that "nearly two-thirds of our students are products of our grammar schools".<sup>118</sup>

What seems to be indicated by the large proportion of students who had a secondary school background is that much of the work organised by extra-mural departments catered to a tertiary level of education. In other words, while financially the extra-mural departments were still half in and half out of the university structure, their educational policies seem to have definitely leaned towards reflecting the work of intra-mural departments, by taking university scholarships outside the walls. In looking back to the "great tradition" of English adult education, Wiltshire was comparing an educational

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115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid., p. 177.

118 H.C. Wiltshire, "The Great Tradition 11: A Reply", Adult Education, Vol. XXX, Summer, 1957, p. 8.

pattern that comprised a response to the challenge of Edwardian England, to a new frontier of the 1950's, where extra-mural directors were experimenting with fulfilling the needs of a changing society. At the same time, there was a need to preserve a balance, where liberal values were not engulfed by the new style professional studies and, therefore, Wiltshire's message was a timely warning. Professor Peers summarised the real fear of men such as Wiltshire:

Limited resources may be devoted more and more to those activities which commend themselves for their utilitarian purpose and extra-mural departments will gain credit and renewed confidence because they are fitting in with the spirit of a materialistic age.<sup>119</sup>

At the same time, Peers recognised that many extra-mural directors saw no conflict between the need to continue liberal education, and the need to help students who wished to pursue professional and vocational studies to a higher level. Consequently, such directors, who felt that there was a need to respond to the demand for a diverse range of subjects, "tend more and more to question the validity of the distinction between liberal and vocational studies, and between learning for its own sake, from pure interest in the subject, and learning which aims at passing examinations".<sup>120</sup> Naturally, as frequently happens, the contesting parties debating the validity of the "great tradition" tended to emphasize the aspects of adult education that supported their own point of view. Certainly it was not likely that an extra-mural department would take such a dogmatic stand in practice that it would promote either liberal education exclusively, or professional and semi-vocational training exclusively. Practical considerations required that courses and classes of both types were offered to students.

Despite the furors in adult educational circles that had resulted from first a Great Debate, and now espousal of a Great Tradition, there were indications that most participants shared a similar approach to common problems. There is, for example, evidence that extra-mural directors were not

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<sup>119</sup> R. Peers, Adult Education A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Paul, 1958, p. 337.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

particularly sympathetic to the idea that the W.E.A. had been a prime mover in creating the great tradition; also, that university extra-mural departments should concentrate on the policy that had been described as "new" or Extension Renascent, and leave elementary and secondary level training in the liberal arts to the W.E.A. This common ground among extra-mural directors will be examined to balance any impression that the directors were in a perpetual state of war with each other.

H.C. Wiltshire wrote to T. Kelly on September 27, 1956 declaring that "I certainly do not feel that the W.E.A. is in any important way necessarily identified with what I called the great tradition".<sup>121</sup> Obviously there was agreement on this point as Kelly had publicly stated the same position. Raybould had long emphasized that extra-mural departments should limit themselves to advanced work worthy of a university. Allaway felt that the need of the times was mainly in the direction of catering to professional groups who wished to update their knowledge. R.D. Waller had scorned the "old style educationalists" who, in his judgement persisted:

Like the backward parts of the Lancashire cotton industry ... (in) go(ing) on rolling out their products from the same old-fashioned machine. The world has changed around them, but they can't seem to have noticed. In an age of full employment, much mobility and streamlined entertainment they still go on with their three year classes, lectures and discussions, written work.<sup>122</sup>

A common thread seems to run through the attitude of all these extra-mural directors. One might describe it as a desire for freedom to develop their programmes, free of any inhibiting factors such as the restraints imposed by the Ministry of Education, or appeals made on the basis of a traditional link to the W.E.A. A battle for independence that had been unobtrusively developed since World War Two was essentially won by the time the Ministry of Education implemented the recommendations of the Ashby Committee. Extra-

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121 Letter H.C. Wiltshire to T. Kelly dated September 27, 1956, University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Office Files, Nottingham University, 1946-1957.

122 R.D. Waller, "Challenge and Response in Adult Education - The Established Tradition", Adult Education, Vol. XXVII, Winter, 1954, p. 174.

mural directors were free to plan a complete programme subject, of course, to public accountability for the funds provided to finance their courses.

A diversity of opinion obviously existed among extra-mural directors as to the advisability of continuing a whole-hearted association with the W.E.A. It is worth considering a possible explanation as to the underlying forces that lay behind this development, which contrasted vividly to the situation in 1939. The wartime boom had undoubtedly broadened the possibilities of extra-mural work and had left a permanent residue of adult education work among H.M. Forces. But what was possibly more fundamental was the breakdown of an alliance between the social purpose of workers and the intellectual thought of the universities. Originally the University men had been university teachers who moved out from "inside the wall", such as the Balliol men typified by R.H. Tawney and A.D. Lindsay. But subsequently after 1939 most of the extra-mural directors appear to have been men who started their careers outside the walls, and moved inside the university structure. In the process it was probably inevitable that the idea of social purpose, which was essentially held outside the university, should have been replaced to some extent by concern over meeting university criteria. All of the left wing political and class connotations of the W.E.A. could be an embarrassment to a professional administrator seeking to establish a career in the liberal world of the university. Hence the natural appeal of the word Extension which linked to a past when the universities themselves pioneered adult education. But the original Extension lecturers had been university scholars, which tended to imply that, if extra-mural directors were to be readily accepted within the university fraternity, the criterion of scholarship had to be met. Therefore professors of adult education, such as R. Peers and S.G. Raybould, were fairly prolific writers. In a larger sense the extra-mural director at a university had to become so liberally educated as to be beyond reproach, just like Caesar's wife: but, at the same time, the director also had to function in the world beyond the walls where commercial values usually prevailed. An extra-mural director had to be

aware of the demands from business, industry, government agencies and the general public. Moreover, given the increased interest in vocational training during the 1950's, it is hardly surprising that extra-mural directors reflected on how a liberal element could be maintained in their programmes.

There were, of course, differences of opinion among extra-mural directors as to how a liberal spirit could be sustained in the vocational work. On this point, Wiltshire and Kelly shared a common concern about diplomas and examinations for Kelly wrote:

Like Mr. Wiltshire, I am dubious about diplomas and examinations. These do, I feel, emphasize the vocational aspect of such courses (for professional groups), and make it difficult to adjust the courses to the needs of individual groups of students.<sup>123</sup>

At the same time, Kelly admitted that he was without experience in this matter and "it is fair to say that colleagues who have experimented with diploma courses do not appear to share my fears".<sup>124</sup> At the University of Manchester there were voices that agreed with Wiltshire and Kelly as to the danger of introducing examinations and certificates. At a meeting of the Joint Committee for Adult Education, Mr. Conway, an H.M.I., criticized the trend towards professional examinations, and continued:

The danger would increase with its success since people would be increasingly drawn into courses from which they might derive material advantages. He had some knowledge of courses in Management and had found that the pressure from students to pass examinations had had a very bad effect on the teaching which tended to be directed to this purpose.<sup>125</sup>

This fear that an examination fetish might impede the attempt to impart a liberal spirit into vocational training was natural. Possibly, however, in the context of the mid 1950's, the English tradition of adult study "for its own sake" was being eroded by the desire of many students to acquire professional qualifications. Philosophical discussion about the desirability of trying to maintain the liberal tradition was opposed by the natural desire

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123 Thomas Kelly, "The New Approach in University Adult Education", Adult Education, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Winter, 1956, p. 176.

124 Ibid.

125 University of Manchester, "Minutes of Meeting held March 11, 1957", Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book, February 1948-May 1959, p. 427.

of an extra-mural department to respond to an existing demand from vocational groups. At Manchester, for example, it was noted that the University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department had advertised a post in Criminology, as police forces want this subject.<sup>126</sup> Obviously Liverpool appears to have noted the success of Criminology at Leeds, although the difficulty of developing this particular subject is revealed by the statement that the Extra-Mural Department at the University of Liverpool "did not receive a single application worth consideration".<sup>127</sup> After an earnest debate at the University of Manchester concerning the awarding of certificates, it was proposed to recommend them for work in (1) Criminology (2) Social Studies (3) Science. It was made clear that the demand for certification came from the students with, for example, social workers and administrative officers seeking certificates to show that they had attended evening classes.<sup>128</sup>

To some extent the tendency to cater to the professional needs of students was paralleled by the increasing professionalism of the staffs of extra-mural departments. Sir Eric Ashby had drawn attention to the activity of extra-mural directors by a speech in 1955 entitled "The Pathology of Adult Education". Sir Eric stated that "If you can persuade extra-mural directors to be frank some of them will tell you that the W.E.A. ... is a survival of an obsolete class distinction and it actually puts students off: that the universities are the architects of post-war education and they are carrying the voluntary bodies on their backs".<sup>129</sup> Sir Eric indicated that university extra-mural departments exhibited "a new ailment in adult education, the pathology of a movement that enjoys too much security".<sup>130</sup> Sir Eric

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126 University of Manchester, Joint Committee for Adult Education, Minute Book, February 1948 - May 1952, p. 435.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Sir Eric Ashby, The Pathology of Adult Education, William F. Harvey Memorial Lecture delivered in Birmingham, March 24, 1955, Belfast:1955, p. 13.

130 Ibid

noted that the study of W.E. Styler of some adult education classes around Manchester had revealed that over fifty per cent had not enjoyed secondary education, and then posed the question as to who was to be responsible for the educational needs of these people. The answer to this rhetorical question appeared to be that:

A few extra-mural departments regard this as a vanishing responsibility and would leave it to the W.E.A. ... But the Association is not adequately equipped, and the extra-mural departments know it is not, and it would seem to be a betrayal of British universities if in these circumstances they were to concentrate upon the easy harvest of teachers and clergymen and bank clerks, and to leave to voluntary bodies the difficult harvest of men and women who left school at 14.<sup>131</sup>

Sir Eric Ashby seemed to be a Raybouldian when uttering thoughts such as those last quoted. But Sir Eric went far beyond anything that Professor Raybould had stated when, in a striking, if possibly malicious, statement, he depicted a vision of what could happen when the voluntary spirit of the W.E.A. was replaced with the professional outlook of the extra-mural director:

It (the development of adult education) would be all so much more efficient than it is now. Educational shock troops would descend on a district and create a demand by means of bright pioneer classes. These would be followed by tutors offering more sustained and more advanced classes. But it is commonplace of the art of propaganda that when a sense of need is artificially stimulated from outside, any spontaneity it might otherwise have had from the inside is suppressed. Imperceptibly the voluntary spirit would distil away from adult education.<sup>132</sup>

As J.F.C. Harrison pointed out, this vision was misleading because, when recruiting students in the field, there was very little difference in the methods and techniques of organising classes between the W.E.A. and the Extra-Mural Department.<sup>133</sup> The idea of a professional replacing the volunteer was inherent in the concept of a welfare state, although the fact that voluntary workers were displaced by paid social workers was bound to highlight

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>133</sup> J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, pp. 351-2.

the loss of a paternalistic tradition that had deep roots in English society. Sir Eric Ashby's basic fear was highlighted by his statement that, "the revived Extension movement ... has in itself here and there the symptoms of a subtle disease which may injure the tradition of voluntaryism in British adult education and transform extra-mural departments into another limb of the Welfare State".<sup>134</sup> Harrison pointed out, however, that the bogey of professionalism was really a scapegoat, used by those who feared that democracy was being diluted, so that one day experts would create Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-four.<sup>135</sup> It would seem possible that the advent of a Conservative government in the early 1950's helped to create a more favourable political climate, for those who wished to believe that extra-mural directors had, in an insidious way, undermined the voluntaryism of the W.E.A., while obtaining large financial grants from the Labour party up to 1951. But such a distorted picture was fairly typical of the mood of the early 1950's, amid Conservative claims that free enterprise served the public much more efficiently than anything run under state control. Yet this was patently untrue in the field of adult education where, since 1945, the general effect of a more generous flow of state aid had been to widen the segment of the population that was served, by including, for example, the provision of courses for men and women engaged in the industrial and business sectors.

This chapter has surveyed the clash of opinion in adult educational circles that centred around the Ashby Report. To a large extent, the ideas that emerged inevitably concerned broad policy matters. It was not easy for the Ashby Committee to attempt to formulate recommendations in view of the wide diversity of opinion among spokesmen for the Responsible Bodies. In general, the decisions reached merely confirmed practices that were already in vogue, such as provision of classes to meet a demand from professional

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134 Sir Eric Ashby, The Pathology of Adult Education, William F. Harvey Memorial Lecture delivered in Birmingham, March 24, 1955, Belfast: 1955, p. 22.

135 J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 353.



groups. One is inclined to regard the Ashby Committee as a rather typical English institution where, to examine a problem, a parade of witnesses are interrogated to get their expert advice, and the subsequent report reflects the consensus of opinion. To some extent, a theory of adult education was being developed after the practice had been examined. Therefore, the views of Professor Raybould were to some degree putting the cart before the horse because, instead of extra-mural directors carefully observing official regulations, there was a tendency to change the regulations to agree with what the directors actually wanted. Admittedly it is dangerous to generalise about such a diverse set of individuals called extra-mural directors and, with this in mind, the next chapter will examine how the Responsible Bodies utilised their newly won opportunities provided under the Revised Regulations of the Ministry of Education.

ADULT EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, 1954-58

Adult education by the middle of the 1950's displayed several familiar characteristics. The attitude of universities to extra-mural work was summarised by Professor R.D. Waller:

The position has probably long been much as it is now - a few important people in every university fully recognise the significance of extra-mural work; they practically always include the Vice-Chancellor, who is more aware than most people of the public relations aspect of the matter; a large number accept extra-mural departments with mild benevolence; many accept them but rarely give them a thought; while in every university there are probably a few professors who object to them.<sup>1</sup>

The Ministry of Education continued to try to avoid duplication of effort by the agencies involved in adult education, the Responsible Bodies and the L.E.A.s, by indicating in its Regulations the type of work considered appropriate for these bodies. The division of labour led to the familiar complaint about the artificiality of dividing the theory and practice of such subjects as music, drama and the visual arts. Furthermore, there was the familiar charge that fragmentation of knowledge into subjects, or territories, might not be the most suitable way of teaching adults. Asa Briggs, a university academic as well as Deputy-President of the national W.E.A., voiced a concern about the need to integrate subjects:

I would like, in particular, to plead for more study of fields of human life, like the labour movement, race relations, twentieth century society, trade unionism, education, the local community or European civilization, where all the components or territories of interest can be covered.<sup>2</sup>

Briggs observed, for example, that sociology was not well developed in England. Although the article of Briggs in The Highway was entitled "The New Learning", the message about the need to integrate "subjects" into areas of human experience had been advocated much earlier by men such as Frank Milligan, Warden

1 Asa Briggs, "The New Learning", The Highway, February, 1956, Vol. 47, pp.104-5.

2 Ross D. Waller, "The Universities and Adult Education", University Quarterly, Vol. 11, 1, November, 1956, p. 48.

of Beechcroft in the 1920's.

In a similar fashion, some ideas concerning the liberalising of technical education, that had appeared in the 1919 Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, were re-echoed in a pamphlet entitled The Liberal Aspect of Technical Education:

The introduction of 'arts' subjects into curricula of science and technology is not fundamental to a liberal education. What is required is a broadening of the treatment and presentation. This ought to be adapted to the age and interests of the students. This approach may be through the history of the craft, a study of the structure of the industry, the philosophy of the subject, human relations in industry, or talks and discussions on industrial design.<sup>3</sup>

The concern over how to liberalise technical training received a great deal of attention. The National Institute of Adult Education established a committee in 1953, which included teachers from technical institutions; with the committee's terms of reference being, "to enquire into the relationship between the vocational and non-vocational elements in further education and training".<sup>4</sup> As a working definition of liberal education, the Committee adopted the concept that it is an education:

which includes a training in the use of language, in the handling of ideas, in recognizing relationships and in establishing values and touchstones by which questions of taste and morals can be tested.<sup>5</sup>

The Committee surveyed the world of the mid 1950's and recognized that in a society that was increasingly stressing technocracy there was a need for "all education ... (to) aim at increasing human sympathy and understanding, sharpening aesthetic appreciation and giving a better command of language".<sup>6</sup> There was an excellent summary of the crucial need for liberal study that is worth quoting at length:

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3 Yorkshire Council for Further Education, The Liberal Aspect of Further Education, Pamphlet No 59, 1956, p. 7.

4 National Institute of Adult Education, Liberal Education in a Technical Age, London: Max Parrish and Co., Ltd. 1955, p. 10.

5 Ibid., p. 12.

6 Ibid., p. 122.

At the top we are concerned with those aspiring to be senior technologists and who are likely to graduate into management. They will be called upon to show understanding and sympathy in human relations ... and they will obviously have greater responsibility for other people's lives than will those who do the operative and unskilled work of industry. Yet here we have the paradox that people in the top level may find work so absorbing in itself that they seek no other interests, whilst at the lower level, men and women may, for lack of working satisfactions, be content to seek release in vicarious excitements, that provide no exercise for the growth of their own personalities or for social responsibilities. The need to fulfil in leisure time some of the urges and tastes that remain unsatisfied or thwarted at work, may lead some people, if only a few, to adult education. For many more, however, the problem will only be met in so far as these extra-vocational responsibilities are recognised in vocational education and the qualities of a liberal education are treated as important at all levels of further education.<sup>7</sup>

It would be difficult to improve on this statement as a recognition of the need for the humanities in a technological age; yet the Committee was well aware that it was necessary to tread warily when discussing how to implement the idea. For the Committee's report commented that, "The term 'liberal' (with a small 'l') is one of the current words of approbation. A liberal education is commonly felt to be a desirable form of education. There is probably much less unanimity as to what constitutes a liberal education".<sup>8</sup>

There were some relevant comments from both sides of the Atlantic upon the difficulty of encouraging liberal study that reveal the depth of the problem. An American reviewer of Liberal Education in a Technical Age noted that, in his country and England, vocational training was narrowly conceived and the absence of liberal values justified on the promise that "lack of time" prohibited expansion of the curriculum. But the real difficulty was cultural because:

in the United States as in England the type of culture and thought in which we live sets greater store

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7 Ibid., p. 25.

8 Ibid., p. 12.

by the 'standard' of living than by the 'quality' of living; therefore, the problem of a liberal education in a technical age' is not a problem merely for educators but a 'social problem' that will not be solved without the backing of public opinion.<sup>9</sup>

A British observer took a similar point of view, by lamenting that England would have derived great benefits had County Colleges been implemented as proposed in the 1944 Education Act. The influence of County Colleges upon young adults would, in the view of this critic, have been considerable because:

With ... (a) proposed minimum of three-eighths of the total time to be devoted to liberal studies a tremendous advance would have been made and some sort of antitode (sic) provided against the last years between school leaving and call-up.<sup>10</sup>

However, the value that politicians placed upon liberal education for adults determined its place in the English educational scene. Unfortunately for adult educators, despite such a rhetorical flourish as that of Sir Winston Churchill, at the time that the Ashby Committee was set up in 1953,<sup>11</sup> the politicians were more interested in the international technological revolution. To some extent this was understandable. After August, 1953, when Russia exploded her first hydrogen bomb, the American Congress was stampeded into a massive programme of spending on defence projects, which put emphasis in educational circles upon science and technology. Because of the tighter Anglo-American links that had developed in the climate of the Cold War, it was, perhaps, inevitable that the British government should reflect to some

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9 J.S. Diexhoff, "Liberal Education in a Technical Age" - American Commentary," Adult Education, Vol. XXVIII, 2, Autumn, 1955, p. 104.

10 J.C. Jones, "Liberal Education in a Technical Age", Scottish Adult Education, No. 15, December, 1955, p. 17.  
J.C. Jones was Director of Education, The Polytechnic, London.

11 See p. 360 chapter 7 for details of this speech, Churchill's claims that science and technology rated below the humanities, and that a British Administration would never deny aid to adult education, would hardly seem to bear critical analysis in view of subsequent events.

extent the attitudes displayed in Washington. The Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, spoke on the need for Britain not to be left behind by the United States, Russia or Europe in a world-wide scientific revolution:

The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest population. Those with the best systems of education will win. Science and technical skill give a dozen men the power to do as much as thousands did fifty years ago. Our scientists are doing brilliant work. But if we are to make full use of what we are learning, we shall need many more scientists, engineers and technicians. I am determined that this shortage shall be made good.<sup>12</sup>

The Ministry of Education Annual Review for 1956 noted that the year could be regarded as a turning point for advanced technological training in Great Britain.<sup>13</sup>

Early in 1956 the Government issued a White Paper announcing a five-year building programme of £70,000,000 for England and Wales, with a planned expansion in the number of advanced courses from 9,500 to 15,000.<sup>14</sup> On June 21, 1956 the Ministry of Education announced the names of the eight technical colleges to be designated Colleges of Advanced Technology, with two more to be added by the end of the year. Plans for expansion included expenditure, over the period 1956-61 of £85 million on buildings and equipment.<sup>15</sup> There were statements that a place should be found for "liberal" subjects in the curriculum, but, as usual, the subject of English received most attention, because it was vital for purposes of communication:

In a sense all technical progress rests upon the common foundation of language, and more attention will have to be given to the teaching of good plain English, the use of which saves time and money and avoids trouble. Without it bridges are hard to build over the gulfs that separate experts in different specialised subjects not only from the general public but from one another.<sup>16</sup>

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12 Ministry of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, Technical Education, Cmd. 9703, H.M.S.O., 1959, p. 4.

13 Ministry of Education, Education in 1958, Cmd. 777, H.M.S.O., 1959, p. 36.

14 Ibid., p. 40.

15 Ministry of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, Technical Education, Cmd. 9703, H.M.S.O., 1956, pp. 14, 21. In addition to the planned expenditure of £70 million for buildings, a further £15 million was to be spent on equipment.

16 Ibid., p. 5.

In view of this rather pragmatic approach to the use of the English language, the idea of "liberalising" the curriculum of technical colleges remained difficult.

Compared to the balmy political climate of 1946-51, adult education was finding the mid 1950's a rather difficult period in which to develop liberal study. A timely reminder of the traditional adult studies was provided by the reissue of an abridged version of the 1919 Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, under the title of Design for Democracy. This edited edition of the 1919 classic concentrated on principles underlying adult education and the abridgement was mainly the work of Mr. Gordon Hawkins, Assistant Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education.<sup>17</sup> Admittedly, the world of 1956 was very different from that of 1919, but there was much of value in the most exhaustive probe of adult education that had ever taken place. As T. Kelly pointed out, there were several unresolved questions in adult education that stemmed from the thinking outlined in the 1919 Report. The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction had noted the narrowness of the subject offerings in adult education, which emphasized citizenship, and stressed history, politics and economics. While, since 1919, the range of subjects and the interests of students had widened:

The W.E.A., as the principal voluntary body has continued to place a special emphasis on subjects of civic interest, and the provision of modern languages and arts has grown up almost entirely under aegis of the L.E.A.s.<sup>18</sup>

Kelly observed that the 1919 Committee had foreseen the need to organise the demand for adult education. This had led to the successful promotion of classes through the efforts of a number of educational bodies, principally organisers in extra-mural departments, in the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s. Yet there was a danger in all this activity because:

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17 T. Kelly, "A Review of Design for Democracy", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 2, May, 1957, p. 172.

18 Ibid, p. 173.

Is it that with increasing professionalization ... and the weakening of the voluntary element, quality will give place to quantity, seriousness to superficiality, and that 'genuine intellectual value' which the 1919 Committee felt should be at the heart of the work will disappear and leave only 'a pastime or a recreation', laudable, indeed as a recreation, but with little power to inform the mind or strengthen the character? I (T. Kelly) do not feel that this danger is at present a serious one, but none the less it is there.<sup>19</sup>

Such thinking augured well for the quality of adult education, as the Director of the Extra-Mural Department at the University of Liverpool was obviously watchful of contemporary trends.

In contrast to the familiar liberal studies arranged in co-operation with the W.E.A., was the continued growth in courses arranged under the title of Extension studies. In Chapters Six and Seven some of the discussion focused upon the well educated students who were attracted to university courses, particularly when the courses had a vocational flavour, or had been organized in collaboration with a professional organization. The U.C.A.E. Report on the Year 1954-1955 recorded some examples:

courses are reported by Liverpool and Manchester on the Social Services, arranged for officers of the National Assistance Board. Even more striking are the courses in Criminology for police officers inaugurated in the session 1953-54 by Leeds and now imitated with equal success by Liverpool and Manchester.<sup>20</sup>

Another important trend noted by the U.C.A.E. was the increasing tendency of universities to offer Sessional Classes, which diminished the proportion offered by the W.E.A. While it had long been recognised that Tutorial classes were less popular, possible it was not realised that, whereas in 1945 the W.E.A. had a monopoly of Sessional Classes, by 1954-55 their proportion had fallen to sixty-two per cent of the total offered.<sup>21</sup> Professor S.G. Raybould commented that, "It is clear that already university extra-mural work is far less closely geared to the W.E.A., in purpose and organization,

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19 Ibid.

20 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1954-55, p. 11.

21 Ibid., p. 7.



than it was before 1945, or indeed, 1950".<sup>22</sup> It would be a gross oversimplification to claim that the universities were eroding the position of the W.E.A., as it was the preference for short courses by students that had rendered untenable the old distinction that universities should concentrate on three-year courses.

In the following session, 1955-56, the Universities operated for the first time under the New Further Education Grant Regulations, issued by the Ministry of Education as a sequel to the Ashby Report. In place of the old system of giving a fixed percentage of teaching costs, an annual block grant was now made towards the costs of an estimated programme. The general survey of the session by the U.C.A.E. commented that:

a few (extra-mural) Departments record with some pride that this has been the busiest year in their history, but the general picture is one of caution and consolidation rather than spectacular advance. All Departments welcomed the additional funds made available by the Ministry to meet the salaries of staff tutors ... Departments, however, are uneasily conscious that an automatic 75% can no longer be counted upon, and that the generosity of the Ministry is severely limited by over-riding economic factors.<sup>23</sup>

The national economic crises that were a feature of Britain's post-war problems affected the amount of aid that the Ministry of Education could give to extra-mural work. With these national factors in mind, it is possible to bring into focus the developments at the three Northern universities. The discussion will focus on the situation that prevailed during the first two years covered by this chapter, 1954-56. Leeds University will be considered first, to be followed by Liverpool and Manchester.

During the year 1954-55, the University of Leeds broke new ground when they introduced day-release courses for miners. This idea of encouraging miners to study one or two days a week had been pioneered by the Extra-Mural Department of Nottingham University. The miners were paid by the

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22 S.G. Raybould, "University Extension and the W.E.A.", The Highway, Vol. 48, January, p. 70.

23 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Session 1955-56, p. 5.

National Coal Board while they were pursuing their studies. Once again one is struck by the benefits that adult education derived from the increasing participation of Government in daily life: for example, during 1939-1945, members of H.M. Forces had been compelled to attend lectures, while in the post-war period, there had developed a need to educate the personnel needed to staff the welfare state. Now the nationalization of the mines opened up the possibility of workers taking day courses under extra-mural auspices. Another innovation was the idea of having an Adult Educational Centre, where staff and students could get to know each other through the opportunity of enjoying coffee. Up to the time of securing premises at Bradford, adult education classes were frequently held in school buildings where the caretaker had more interest in locking the premises up, than encouraging any discussion after classes. Professor Raybould summarised developments in his Department over the previous ten year period, when he issued a survey of the growth of the Leeds Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies since 1946. For Raybould the principal changes up to 1956 had been:

the increasing volume of teaching in technology and subjects other than the humanities and social studies; the rapidly growing proportion of students who have already received a good schooling and often full-time education; the provision of courses of special interest to members of particular occupations and professions; and the institution of extra-mural examinations and qualifications.<sup>24</sup>

Raybould regretted the reduction in the amount of work done in association with the W.E.A. which was "neither intended nor foreseen".<sup>25</sup> The changing pattern of adult education at Leeds was also reflected by the observation that Professor Raybould made to the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, when he said that, "There had ... been a growth in the number of tutorial classes not organised by the W.E.A. and it was possible that extension work was throwing up something new - three year courses related to people's occupation".<sup>26</sup> There appears to have been a definite shift away from the idea of tutorial class students being motivated by the desire for social purpose,

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<sup>24</sup> University of Leeds, A Decade of Adult Education, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Minutes, Special Meeting of Joint Committee held Monday, May 7, 1956, p. 2.

for as Dr. J.F.C. Harrison remarked:

in the past people have been willing to make the sacrifices of time and leisure which tutorial class work demanded because they felt that the importance of education for social emancipation justified it. In the new situation however, there seemed no special reason why voluntary bodies should be asked to organise classes for the personal enrichment of individuals. It might be argued that this was a job for the L.E.A.s rather than responsible bodies.<sup>27</sup>

Certainly the drastic change in the pattern of adult education, during the ten year life of the Department, was exhibited by the summary that:

In Leeds University Extension was non-existent in 1946, by 1956 the number of Extension students exceeded the Joint Committee students by several hundreds and, significantly, for every five Joint Committee three year courses there were three Extension three year (courses).<sup>28</sup>

This shift in emphasis had led to a reversal of the policy that the staff recruited for adult education work at Leeds should be full-time, and a re-allocation of the teaching resources of the department. A subcommittee that studied the Ashby Report and future staffing arrangements recommended:

- (1) No increase in full-time staff.
- (2) That every effort should be made to increase the number of part-time tutors employed to a total of fifty, of whom twenty would be for work with the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee.
- (3) A reduction in the number of full-time staff tutors working for the Joint Tutorial Classes Committee from 14 to 8.<sup>29</sup>

A majority of the subjects offered under the auspices of Extension were in subjects recognised for grant by the Ministry of Education.<sup>30</sup> Compared to the number of courses offered in the other two northern universities, the University of Leeds lagged badly in the provision of courses in traditional

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> J.W. Saunders, "University Extension Renaissance", in S.G. Raybould (ed), Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, pp. 54-55.

<sup>29</sup> University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, "Report of Sub-Committee of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies on the Ashby Report and Future Staffing Arrangements", Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Minutes, Minutes of Meeting held June 24, 1955.

<sup>30</sup> The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Report 1955-56, p. 21.

liberal education subjects.<sup>31</sup> This seems surprising in view of Professor S.G. Raybould's frequent claim that the humanities could be readily appreciated by mature students. At the same time the range of subjects encompassed subjects that had not been provided in Joint Committee classes, such as, for example:

Classes ... in the Art of Painting, Criminology, Law, Human Relations in Social Work, Greek, Christian Church History and Thought, Appreciation of the Arts of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, Language, History of the English Theatre, and Forensic Medicine.<sup>32</sup>

There were also classes, usually in association with other departments of the University, of courses in science and technology not recognised by the Ministry. For example, courses of this type included, "Mining, Fuel Technology, Engineering, Metallurgy, Management, Management Accountancy, Farm Management, Agriculture and Horticulture, Polarisation Microscopy, and Emotional Aspects of Probation Casework".<sup>32</sup>

The total offering of Extension courses were obviously calculated to appeal on both the grounds of liberal education and vocational interests. The attempts to cater to vocational interests had led to a demand for examinations and University Extension Certificates.<sup>34</sup> One of the fastest growing areas of study was Social Studies, including Criminology and Social Work, which, in 1955-56 had 1,428 students of whom 305 were studying for certificates.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Professor Raybould recognised that the trend of

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31 See Tables 7(a) to 7(c) in the Appendix concerning a Comparison of Courses Provided by the Universities in Particular Subjects. Only in the subject termed Government did Leeds set the pace, while the University of Leeds was also comparatively strong in its offerings in the Social Sciences.

32 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Report 1955-56, p. 21.

33 Ibid.

34 J.W. Saunders, "Extra-Mural Examinations", Adult Education, Vol. XXVII, Spring, 1955, p. 282.

35 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, University Extension Reports on Classes, Session 1955-56, p. 2. The number of students in Social Studies, including Criminology and Social Work, increased from 1,181 students in 1954-55 with 263 certificate students, to the numbers cited in the text.

catering to vocational groups, plus the allied provision of extra-mural examinations and qualifications, had been criticised by H.C. Wiltshire in his defence of "The Great Tradition".<sup>36</sup> As a long time defender of what had been termed "The Great Tradition", Professor Raybould may well have had mixed feelings about the trends that were developing at Leeds by 1956. There are indications that a determined effort was made to reach the manual workers as, for example, with a course designed to attract activists in the labour movement entitled "Theory and Practice of the Working Class Movement". J.F.C. Harrison reported on a third year class, where five students qualified in both attendance and written work, and rhetorically asked the question as to whether the cost justified the effort, because it involved "the equivalent of a lecturer's salary plus heavy travelling and subsistence expenses, and a small proportion for the cost of administration".<sup>37</sup> Harrison emphasized that "the cost was very high. Granted that adult education is a very valuable activity, it is not I presume to be provided at any cost".<sup>38</sup> One of the underlying difficulties with trying to appeal to industrial workers was that trade unionists were not, generally speaking, too enthusiastic about tutorial classes.<sup>39</sup> The traditional liberal subjects were often judged not sufficiently relevant to

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36 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Tenth Annual Report, 1955-56, p. 22. For a full discussion of Wiltshire's argument pp. 394-396 in chapter 7.

37 The University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes Committee, Reports on Classes, Session 1956-57, p. 60.

38 Ibid., p. 61.

39 Dr. T.B. Caldwell of the University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, was an organiser for the W.E.A. prior to taking an appointment with the University. Dr. Caldwell was kind enough to explain the reluctance of trade unionists to enter tutorial classes at a meeting with the writer in Leeds on May 25, 1973. This reluctance stemmed principally from the question of the relevance of the subjects offered, plus a communication problem in reaching the key figure of the shop steward. Apparently the agricultural workers were more receptive as they had a continuing sense of social injustice.

the needs of trade union officials who were more interested in learning how to chair a meeting, or searching for expertise on matters related to industrial relations. This situation highlights the need of Dr. S.G. Raybould to be a pragmatist, in order to protect the jobs of the staff employed by his Department, and meant that theoretical considerations about how adult education should be organised had to be shelved when face to face with the need to organise the apparent demand.

The situation at the University of Liverpool also demonstrated similar trends to those mentioned for Leeds. In the 1953-54 Session there was a record total of 3,530 students in extra-mural studies, of which, 2,652 were enrolled in courses organised by the Extension Board.<sup>40</sup> The number of tutorial classes had declined to fifty-three, and Director T. Kelly undertook an inquiry into how much the mobility of labour contributed to this decline.<sup>41</sup> A parallel development was the continued growth of high level work provided by the University, which substituted linked sessional courses for a three-year course, so that Liverpool had twenty linked sessional courses, of which fifteen were in their second or third year.<sup>42</sup> Kelly also noted the influence of new social attitudes, stemming to some degree from the fact people had more money in their pocket, that had led to a growing interest in residential courses.<sup>43</sup> The explanation for this surge of interest appears to have followed the line of discussion developed by W.E. Styler some years earlier:<sup>44</sup> students wanted to work intensively for a short period of time on a limited assignment, rather than pursue long courses of study. Also,

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40 University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1953-54, p. 3.

41 Ibid., p. 9.

42 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1955-56, p. 10.

43 T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool: A Narrative of Two Hundred Years, Liverpool: Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Liverpool, 1960, p. 47.

44 See p. 308 Chapter 6.

residential week-end courses could overcome some of the administrative rigidity that effected the presentation of such subjects as Music and Drama. There had been, for example, residential courses organised jointly by the Extra-Mural Department of Liverpool, the Lancashire Education Committee and the Community Council of Lancashire.<sup>45</sup> Such courses overcame the artificial distinction made by the Ministry of Education for grant purposes that separated theory and practice. For example, while the L.E.A.s could put on courses to provide instruction in the practice and technique of an art, the extra-mural departments were supposed to confine themselves to its scholarly aspects and with appreciation.

In the following session of 1954-55 the pattern of development became much clearer. The number of tutorial classes dropped down to forty-three, which was half the number offered by the University of Leeds, although more than half the number organised by the University of Manchester.<sup>46</sup> Professor R. Peers indicated that in Sessional and Short Courses, the University of Liverpool provided far more liberal studies for vocational ends, compared to the Extra-Mural Department at the University of Manchester.<sup>47</sup> It is not

<sup>45</sup> H.J. Jones, "Music and Drama in Adult Education. Some Experiments in Partnership", Adult Education, Vol. XXVII, 4, 1955, p. 273.

<sup>46</sup> R. Peers, Adult Education: A Comparative Study, London: Routledge and Paul, 1958, p. 117.

University	Tutorial Classes	Extension Lectures	1954-55			Fewer than 6 Mtgs.	TOTAL COURSES
			20 - 24 Meetings	10 - 19 Meetings	6 - 9 Meetings		
Leeds	87	1	15	6	3	9	121
Liverpool	43		33	28	25	21	150
Manchester	75		77	34	33	17	236

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, Table VIII, p. 120.

In this table Professor Peers shows the following comparison.

University	Liberal Studies	Liberal Studies for Vocational Ends	Studies mainly vocational in character and purpose
Leeds	47	1	10
Liverpool	74	21	11
Manchester	148	3	-

Note: by R. Peers:- These are courses other than Tutorial and Extension which are presumed to be liberal studies for their own sake. Even in those described as for vocational ends, a proportion of the students attend out of pure interest.

clear how Professor Peers reached such a conclusion, as the categories used in his analysis are not defined. Moreover, the qualifying note<sup>48</sup> attached to the statistics tended to vitiate the presentation by stating that it is difficult to distinguish between liberal study for its own sake, and that pursued for vocational ends. Once again in the absence of detailed accurate information upon the motivation of students, it proved difficult to substantiate distinctions between liberal and vocational interests.

The University of Liverpool was concentrating on shorter courses in a similar fashion to the University of Manchester. A University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies Report identified three fairly clearly defined categories in Extension work. One category was the lecture of the traditional type, offered to the general public, and an historical pattern reasserted itself as many Extension courses were arranged in the afternoon so that women students could attend. An example of the response to the traditional Extension lecture course, held without examination or requirements of written work, was the course in European Art in the Seventeenth Century which attracted 139 students.<sup>49</sup> There were also study courses similar to tutorial classes, for students starting at the post matriculation level: and vocational post-graduate or refresher courses.<sup>50</sup>

Mr. T. Kelly had recognised the changing needs in adult education at Liverpool and proposed administrative changes needed to meet the new conditions. An Extra-Mural Board was to replace the Extension Board and the Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes, as essentially no clear division existed between the work of the two committees, with the time of members of the Department's staff being artificially allocated for budget purposes.<sup>51</sup> The proposal to have a single Extra-Mural Board with suitable standing committees was adopted

48 Ibid, see note at the foot of Table VIII, reproduced at the conclusion of the previous footnote.

49 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report for the Session 1954-55, p. 9.

50 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1954-55, p. 5.

51 University of Liverpool, Extension Board Report Book, No. 3, p. 59.



and thus Liverpool copied the basic system at the University of Leeds.<sup>52</sup>

This administrative change proposed for the University of Liverpool is an indicator of the rapidity of change over the past decade. In 1944, Dr. Allan McPhee had stated, "The present machinery of the University Extension Board and the University Tutorial Classes Joint Committee seem entirely satisfactory, for present needs and future developments."<sup>53</sup> By the mid-point in the 1950's, a situation had developed which was described by a commentator from the University of Leeds in these terms:

At Liverpool ... over the seven years from 1948 to 1955, Extension courses have doubled in number from 46 to 94, while the W.E.A. courses (or Joint Committee courses, to give them their technical name) have fallen by half, from 112 to 56.<sup>54</sup>

A comparison of the main subjects studied in the courses offered by the University and the W.E.A., in the Liverpool region, reveals that there appears to have been a considerable degree of duplication.<sup>55</sup> The development of the 'study course', extending over one or more sessions and intended to provide an opportunity for students to begin at the post-matriculation level, continued to blossom. In 1954-55 eight additional courses were offered, which in-

52 Ibid.

53 University of Liverpool, Report Book, No. 32, p. 222.

54 J. W. Saunders, "University Extension Renascent", S.G. Raybould ed., Trends in English Adult Education, Toronto, Heinemann, 1959, p. 54. The brackets are contained in the original copy.

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<u>Courses offered 1954-55</u>		
	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Tutorial and Sessional</u>
Language and Literature	19	11
Geography and World Affairs	10	11
History	10	7
Biological Sciences	10	3
Economics and Sociology	9	8
Psychology	6	1
Music	6	9
Philosophy	2	2

Note:- only the main subject headings have been cited in order to demonstrate the point on overlap. Source: University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1954-55, p. 24.

cluded courses on Appreciation of Literature and Appreciation of Art designed specially for women attending in afternoon sessions, and three "Language Study Courses", combining the study of a foreign language with lectures on the history and culture of the country concerned.<sup>56</sup> Such courses were well suited to a decade when increased prosperity enabled more people to travel abroad, and the University of Liverpool Extra-Mural Department seems to have been the first extra-mural department to recognise the potential market for such courses. It is also noticeable that there seems to have been a determined effort made to avoid offering new "study courses" that overlapped with traditional tutorial class offerings.

Among the post-graduate and refresher courses directed at particular professional or vocational groups were:

'Adolescent Psychology' for youth leaders, 'The Social Services' for officers of the National Assistance Board, 'Problems of Business Organisation' for management personnel and "An Introduction to Criminology" for police and probation officers. This last course dealing with the social and psychological background of crime ... aroused such interest that the enrolment of 30 students originally provided for had to be increased to 60, and even so many would-be students were disappointed.<sup>57</sup>

Obviously the University of Liverpool was discovering, as had the University of Leeds earlier, that there was considerable demand by professional groups for Criminology. In 1956 a special Standing Committee for Post-Graduate Courses was formed, so as to arrange courses for professional groups, such as teachers, social workers, doctors, lawyers, engineers and industrial research workers. Moreover, the maintenance of the welfare state required a flow of trained personnel, so that there was a demand for the training of child care officers, health workers, hospital administrators, youth leaders and voluntary social workers. While opportunities for developing the post-

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<sup>56</sup> University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1954-55, p. 6. The three languages involved were French, Italian and Classical Greek.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

graduate course were restricted by the relatively small size of the potential student body, and finding a suitable time to hold a course, progress was substantial. By 1955-56, out of fourteen post-graduate courses arranged, four were for teachers held during the Easter vacation: with the remaining courses being held for industrial scientists and covered various aspects of chemistry biochemistry, electrical engineering and physics.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time the development of liberal studies in study courses continued at Liverpool. In terms of subjects, the University of Liverpool offered a selection that emphasized History, Language and Literature and the Arts: on the other hand Liverpool lagged behind the other two northern universities in the provision of courses in the Social Sciences.<sup>59</sup> A new area of liberal study that was rapidly developed followed on the success of the initial courses in foreign languages and literature, with additional courses being added for German, Spanish and Irish.<sup>60</sup> The session 1955-56 clearly demonstrated the continued decline of tutorial classes as while 446 tutorial students were enrolled, the number was dwarfed by the 2,813 students enrolled in various Extension courses plus 378 taking Post-Graduate Courses.<sup>61</sup>

58 University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1955-56, p. 7.

59 See Table 7b in the Appendix concerning A Comparison of Courses Provided by the Universities in Particular Subjects. The University of Liverpool by 1958 had as many courses in History as Manchester, but only 11 courses in Social Sciences, compared to 40 for Leeds and 78 for Manchester.

60 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1955-56, p. 7.

61 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1955-56.

	<u>Student Enrolment</u>		
	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Student Total</u>
Post-Graduate Courses	14		378
<u>Extension Courses</u>			
(a) Study courses	19	347	
(b) General Lecture Courses	66	1681	
(c) Courses of Professional Interest	24	785	
		2813	2813
<u>W.E.A. Courses</u>			
(a) 4th year tutorial	1	5	
(b) 3rd year tutorial	9	103	
(c) 2nd year tutorial	9	111	
(d) 1st year tutorial	13	227	
		446	446
(e) Sessional	9		112
(f) Terminal	3		46
(g) Summer schools	2		68
Total Number of Courses	169		3863

Turning to developments at the University of Manchester, it is pleasant to record the appointment of Professor W. Mansfield Cooper, a former W.E.A. and extra-mural student, to the post of Vice-Chancellor.<sup>62</sup> Extra-mural work was likely to receive a very sympathetic response from the new Vice-Chancellor. Other developments at Manchester tended to be similar to those at the other two northern universities. The unique surge of interest in tutorial classes appears to have reached its peak in 1954-55 and thereafter subsided, so that Manchester followed the downward trend at the other two northern universities. The number of students enrolled in Extension Courses and Lectures climbed from 2,958 in 1954-55 to 3969 in 1955-56,<sup>63</sup> principally in short and residential courses, with this figure comprising the high point of enrolment down to 1958. The type of course offered at a relatively high academic level, that had been designated at the University of Liverpool as a Study Course, was, at Manchester termed an Extension Tutorial or Extension Sessional Course:

The type of subject studied in such courses are often very similar to those studied in W.E.A. tutorial and sessional classes e.g. at Manchester the Religions of Mankind, the Modern Novel, and the English Language; at Liverpool Biology, Botany and the History of Music; at Leeds Contemporary Literature, Drama and the Theatre, Society and the Individual.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to these courses offered in the areas of liberal study, there

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62 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Session 1955-56, p. 25.

63 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department.

EXTENSION COURSES AND LECTURES.

Year	Sessional		Terminal		Short Courses		Residential		TOTAL
	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	Courses	Students	
1954-55	14	288	20	417	41	1019	56	1234	2958
1955-56	18	409	20	517	44	1370	55	1673	3969
1956-57	20	406	21	467	47	1389	69	1675	3937
1957-58	22	505	20	422	36	1257	62	1510	3694
1958-59	15	382	18	374	41	1233	76	1558	3547

Source: University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Reports.

64 Universities Council for Adult Education - Report on the Year 1954-55, p. 10.

were courses of vocational content.

The success encountered at Leeds University with Criminology was duplicated at the University of Manchester because:

The most remarkable event in the extension programme has been the organisation of a three-year course on Criminology for police officers ... The result was embarrassing; no fewer than 750 police officers wished to enrol.<sup>65</sup>

The police officers who enrolled in the Criminology course instituted by the Extra-Mural Department at Manchester soon sought examinations in order to demonstrate professional expertise and gain recognition for their studies. Therefore Manchester pioneered in the provision of a Certificate course in Criminology offered by an Extra-Mural Department. Like the University of Leeds who had first offered a course in Criminology, the University of Manchester had discovered that liberal study "for its own sake" had a very restricted appeal to a professional group.

One of the subject areas that grew by 1956 was that of Science. All three northern universities had post-graduate courses in science, while Liverpool devoted 14.9 per cent of its total programme to science exceeding, in relative terms, the programme at the University of Manchester, and the diminishing proportion conducted by the Leeds Extra-Mural Department.<sup>66</sup> In view of the long struggle to encourage courses in science as part of the work of an extra-mural department, the fact that all three northern universities offered post-graduate courses could be seen as a sign that science might yet constitute an important facet of extra-mural work. This does not mean that the prejudice against science forming part of a liberal education had been overcome. Some way had yet to be discovered as to how to effectively pursue

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65 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1954-55, p. 5.

66 Gordon W. Roderick and Michael D. Stephens, "Science in the Extra-Mural Departments of British Universities 1946-67", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No.3., October 1970, Table III, p. 281. The table shows for all universities the proportion of their total programme devoted to science: expressed as a percentage.

	<u>1951-52</u>	<u>1956-57</u>
Leeds	9.8	6.6
Liverpool	12.0	14.9
Manchester	16.0	13.0

the philosophy expressed by Professor R. Peers after he had conducted his survey into the provision of science courses for the U.C.A.E., wherein he expressed the view that:

The real case for science as part of the general education of the adult citizen is exactly the same as the case for literature and the social sciences. Without this knowledge, it is impossible for the individual to understand the world in which he lives and therefore to make his best contribution to the society of which he is a member. Not only that, but without a knowledge of science he cannot live the best and most satisfying life of which he is capable: a whole range of experience, aesthetic as well as practical, is closed to him; and there are avenues of philosophic thought which he can never enter. Theoretical science is one of the great areas of contemplative activity in which the spirituality of man is manifested, and that is the real justification for regarding science as a necessary constituent of a liberal education.<sup>67</sup>

Admirable as this statement appears, there was no real sign that extra-mural departments were anxious to implement a programme of courses in science that would make a reality of Peers philosophy.

Similarly, the perennial discussion upon the role of History in extra-mural work continued. There seems to have been common agreement that local history and archaeology appealed to adult students more than general history or world problems. British History as an ingredient in International Affairs, as promoted by W.E.A. Classes, possibly received another body blow from the debacle over the invasion of the Suez Canal zone in 1956. The monetary crisis precipitated by America rapping the fingers of Prime Minister Anthony Eden can hardly have encouraged the notion that calm analysis of past history can help understanding of current events. On the other hand, local history and archaeology could link to a number of other subjects, such as, "for example Geology, Botany, Town and Country Planning and the History of Architecture".<sup>68</sup> Possibly this statement can be viewed as an attempt to make History relevant to a diverse group of people.

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<sup>67</sup> Robert Peers, Science in the Extra-Mural Work of Universities, Universities Council for Adult Education, 1954, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Year 1954-55, p. 17.

The Suez crisis of 1956 can be seen as the focal point of the changing position of Britain within the international community. It is difficult not to conclude that the diminished status of Britain did not have some impact upon the view held on the value of liberal education. The traditional skills of government practiced by liberally educated men seemed to be inadequate to cope with the emergent nationalisms of Asia and Africa. Moreover, the Oxbridge trained leader, grounded in traditional liberal values, was having to try to cope with a world that was experiencing a technological revolution. In short, the inadequacies of a liberal education for dealing with such forces as nationalism or technological change were probably damaging to the status of traditional adult education, viewed as synonymous with liberal study.

The relevance of adult education in the world of 1956 needs to be seen against the background of the interests of the majority of adults pursuing study. N.A. Jepson made a revealing summary of the situation that had developed with regards to the further education conducted by the L.E.A.s:

A ... guide to the expansion of technical and commercial education may be seen, firstly, in the increase in the number of full-time students attending major establishments from under 30,000 in 1947 to some 53,000 in 1956; secondly, in the more than doubling of the number of part-time day students to nearly 400,000; and thirdly in the number of evening classes concerned with subjects related to commerce and industry. In this latter category classes have increased by nearly 60 per cent.<sup>69</sup>

Obviously the big battalions of adult students continued to enrol in classes conducted by the L.E.A.s. A quarter of all students enrolled in evening

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69 N.A. Jepson, "The Local Authorities and Adult Education", in S.G. Raybould, Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p.91.

institutes were women attending classes in "women's subjects".<sup>70</sup> These trends naturally concerned thoughtful adult educators, and a member of the staff of Leeds University explained the significance of a rise in the prestige of technical skills:

The serious-minded manual worker, who before the war might have found his way into a Joint Committee Economics class, is now to be found taking night school at technical college and influencing his local library to stock more and more technical handbooks.<sup>71</sup>

Another member of the University of Leeds Extra-Mural staff, J.F.C. Harrison, thought that the traditional W.E.A. approach exemplified the dilemma of the left wing of politics. Harrison considered that the W.E.A. had traditionally been a movement of protest, with the active minority possessing a dynamic of social emancipation, but in the 1950's that dynamic had lost its force.<sup>72</sup> Certainly the role of the W.E.A. was debated earnestly, particularly as it seemed to be losing ground compared to the activity of university extra-mural departments. This was particularly true of the situation at the University of Leeds itself where, in the Session 1957-58, the University provided forty-three tutorial classes to only forty-two tutorials organised through the W.E.A.<sup>73</sup> By contract, the University of Manchester continued to

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70 Ministry of Education, Evening Institutes, Pamphlet No. 28, H.M.S.O., 1956, p.9.

Traditionally the subjects grouped as 'women's work' include cookery, the needle subjects, home furnishing and decoration and a number of crafts such as embroidery and lace making, weaving, leather-work and basketry. The scope of the work is, however, being extended steadily to include health, household management, parent craft and those aspects of sociology and psychology which affect the well-being of the family.

It seems apparent that females formed a heavy proportion of students attending evening institutes and that this fact would attract the attention of adult educators.

71 J.W. Saunders, University Centre, Middlesbrough, p. 10.

72 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Joint Tutorial Classes committee, Minutes, Special Meeting held Monday, May 7, 1956, p. 1.

73 S.G. Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England 1945-62. A Study in Finance and Policy, London: Michael Joseph, 1964, Table 7(h), p. 185.



organise the bulk of its tutorials in conjunction with the W.E.A., while the University of Liverpool restricted the use of the word tutorial to three year courses organised through the W.E.A.<sup>74</sup>

Professor S.G. Raybould placed the situation in a national context by drawing attention to the U.C.A.E. practice, that began in 1956, of distinguishing in statistical tables between courses arranged in cooperation with the W.E.A. and those provided independently by the universities. The statistics showed not only that the university extra-mural departments provided more courses than the W.E.A., but the heavy emphasis of the universities upon short courses.<sup>75</sup> There was possibly a pragmatic reason for concentrating on short courses for, as a U.C.A.E. Report observed, "when money is short one way to keep a large number of centres going is to reduce the length of the courses".<sup>76</sup> It is worth recalling that Professor Raybould and his followers had argued that, all other things being equal, a longer course was of greater educational value than a shorter one. The usual retort to this view had been that students desired shorter courses but, the U.C.A.E. statement focused upon an additional reason: namely, that extra-mural departments found that it could be to their advantage to spread their resources over many shorter courses.

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74 Ibid, Table (j) p. 187: Table (1), p. 189.

75 Ibid, Table 7 (a), p. 178.

Year	<u>ENGLISH EXTRA-MURAL DEPARTMENTS</u>							
	Tutorial		One Session		Short		All	
	with WEA	without WEA	with WEA	without WEA	with WEA	without WEA	with WEA	without WEA
1955-56	627	132	587	523	374	1036	1588	1691
1956-57	602	150	636	559	402	1006	1640	1715
1957-58	570	153	657	576	342	1012	1569	1741
1958-59	550	130	679	578	414	1064	1643	1772

76 Universities Council for Adult Education, Report on the Session 1954-55, p. 7.

During the period 1957-58 there were a number of developments at Leeds University. By 1957 the number of tutorials held in conjunction with the W.E.A. had declined to forty-two, half the number in 1949. The University held forty-one courses of either sessional or shorter length, compared to only four courses conducted in conjunction with the W.E.A.<sup>77</sup> Seen from another angle of vision, as an internal matter of the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, there were approximately twice as many students enrolled in Extension courses compared to tutorial classes.<sup>78</sup>

Interest in vocational style training continued but produced a problem when the question of certification raised questions about the quality of the work done. In 1957 Professor J.A. Davidson, who served on the Advisory Panel for Extension Studies, suggested that a minimum entrance requirement for new students should be considered.<sup>79</sup> It has to be kept in mind that the University required that standards for Extension Certificates were to be those that applied internally for B.A. General Studies students. A somewhat embarrassing situation arose in 1958 when Professor E. Grebenik of the Department of Social Studies admitted that:

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77 S.G. Raybould, University Extra-Mural Education in England 1945-62 A Study in Finance and Policy, London: Michael Joseph, Table 7(h), p. 185. The relevant part of the Table 7(h) is reproduced below.

YEAR	TUTORIAL		ONE SESSION		SHORT	
	with WEA	without WEA	with WEA	without WEA	with WEA	without WEA
1957-58	43	42	1	29	3	12

78 University of Leeds, Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, Eleventh Annual Report 1956-57, p. 8. The number of students in tutorial classes was a little over 700. Extension work had 1360 students.

79 University of Leeds, Extension Lectures Committee, Minutes, Minutes of Meeting held July 2, 1957.

in spite of annual reminders from the Department of (Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies), neither he nor members of his Department who had acted as examiners had applied the Senate ruling. He considered it impossible for any but the most exceptional students to reach, in three years of part-time study, the standard expected of a full-time student at the end of his course in even one-third of his subjects. He explained that he had ... begun to apply this standard, with a resulting increase of the failure rate.<sup>80</sup>

Professor H.J. James, Professor of Law, was also of the opinion that it was virtually impossible for part-time students to reach intra-mural standards, for he declared:

certainly in law and probably also in medicine, social studies and some sciences, the totality of the course made its mark on each part. Therefore, however able the student, he could never hope in covering only one section of a subject, to reach the standard which he might attain in a course which covers the whole.<sup>81</sup>

Professor S.G. Raybould noted that the difficulties with certification had occurred with the introduction of three-year courses in subjects such as Criminology and Industrial Relations. Students "frequently lacked the educational background ... (and) a high proportion ... failed in ... examinations".<sup>82</sup> The Advisory Panel that guided these activities appreciated Professor Raybould's concern that the standard required for the Certificate should not be lowered.<sup>83</sup> The recommendation of the Advisory Panel was the abolition of first and second year examinations, "which it thought might enable students of good ability but limited schooling and examination experience to prove their quality by the end of their courses".<sup>84</sup> This development with vocationally oriented courses sounds very much as if the tutorial class philosophy of obtaining

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80 The University of Leeds, Extension Lectures Committee, Minutes, Minutes of Meeting of Advisory Panel, October 21, 1958, p. 1.

81 Ibid.

82 The University of Leeds, Extension Lectures Committee, Minutes, Memorandum by S.G. Raybould concerning regulations for the University Extension Certificate, September, 1959.

83 University of Leeds, Extension Lectures Committee, Minutes, Advisory Panel Meeting held October 21, 1958, p. 2.

84 University of Leeds, Extension Lectures Committee, Minutes, Memorandum by S.G. Raybould concerning regulations for the University Extension Certificate, September, 1959.

good results after three years was being applied. It would seem that the "educationally underprivileged" were appearing in vocational courses, seeking the status symbol of a University Extension Certificate, but not being welcomed by some intra-mural professors who guarded the idea of university quality. Possibly the fact that adult education under the auspices of L.E.A.s lacked intellectual glamour or status created a consumer demand for University Certificate Courses: whether delaying an assessment of a student for three years would increase his chances of achieving his goal had yet to be tested.

There was one interesting piece of pioneering in 1958, when a second University Adult Education Centre was opened at Middlesbrough. J.W. Saunders, the future warden of this centre, noted that Extension work was mainly an urbanised activity in conurbations such as Bradford and Leeds: this was also true for the Universities of Liverpool and Manchester, because in such areas it was possible to attract sufficient students to form viable classes.<sup>85</sup> By 1958, Extension work at Middlesbrough by Leeds University had almost withered away,<sup>86</sup> and the new centre was intended to stimulate interest. The bulk of the courses were organised as Extension classes intended to appeal to all social groups. At the same time there was an effort to recruit people who were "willing to undertake long and systematic tutorial work".<sup>87</sup> Liberal study was energetically encouraged at the Middlesbrough Adult Education Centre, and this was commendable in view of the type of society that had emerged in the late 1950's. The contemporary state of society was well summarised by the Yorkshire Council for Further Education:

The problem faced by our society is now clearly exposed, for we have on the one hand the powerful forces of industry and commerce narrowing the range of responsi-

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85 J.W. Saunders, "University Extension Renascent", in S.G. Raybould, (ed.), Trends in English Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p. 80.

86 J.W. Saunders, University Centre, Middlesbrough, p. 6.

87 Ibid., p. 13.

bility of the individual and on the other, the needs of our democratic society, which is itself based on the individual political responsibility of all its citizens. Our pattern of government must rest on intellectual freedom, for an adequate decision cannot be taken until the relevant facts have been assembled. A wise decision demands not only knowledge of alternatives but a recognition of the ultimate goal ... The individual must feel that he understands other people.<sup>88</sup>

In a world increasingly dominated by mass communications, this was a timely reminder that the need for liberal education was possibly greater than ever. Moreover, the growth of the welfare state did not replace the need for individuals to have a tolerant understanding of human nature and promote a respect for human dignity.

There was a possibility that the interest that extra-mural departments exhibited in vocational courses could dilute the sense of liberal purpose in adult education. This danger was seen by a writer in The Listener who felt that adult education was catering to the spirit of the age:

it would be quite in keeping with current trends if, let us say, the Treasury were to invite universities to provide courses in fiendish equivocation for the benefit of civil servants who draft replies to parliamentary questions. I imagine the Ministry would pay grant, provided the courses were not deemed to be too directly vocational.<sup>89</sup>

The writer drew upon his own experiences to contrast the vigorous discussion that took place in tutorial classes he taught during World War Two, with the spirit prevailing in a university class of 1955, which catered to social service students, and was provided at the request of the National Assistance Board. The students in the social services class made:

rather brief interventions to elucidate or amplify something the lecturer had said in his main talk. The members of the group were not thinking of putting a sorry social order to right: they just wanted some insight into the principles underlying their job.<sup>90</sup>

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88 Yorkshire Council for Further Education, The Liberal Aspect of Technical Education Pamphlet No. 70, 1962, p. 4.

89 L.J. Barnes, "Adult Education Ends or Means?" The Listener, 31st January, 1957, p. 179.

90 Ibid.

Similar observations had been made about vocational classes at Leeds University.<sup>91</sup> Imparting a liberal spirit to professional study had long been recognised as difficult in scientific or technical training but, it would seem, that to assume that this problem did not apply in teaching social sciences to vocational groups could be misleading.

At the University of Liverpool in 1957 there were a number of interesting developments. In the first place the Director of the Extra-Mural Department gained well merited recognition for his scholarship, as the University conferred a Ph.D degree upon Thomas Kelly for his study entitled George Birkbeck: Pioneer of Adult Education published in 1957. Another indicator of the vigorous activity within the Department was speculation that a programme of 181 courses of various types, with nearly 4,500 students, might represent the limit of what could be accomplished with the existing staffing resources.<sup>92</sup> Study Courses were well established and included new courses on Educational Psychology, Astronomy, Listening to Music and Russian Language and Literature.<sup>93</sup> A new innovation saw certificate courses introduced for grammar school teachers who were specialists in chemistry, physics and mathematics. In view of the long catalogue of comment about the inferior status of science, relative to the humanities, this step represented a practical contribution towards encouraging a supply of well-trained science teachers. During the 1956-7 Session there were also thirteen post-graduate courses that ranged from courses for teachers in Organic Chemistry and Botany; to refresher courses in French, Economic Geography and English Literature; plus other courses for industrial personnel.<sup>94</sup>

In the following session of 1957-58 the number of post-graduate courses increased to seventeen. There were also 123 other Extension courses

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91 See p. 292, Chapter 6.

92 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1956-57 p. 4. The 181 courses subdivided into thirteen Post-Graduate Courses, 119 Extension Courses and forty-nine W.E.A. Classes.

93 Ibid., p. 8.

94 Ibid., p. 7.

and forty-six courses held in conjunction with the W.E.A..<sup>95</sup> the great shift in the category of student being served was reflected in the fact that the Extension students outnumbered those in W.E.A. courses run by the university by a ratio of over five to one.<sup>96</sup> This situation reflected the continual fall in the number of tutorial classes arranged by the W.E.A., with only twenty-five being held in 1957-58.<sup>97</sup> Concern over the fall in the proportion of work conducted with the W.E.A. led to a decision to try and build up this side of the work by having a flexible policy.

Every effort will be made to promote the formation of three-year tutorial classes ... In addition, where conditions are appropriate, consideration will be given to the formation of two-year classes; and the establishment of sessional classes will also be encouraged, especially where these can be linked together in successive years so as to offer the possibility of continuous study to those able to attend for more than one session.<sup>98</sup>

For those students who fulfilled the requirements of a three-year course, the Board of Extra-Mural Studies approved the idea of issuing a certificate of attendance.<sup>99</sup> Obviously, there was a desire to aid in the re-establishment of large scale work arranged with the W.E.A.

Extension Courses provided the bulk of the work performed by the Department in 1957-58. Of a total of 186 courses, 123 were recorded as being Extension courses.<sup>100</sup> A new course was arranged with the School of European Architecture called the History of European Architecture. This title sounds as if the course could be fairly easily handled in a liberal manner. There was definite interest in imparting a liberal element into technical subjects for, in 1958, the North-Western Regional Committee for Further Education invited the Universities of Liverpool and Manchester to arrange short courses

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95 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1957-58, p. 5.

96 Ibid., p. 29.

The student enrolment was 3,529 in Extension courses and 620 in W.E.A. courses.

97 Ibid., p. 10. There was a total of 46 courses arranged with the W.E.A., of which 25 were tutorials. Of these 25 tutorials, three were new ones.

98 Ibid.

99 University of Liverpool, Board of Extra-Mural Studies, Standing Committee for Tutorial Classes, Minutes of Meeting held on May 15, 1958.

100 The University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Report for the Session 1957-58, p. 5.

for teachers of technical colleges. The Liverpool course, held for three days in July was concerned with Liberal Elements in Building: while the Manchester course, held in September, concerned Liberal Elements in Engineering Subjects.<sup>101</sup> The encouragement of a liberal element into technical subjects was not only an admirable development, but, also, helped to compensate for the loss of the volume of work done for H.M. Forces. During 1958 most R.A.F. stations in the Liverpool region were either closed, or a reduction made in the size of the establishments: moreover there was a continued decline in the volume of work done for the Army.<sup>102</sup>

The most popular subjects remained fairly constant in their appeal. Languages and Literature had a wide appeal, with an increasing number of classes in foreign languages; while the Arts including music had a similar appeal. An analysis of all subjects during the late 1950's shows that interest in local history and archaeology exceeded that in international affairs, while Social Studies attracted fewer students than the frequently criticised subject of Science.<sup>103</sup>

At the University of Manchester the annual number of students enrolled in classes run in association with the W.E.A. continued to be over

101 Thomas Kelly, "Liberal Studies in Building", Adult Education, Vol. XXXI, Autumn, 1958, p. 143.

102 University of Liverpool, Liverpool Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces, Minute Book, Report for the Six months ending September 30, 1958.

103 Subject Analysis for the University of Liverpool Department of Extra-Mural Studies.

Subject	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59
History, Archaeology and Local History	18	24	21	30	24
International Affairs	14	7	17	16	20
Government	1	10	2	4	2
Social Studies	18	17	21	11	16
Philosophy	4	6	6	5	6
Psychology	7	7	9	11	9
Religion	-	1	1	2	2
Physical Sciences	14	18	22	19	21
Biological Sciences	13	11	5	9	8
Geography	7	10	9	6	7
Languages and Literature	32	32	28	36	37
Arts(including music)	22	24	37	29	40
Combined Subjects	2	2	2	7	6
Totals	152	169	181	185	200

Source:- University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Annual Reports.



2000.<sup>104</sup> Approximately one-third of these students were classified as non manual, technical and supervisory workers and approximately one-quarter were housewives.<sup>105</sup> W.E. Styler continued to display an interest in demonstrating that "Extension courses either have not taken students from W.E.A. classes or have taken very few".<sup>106</sup> Styler stated that, taking the overall picture from 1936-37 to 1954-55, there had been a ten-fold expansion of the number of Extension courses offered, accompanied by a thirty per cent increase in the number of W.E.A. students.<sup>107</sup> One cannot help reflecting that these figures also indicate that Extension work had replaced the pre-war dominance of the tutorial class. In fact there was concern in 1957-8 about the continual decline in the number of tutorial classes. The explanation was given that possibly the reason for the lack of popularity of a three-year course reflected, "The circumstances and general spirit of contemporary life being so full of uncertainty ... Clearly there is a tendency for the continued Sessional to take the place of the Tutorial class".<sup>108</sup> Possibly the following description about courses in Criminology was a more representative indication of a general trend:

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104 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department enrolment in classes run in Association with the W.E.A.

	1954-5	1955-6	1956-7	1957-8	1958-9
Manual Workers	371	287	240	293	346
Housewives	509	544	457	473	522
Non Manual, Technical and Supervisory Workers	812	719	720	663	722
Teachers	315	268	261	287	261
Professional Workers	142	196	108	115	99
Not in Paid Work	132	83	131	159	168
Unknown	25	29	97	86	82
	2306	2126	2014	2076	2200

Source: University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Departments, Reports for the Years in question.

105 See statistics under previous footnote.

106 W.E. Styler, "Post-War in the North-West", Adult Education, Vol. XXX, Summer, 1957, p. 23.

107 Ibid.

108 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1957-58, p. 2.

The three-year courses for the police, running on two evenings every week seem now to be permanently established and though we in the first place took the idea of these courses from Leeds, our own arrangements seem to be used by police authorities as a model in approaching other universities.<sup>109</sup>

The vocational element in these courses for the police is apparent. Moreover it was it would seem fairly typical of Extension courses, including those provided at Holly Royde, because as the Annual Report for 1957-58 stated:

useful work has been done with local police services, lay magistrates and magistrates clerks; social workers, of many kinds including childrens institutions, probation officers, workers with the blind, school welfare officers, officers of the National Assistance Board; middle management and foremen in industry; various trade unions; parish clerks; students in technical colleges; industrial staticians; technicians using electric calculators; teachers of science and geography in grammar schools.<sup>110</sup>

Yet it would be misleading to convey any impression that the University of Manchester was no longer the largest provider, among the three northern universities, of courses in liberal education. The statistical information about subjects contained in the Appendix clearly indicates that Manchester continued to provide the largest number of courses in most of the traditional liberal subjects. Admittedly, this somewhat dominating position in terms of the volume of courses provided is not conveyed too well in Annual Reports, as Manchester appears to have taken its lead for granted. As the largest Department among the three northern universities, the University of Manchester possibly felt less need for publicity: moreover, one gains an impression that there was not a clear departmental policy for extra-mural work. The University of Manchester continued to respond to demands from adult students which included both liberal and vocational interests.

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109 University of Manchester, Extra-Mural Department, Report on the Session 1957-58, p. 7.

110 Ibid., p. 6.

Recognition of the growth of vocational demand for extra-mural courses had caused H.C. Wiltshire to make further comments about what he had termed "The Great Tradition". After identifying the demand as representing professions involving human and social problems, Wiltshire pointed out that:

These offer a direct challenge to extra-mural departments, which are by tradition skilled in those human studies (particularly the social studies) which are most relevant to those vocations and which provide the basis for almost all the training or refresher courses which are addressed to workers in them.<sup>111</sup>

This sounds as if the apostle of the Great Tradition was beginning to shift ground. However, Wiltshire was concerned that the "new" work would overshadow "traditional" work, and thought that it was too easy to promote specialist and semi-vocational courses.<sup>112</sup> Wiltshire's call for the traditional form of adult education, namely liberal education, to be maintained coincided with the concern of other interested educators.

Richard Hoggart published The Uses of Literacy in 1957 which focused attention on the need to value the "earnest minority" who studied in adult education classes. Hoggart was particularly concerned about the earnest working-class student and commented that:

Popular publicists try to encourage most working-class people to underrate the 'earnest minority' because their very existence, their turning away from the common fare and their search for a more nourishing food, in an implicit judgement on the publicists themselves.<sup>113</sup>

This point of view deserves attention. Hoggart said that the enquiring and serious working-class student was fighting against the odds and publicists found it easy to depict them as stodgy and over earnest: yet, as generations of adult educators had realised, it was difficult to overstress the value to a democracy of people who were willing to study after a day's work. Hoggart

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111 H.C. Wiltshire, "The Great Tradition II: A Reply", Adult Education, XXX, Summer, 1957, p. 14. The brackets are contained in the original copy.

112 Ibid., p. 18.

113 R. Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, London: Chatto and Windus, 1957, p. 262.

was particularly concerned that the "earnest minority" be encouraged as, in his view, working-class culture was changing from an oral culture to one of a "candy floss world" created by the mass media. The change from singing in the Working Men's Clubs to television give-away quizzes represented a moral softening up, a trivializing of important issues, and reflected commercial pressure to narrow the range of working-class interests. Hoggart clearly saw that the dream of social reformers that, after being released from economic slavery, workers would be able to become culturally enriched had been undermined by the rise of the mass media. Millions read the same newspapers, and magazines and watched the same television programmes, so that there was a strong temptation to fall in with a homogeneous public opinion that had been moulded by the news media. Given these circumstances, then the "earnest minority" were not a group of middle-aged cranks, who stood aloof from the pleasures of the masses, but rather a vital element in retaining some degree of independence for those who believed in traditional liberal values. A democracy that did not have some people trying to maintain a balanced view of life was apt to fall into the hands of unscrupulous manipulators of public opinion: the lessons of the inter-war period, that saw the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, could not be ignored in the new age that offered greater potential for brainwashing people in their own living room.

The W.E.A. had long been conscious of the need to promote liberal education but had seemed, to some extent, to have lost its sense of purpose amid the social and economic conditions of the 1950's. Professor Raybould had exhorted the W.E.A. to concentrate on serving the "educationally underprivileged", but this was not too palatable to officials of the W.E.A. who, like extra-mural directors, were well aware that the best students were those drawn from the educationally conscious middle class. J.F.C. Harrison assessed the change that had overtaken the W.E.A. in its fifty year history when he described the situation that had developed in Leeds:

The social horizons of Edwardian Leeds are no longer sufficient for workers in 1957. A measure of the social change which has occurred ... can be obtained by asking how, if one wished to start a movement for workers' education today, one would set about it. Anything less likely for such a venture than Mansbridge's collection of Anglican bishops, Oxford dons, and self-educated working men could scarcely be imagined.<sup>114</sup>

Another social historian, Asa Briggs, took up the theme of how to make education relevant for workers in the conditions of 1957. Briggs was Deputy-President of the national W.E.A. executive and naturally concerned about revitalizing the Association.

Briggs felt that traditional tutorial classes were not the answer, as it was "dangerous to imprison workers' education in the well-docketed cages of university 'subjects' and ... unrealistic ... in relation to the tasks of workers' education to reproduce without question the specialisms of university departments".<sup>115</sup> In his analysis of what he termed the New Society, Briggs laid stress on the decay of social deference within British society, while acknowledging that social class still existed, and said that talk of a classless society was misleading. The existence of mass communications and mass markets, accompanied by the nationalization of opinions, had led to a situation where:

It has sapped local vigour, destroyed or threatened many worthwhile local institutions and activities: it has struck hard not only at individual nonconformity but at local co-operative endeavour. Inevitable among such results, it has affected the position of the W.E.A.<sup>116</sup>

Briggs concluded that the W.E.A. should devote its energies to understanding the society of 1957 not of 1903.

In the following year of 1958 Professor Briggs took office as president of the W.E.A. and issued a policy paper entitled Education for a Changing Society: the Role of the W.E.A. This was an attempt to retain the past trad-

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114 J.F.C. Harrison, Workers' Education in Leeds. A History of the Leeds Branch of the Workers' Educational Association, 1907-1957, Leeds; Workers' Educational Association, 1957, p. 25.

115 Asa Briggs, "The New Society", The Highway, Vol 48, April 1957, p. 164.

116 Ibid., p. 166.

itions of the Association while facing up to the challenge of 1958. Briggs was concerned that the W.E.A. did not lose its way in barren battles about definitions, and felt that there was no need for conflict between, on the one hand, making provision for people from a wide range of occupations and educational background and, on the other hand, showing a special concern for the underprivileged. There was a plea for a more flexible attitude to be taken towards subject matter and teaching methods, accompanied by the thought that there was need for experiment and less worship of tradition. It was claimed that there were four danger points in modern society:

- (i) widespread apathy and ignorance among large numbers of people; (ii) a growing gulf between experts and ordinary citizens; (iii) the tendency for the informed to think and act in professional grooves (iv) uncritical acceptance of 'mass culture'.<sup>117</sup>

The policy document reviewed the past record, considered the contemporary scene, and then tried to project the changes that would be needed to cope with problems of the future. An appeal for spreading liberal values was contained in the statement "It is impossible to leave the making of the future to scientists and technology alone, however plentiful and however enlightened".<sup>118</sup>

At the Annual Conference of the W.E.A. in March, 1958 the White Paper of Chairman Asa Briggs was adopted. Possibly the key word in this admirable presentation of Asa Briggs, which sought to resuscitate the W.E.A., was that of "relevance". Liberal study had to be relevant to the needs of the students. It seems appropriate that a leading social historian should diagnose the ills of the W.E.A. which, in essence, comprised the need to accept the post-war social changes as fundamental and permanent.

It is obvious that the difficulties which Asa Briggs faced were not confined to English adult education. In the same year of 1958, A.A.

Liveright, Director of the Center of Study of Liberal Education for Adults

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<sup>117</sup> Workers' Educational Association, Education for a Changing Society. The Role of the W.E.A., A statement adopted by the Annual Conference of the Workers' Educational Association, March, 1958, p. 6.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

at Syracuse in New York State, gave an address in which he faced the question of relevance in an American context. Liveright's view is worth quoting at length because it provides an answer to the perennial criticism of liberal education that "it doesn't get you anywhere". Liveright stated:

One could argue that liberal education is the most practical kind of education. An American rhetorically asked 'what ... does liberal education have to offer the practical man?' and supplied this response.

One type of answer says that liberal education can make the practical man more practical. He has to make decisions; liberal education can help him make them. He has to do things; liberal education can help him to do them. He earns money by having many qualities of mind and character; liberal education can instill them in him.<sup>119</sup>

This view of 1958 accords quite well with the Aristotelian view that liberal training should be valued for its own sake, and was worthwhile because it aided in the growth of the individual. Certainly there are vocational overtones in this American view, which emphasizes that liberal training could assist in making a living, but then, unlike Ancient Greece, the United States had learned to forsake slavery. A different approach to defining liberal study was made in England, by a teacher in a College of Technology, who declared, "I would say with Pope that the proper study of mankind is man; and I would add that the study should be appropriate to a man fully alive in his own age".<sup>120</sup> Certainly this definition would ensure that a liberally educated man would be familiar with the broad outlines of science and technology. Moreover, an attempt to define liberal education in terms of relevance and humanitarianism tended to be more specific than the type of definition which talked of a liberal spirit animating lecturer and students. Possibly it is a case of where one places the emphasis, as certainly any subject can be taught in a liberal manner. But, as H.C. Wiltshire had pointed out, it frequently required a remarkable teacher to teach some subjects in a liberal manner, such as those concerning inanimate things.

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119 A.A. Liveright, "Liberal Education Defined and Illustrated", Convergence, Vol. II, No. 4, 1969, p. 4.

120 P. Madgwick, "Liberal Studies in a College of Technology", Adult Education, Vol. XXXII, 3, Winter, 1959, p. 198.

Moreover the stress on the liberal spirit, advocated by some extra-mural directors, naturally aroused questions as to their vested interest in expanding the opportunities for securing grants from the Ministry of Education. This situation was an outgrowth of the pattern of development of extra-mural work which, while ostensibly part of the university structure, was financed in such a way that extra-mural directors had to depend heavily upon funds from the Ministry of Education.

An extra-mural director had a primary responsibility to set a departmental policy. Certainly it was easier to develop a programme if it could be claimed that there was no real distinction between vocational and non-vocational areas of education, and that the term "liberal" should not be restricted to non-vocational education. Moreover, a rational basis could be provided for this argument in view of the bias that had long existed against practical, technical or scientific training. An English tradition that emphasized the literary and humanitarian aspects of education had been prone to regard other areas of knowledge as illiberal, a view which naturally aroused resentment. Therefore the claim of some extra-mural directors that all subjects had a liberal value appealed on an emotional level to many adults. But the other side of the coin needs to be examined. While it must be conceded that every subject cannot be rigidly identified as having a liberal or illiberal value, one suspects that the argument needs qualification. Education is merely one facet of a society in which there are many human situations in which interaction cannot be described as liberal or illiberal, principally because it is difficult to determine the motives of the participants, which may, in any event, be very mixed motives. Yet to say that life cannot be depicted in black and white terms is not to say that it is all grey. To argue that all subjects have a similar liberal value tends to reflect a dogmatic position. Anyone who claimed that all technical subjects could be taught with the same ease as the humanities overlooked the difficulties stated by principals of technical colleges. Such a claim should have



been documented with evidence and, in the absence of proof, attracts the Scottish verdict of not proven. It may have been possible for an average teacher to teach subjects such as, for example, technical drawing or dentistry, in a similar liberal fashion to English literature or history. But it would seem reasonable to require that philosophical espousal of this point of view should have involved a demonstration of its practicability. Yet there seems no indication in the literature of the period that lecturers or teachers thought that all subjects could be taught in a liberal manner. If the emphasis of the discussion is shifted, so as to focus upon the grey area where liberal and illiberal tendencies appear to overlap, care is still needed. One cannot reasonably argue in a style that seeks to demonstrate, for example, that because there are bisexual individuals, there are no distinctions between male and female. Admittedly, educational distinctions are never so clean cut, but the point concerning the need for caution seems valid. Since the time of Aristotle down to that of Professor H. Wiltshire, there have been men who believed that the concept of a liberal education had value. By 1958, Wiltshire appears to have suspected some of his contemporaries of trying to rationalise policy decisions into a philosophy in which all classes or courses could be described as liberal.

The Ministry of Education clung to the idea that it was possible to identify particular subjects that had liberal value. Admittedly the Ministry could have had an administrative reason for identifying liberal education in terms of stated subjects. The alternative would have been to accept the concept that there was such a thing as a liberal spirit which was, presumably, readily identifiable by H.M. Inspectors. Yet this line of approach, often used by extra-mural directors to demonstrate that the official distinction between vocational and non-vocational was artificial, presented a major difficulty when considered as a practical guide in determining how limited public funds were to be allocated. It had long been a truism that there was not universal agreement as to what constituted a

a liberal education: but to go one step beyond this, and ponder the difficulty of trying to imprison the idea of a liberal spirit within official Regulations, arouses the thought that it could have led to fierce controversy and administrative chaos. Possibly the root problem was that, with the exception of the period 1945-1951, parliamentary support for adult education had tended to be parsimonious. In turn, the officials at the Ministry of Education regulated funds by insistence on the traditional view that adult education meant liberal, non-vocational education.

By 1958 English adult education had reached a point where the broad outlines of development were discernible. The W.E.A. was being provided with a creed by a new president that combined university scholarship with an acute sense of current needs. One can reflect that this development fitted into an historical pattern, because one of the main factors that had helped to launch the W.E.A. had been the interest shown in the needs of Edwardian England by a few university academics. But while the W.E.A. still promoted liberal education in 1958, it could no longer regard the university tutorial as the pinnacle of achievement. On the other hand, at the three northern universities, there had been a tendency to embrace a considerable vocational and semi-vocational work. It is possible to view these developments as indicating that the extra-mural directors involved were attuned to a changed social environment, which in turn required modernising the tools of adult education. The need to staff the various branches of the welfare state had created a demand for trained personnel that could not have been envisaged by the apostles of social purpose in the 1930's. Similarly, a technological revolution had created a demand for post-graduate refresher courses: while increased leisure and prosperity was reflected in a demand for a wide assortment of courses of a liberal character. Any attempt, however, to offer a glib explanation for what happened would tend to misrepresent a complex situation. What does seem clear is that the idea of liberal education for adults was constantly under challenge.

The response to this challenge meant that, at the three northern

universities, there was a continuous attempt to renew the relevance of extra-mural work. But, in order to develop his programme, an extra-mural director had to work within a framework prescribed by his University and the Ministry of Education, while recognizing that he belonged to a minority movement. Moreover, while charged with the responsibility for representing a University, which traditionally stressed liberal values, an extra-mural director was aware that students were recruited in a world that emphasized the commercial values of business and industry. In the process of making pragmatic decisions the extra-mural directors were almost bound to rationalise some of their actions as spreading the benefits of a liberal spirit into vocational areas. This is not meant to imply condemnation of any individual. For in spite of the acute awareness of extra-mural directors of the climate in which their departments had to function, it is fair to say that, at these three northern universities, liberal education continued to be an important idea that still inspired university adult education. In the last analysis, ends did count more than means. Possibly the clearest indication of the continuance of the liberal tradition was the fact that Professor R. D. Waller, Professor S.G. Raybould and Dr. T. Kelly displayed personal scholastic achievements. Waller was a student of Italy; Raybould reflected the W.E.A. traditions; while Kelly had advanced the frontier of knowledge about the history of adult education. Furthermore, this situation provided a good example of the academic tradition within university adult education, where an extra-mural director was expected to be more than a good administrator. By 1958, English adult education had assumed a unique character and the idea of liberal education was well rooted at Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester.

## THE ORIGINS AND PATTERN OF UNIVERSITY

## EXTENSION IN ONTARIO, 1914 - 1931

This opening chapter about Ontario will concentrate upon reviewing the establishment of university extension work within the city of Toronto. As the major university of the Province, the University of Toronto pioneered in the development of adult education. But, at the same time, McMaster University did play a role in the life of the city of Toronto until 1931, when McMaster left the city to relocate in Hamilton. The discussion starts with a brief review of the unique features of the Ontario educational setting because this provided a frame of reference for the development of university extension.

The architect of Ontario's school system was Chief Superintendent Egerton Ryerson.<sup>1</sup> In 1871 Ryerson recast the provincial school system through an Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools. This Act replaced the descriptive phrases that had been copied from England with those that were used in the United States. The term "public school" was substituted for "common school" in order to describe an elementary school: while the American term "high school" replaced "grammar school" as a way of describing a secondary school. The curriculum of the secondary school was revamped so

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1 Egerton Ryerson had been in turn a Methodist preacher, newspaper editor and President of Victoria College before being appointed Assistant Superintendent of Schools in 1844. By the time Ryerson retired in 1876, he had moulded the basic outlines of the present-day Ontario school system. An indication of the social climate in which Ryerson had to work is provided by his belief that religious strife in education could be mitigated by importing textbooks from Ireland called the Irish National Series. These textbooks purported to handle religious issues in such a way that neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic would be offended. This attempt by Ryerson to resolve one of the educational difficulties in Ontario, through importation of an Irish solution, is not really surprising. Toronto has often been compared to Belfast, in terms of being Orange and Loyalist in sentiment, and hostile to the large number of Roman Catholics in the adjoining province of Quebec.

as to demote the classical subjects of Latin and Greek to options. The high school was intended to provide for the majority of students, "the higher branches of an English and commercial education, including the natural sciences with special reference to agriculture".<sup>2</sup> But, in order to prepare students for university entrance, the classics were to be taught in a special type of secondary school termed a collegiate institute, which was considered a "superior classical school",<sup>3</sup> and a special provincial grant was provided to sustain the teaching of Latin and Greek.

It was, however, further provided that if sixty students in any high school were enrolled in the classics, that school became eligible for the special provincial grant. This financial inducement to teach classics, allied to the status conferred by being grouped with the "superior classical school", led many of Ontario's high schools to ape the collegiates and concentrate upon preparing students for university entrance. Therefore, "academic bias was built into Ontario's school system"<sup>4</sup> and this bias was reinforced by the method by which teachers were recruited to staff the secondary schools, because an "honours" B.A. degree was the hallmark of a specialist in a particular subject. The "honours" B.A. degree had a symbolic value and led secondary school teachers to encourage their brighter pupils to aspire towards attendance at university which, in turn, tended to produce a stream of self-perpetuating subject specialists. On the other hand, unlike England, the Ontario system did provide widespread opportunities for preparing for university admission requirements.

Ontario was university conscious, and moreover, believed  
in the value of an academic education whether it was pro-

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2 The Committee of Presidents of Provincially Assisted Universities and Colleges of Ontario, The Structure of Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 6.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

longed beyond the secondary school or not ... Any suggestion that the university preparation function did not belong in the ordinary secondary schools has never been acceptable to the people (of Ontario).<sup>5</sup>

In view of these deep rooted traditions concerning both secondary school and university training, the Presidents of Ontario Universities and Colleges recently concluded that, "Historically we in Ontario have tended to emphasize academic preparation often at the expense of vocational education and training."<sup>6</sup>

Yet the initial impetus towards establishing evening classes for adults in Toronto came from a vocational establishment termed the School of Technology. On April 22, 1872, a newspaper advertisement in the Globe announced the provision of evening instruction for mechanics in Drawing, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.<sup>7</sup> This development seems to have been inspired by the example of the success enjoyed by Mechanics Institutes in Britain. The name of Toronto's School of Technology was changed to the School of Practical Science and continued to provide evening lectures for working men until 1877. The School of Practical Science was closely linked to the University of Toronto and would later provide the nucleus for the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering. This early interest in evening classes for working men was further illustrated in 1879, when Professor Daniel Wilson, later to be President of the University of Toronto, lectured to a Mechanics' Institute at Markham and also to an audience of three hundred convicts in the Central Prison.<sup>8</sup>

The first official recognition of extension work at the University of Toronto came on April 3, 1894 when the Senate passed Statute No. 307 which stated:

5 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

6 Ibid., p. 9.

7 C.R. Young, Early Engineering Education at Toronto, 1851-1919, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1958, p. 39.

8 A.M. Tough, The Development of Adult Education at the University of Toronto Before 1920, A Thesis Submitted in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of Toronto, 1962, p. 154.

A standing Committee of seven members of the Senate shall be appointed annually for the purpose of carrying on "University Extension" work of a kind similar to that carried on under the same designation in connection with the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.<sup>9</sup>

The Senate made it quite clear that University Extension work was to be financially self sustaining:

No part of the expense incurred for teaching or examining done at "local centres" of instruction or for secretarial work done under the authority of the Committee, or for any other purpose connected with University Extension shall be a charge on the ordinary revenue of the University.<sup>10</sup>

It needs to be emphasized that the financial policy introduced by that statute has continued and, therefore, for the entire period covered by this thesis, the development of extension work at the University of Toronto had to be financially self sustaining. Obviously the policy decision taken in 1894 had been a crucial factor in moulding to a large extent the pattern of extension work at the University of Toronto.

The University calendar for 1898-99 listed the topics of lecturers who were prepared to visit the towns of Ontario, and extended on invitation to those interested to contact Professor Squair, the secretary of the committee in charge of local lectures. Writing in 1900, Professor Squair reported:

The tastes of the public have been sufficiently catholic to demand lectures on all subjects. The preference has been apparently, however, for those on literacy and historical topics, although the requests for lectures on scientific subjects have been quite numerous.<sup>11</sup>

Squair indicated that a person or organization that sponsored a local lecture could be left with a financial problem:

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9 University of Toronto, Senate Minutes, May 10, 1894, para. 1. This historic decision, made by the Senate on April 3, 1894, is recorded in Statute No. 307 which is dated May 10, 1894. The document shows that the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario approved the decision on May 26, 1894.

10 Ibid., para. 3.

11 John Squair, "Local Lectures", University of Toronto Monthly, I, July, 1900, p. 29.

Very often there is some counter attraction in the town to which the lecturers have gone, there is a small audience at the lecture, and the deficit has to be made up by some well-disposed person, who is very likely to be a not-too-well-paid teacher or clergyman.<sup>12</sup>

By 1906 the demand for extension lectures was confined to the cities of Toronto and Hamilton.<sup>13</sup> The introduction of the city of Hamilton as a place where there was interest in university extension is of particular relevance to this chapter because, when McMaster University decided to relocate, the University selected a site in Hamilton. The city of Hamilton had certain characteristics which relate to the growth of extension work for adults and which will be briefly examined.

Hamilton had been assigned a key role in the National Plan of Sir John A. Macdonald, the father of modern Canada. Macdonald envisaged the growth of home manufactures behind a tariff wall and Hamilton became a centre of steel production. In effect, Hamilton was assigned a role similar to that of Sheffield in England and, as a centre of heavy industry, attracted many British workers. By the turn of the century, when British imperialism was an influence felt in Ontario, there were two significant educational developments in the Hamilton area. The first Canadian Club was formed there in 1892 to study Canadian unity and promote citizenship and, considering the prevailing attachment to the British link, it is not surprising that such Canadian Clubs were "at first misinterpreted as being anti-British".<sup>14</sup> The second development was even more significant, although virtually unnoticed at the time. On February 19, 1897, a group of women in the village of Stoney Creek, near Hamilton, organized a Woman's Institute to promote the welfare

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12 Ibid., p. 30.

13 R. Ramsay Wright and W.J. Alexander, "The Arts Faculty" in W.J. Alexander, ed., The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827 - 1906, Toronto: The University Librarian, 1906, p. 98.

14 J.R. Kidd, ed., Adult Education in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, pp. 134-5.



of their homes and families. Considering the extraordinary expansion of Women's Institutes, including the spread of the movement to England as discussed in Chapter One, this aspect of adult education possibly deserves the praise bestowed by England's Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, who stated that the Women's Institutes were "Canada's greatest contribution to the motherland".<sup>15</sup> The formation of Women's Institutes and Canadian Clubs provide examples of the interest in adult education around Hamilton which would, later, encourage McMaster University to locate in the city.

McMaster University had been founded as a Baptist institution through the aid of an endowment by William McMaster, and was incorporated in 1887 by an Act of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. The University located in Toronto but, as a denominational institution dependent upon the contributions of churches in the Baptist Convention, McMaster was overshadowed by the much larger, provincially supported, University of Toronto. McMaster University had to struggle to establish itself and therefore tended to leave the development of university extension work to the more flourishing University of Toronto.

In February 1905 the following resolution was adopted by the Senate of the University of Toronto:

If a sufficient number of persons who are unable to attend the regular instruction in the General Course so desire, special lectures, at such hours as may be suitable, will be given, to enable these persons to proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, or to take any part of the work leading to such degree. The persons attending these lectures may write at the examinations in May, September and January, and will receive credit for any subject or subjects in which they may pass.<sup>16</sup>

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15 F.G. Thomas, "Canadian Adult Education: A Landmark", The International Quarterly of Adult Education, Vol. 2, 1933-35, p. 81.

16 J. Squair, "Special Courses in the University", University of Toronto Monthly, V. February, 1905, p. 109.

The term General Course referred to a broad curriculum leading to a B.A. degree that lasted for three years following Senior Matriculation. This course had less prestige than an "honours" course that specialised in a particular subject and lasted for an additional year.

The intention of the Senate appears to have been to help individuals to acquire credits towards a Bachelor of Arts degree, pending their admission to the University as regular full-time students. It had yet to be demonstrated, however, that there was a demand by sufficient individuals to justify the provision of lectures to part-time students.

In the Summer of 1905 the University began its first Summer Session, which appears to have been the first venture of this type by any university in Canada.<sup>17</sup> Dr. Albert H. Abbott<sup>18</sup> who acted as secretary of the first summer session, explained that the University was responding to:

a special need which existed at that time among teachers, due to the fact that the new regulations of the Education Department demanded the teaching of certain subjects which had not formerly taught, or which had not been taught in the form then required.<sup>19</sup>

During the three week session that was held during July 1905, the academic subjects that were taught were Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, Physics, Geology and Minerology, and Psychology. Of the forty-seven teachers who attended, twenty-seven were high school teachers<sup>20</sup> who were, apparently equipping themselves to prepare for a change in school curriculum in the natural sciences. Other courses that were provided that summer were Drawing and Designing, Reading, Voice Culture and Public Speaking.<sup>21</sup> Those public school teachers who

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17 University of Toronto, University of Toronto: A Brief Sketch of Its History and Its Organization, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947, p. 24.

18 Dr. Albert H. Abbott was a key person in extension work at the University of Toronto during the first two decades of this century. Abbott was a member of the Philosophy Department who, in 1907, assumed the part-time post of Secretary of the University Extension Committee.

19 Albert H. Abbott, "The Summer Session, 1907", University of Toronto Monthly, VII, April 1907, p. 151.

20 Albert H. Abbott, "The Summer Session, 1906", University of Toronto Monthly, VII, April, 1906, p. 12.

21 University of Toronto, Calendar for the Year 1906-1907, p. 182.

attended this historic summer session must have demonstrated enough enthusiasm for sustained study because, in the Winter of 1905-6, the University of Toronto embarked on a new venture called Teachers' Classes.

In order to place this development in context it should be recalled that the summer session of 1905 had primarily sought to aid secondary school teachers. The few public school teachers who attended that Session appear to have felt that the Provincial University could aid them to improve their status. Public school teachers lacked prestige, as the qualifications for teaching in an elementary school only required one year's training at a training school, termed a Normal School, following Junior Matriculation. Moreover, there was a tendency for girls to enter public school teaching as a way of marking time pending marriage and, frequently, these teachers were academically weak. At the same time, however, there were some able public school teachers who, because of personal circumstances, had been unable to attend a university. In order to assist those Toronto public school teachers who wanted to upgrade their academic qualifications, the University of Toronto launched Teachers' Classes in 1905-6. The subjects offered were taken from the curriculum of the General Course<sup>22</sup> and were provided after school hours. For the following year, 1906-07, thirty-seven students enrolled in Teachers' Classes.<sup>23</sup>

The University of Toronto appointed a new President in 1907, Sir Robert Alexander Falconer, who took a keen interest in university extension work. During the Summer Session of 1907, the University started to provide

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22 The General Course provided a liberal training in languages, the humanities and natural science. The University of Toronto calendar explained that, although the course was described as a four year course, the initial year was the same as the Senior Matriculation year spent at a Collegiate.

23 University of Toronto, Report of the Board of Governors for the Year Ending 30th June, 1907, Kings Printer, 1907, p. 7.

courses in the subjects of the General B.A. Course with the intention of attracting public school teachers. Such work was equated with the regular undergraduate course work by extending the summer session to five weeks, and requiring students to take two hours instruction per day in a subject, in order to reach a total of fifty hours. President Robert Falconer stated in his President's Report of 1907 that "mature and earnest students responding to an interested instructor can accomplish as much in some subjects in six weeks as younger students can in a longer period".<sup>24</sup> In October 1907, a University Extension Committee was established to assume responsibility for most of the adult education activities. In turn, the Senate enacted Statute No. 594 to make this special committee responsible for "directing and superintending the work of the Summer Session, Teachers' Course and Local Lectures as they have been carried on in University".<sup>25</sup> Dr. A.H. Abbott was elected Secretary of this Committee on Extension of University Work.

Attendance during the Winter of 1907-1908 decreased from the previous year and only thirty women and three men enrolled in Teachers' Classes.<sup>26</sup> The subjects taught were English, French, German, History and Latin. President Robert Falconer warned in his report of that year that the University "must endeavour to prevent the professors being overburdened with instruction".<sup>27</sup> But it would seem that the professors were unlikely to be overworked, judging from the downward trend in the enrolment for these Teachers' Courses, as attendance further diminished to twenty-seven women and four men by 1908-1909.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Abbott, the Secretary of the University Extension Committee, made an acute diagnosis of the reasons for the meagre response

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24 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30th, 1908, p. 16.

25 University of Toronto, Senate Minutes, January 10, 1908, p. 567.

26 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1908, p. 2.

27 Ibid., p. 16.

28 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1909, pp. 3-4.

from approximately one thousand public school teachers in Toronto. Abbott noted that Queen's University at Kingston attracted many of the male teachers through its extra-mural courses as "demands made upon the teachers by the Queen's courses are somewhat less exacting than those of the University of Toronto".<sup>29</sup> Then Abbott placed his finger on another reason why many public school teachers lacked motivation to study for a degree:

Many teachers have told the Secretary, the attitude of the Board of Education of the City of Toronto in the past had been to regard length of service only in deciding promotions and salaries. As this attitude changes and academic standing plays ... (a) part ... it is evident that a greater proportion of Public School teachers will desire these courses.<sup>30</sup>

Only twenty-six students enrolled in the Teachers' Course in 1909-1910 and thirty-two the following year, when only two subjects, English and French were provided.<sup>31</sup> What this pattern seems to indicate is that Toronto's public school teachers were not enthusiastic about liberal education for its own sake. Until the Toronto Board of Education provided a vocational stimulus, by offering a financial reward for a teacher achieving a higher academic standard, there was not likely to be a stampede into the Teachers' Course offered by the University of Toronto.

Another aspect of extension work at the University of Toronto that was not flourishing was the provision of local lectures. This was the traditional way for the University to make contact with the general public. At the end of the academic year 1908-1909, however, Dr. Abbott submitted a rather blunt statement, which was eventually published in the President's Report. Abbott declared that:

At the present time, practically no attempt is made to advertise this phase of University Extension work, since the burden of the lecturing is sure to fall upon a comparatively small number of men, who get no financial return whatever for their work ... The Secretary does not feel like

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29 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, Secretary's Report for 1908-1909.

30 Ibid.

31 A.H. Abbott, "Report of the Secretary of the University Extension Committee", President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1911, p. 23.

pushing this phase of Extension work ... so long as the members of the staff who lecture do not receive some kind of remuneration for their services.<sup>32</sup>

Enthusiasm for extension work seemed to be also declining in the summer session. Attendance declined from 164 students in 1909 to 143 in 1910, and then down to ninety-nine students in 1911; but then there was a revival of interest in the subsequent two years.<sup>33</sup> There was, however, little enthusiasm for enrolling in Arts subjects that could be credited towards a B.A. degree. President Falconer diagnosed the reason for this disinterest as being the same as that provided by Dr. Abbott as to why professors were reluctant to give extension lectures, namely that there was no financial inducement. Falconer stated that "if it were possible for the teachers to turn these (Arts) courses to financial advantage in their schools, I believe we should find applicants".<sup>34</sup>

Another major reason for the lack of interest in acquiring Arts credits concerned the activity of the Faculty of Education that was created in 1907. This was a professional school which, among other activities, trained public-school, first class teachers and school inspectors. It became in-

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32 University of Toronto, "Report on the Summer Session and Extension Work", President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1910, p. 19.

33 A.H. Abbott "Report to the President on the Attendance at the Summer Session from its Beginning in 1905", President's Papers, October-November 1913

<u>Year</u>	<u>Faculty of Arts</u>	<u>Faculty of Education</u>	<u>Total</u>
1908	37	66	-
1909	68	103	164
1910	37	109	143
1911	39	60	99
1912	49	113	154
1913	0	305	305

Note: Some students enrolled in both Faculties and therefore the total number of students is usually less than the combined enrolment.

34 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1914, p. 9.

creasingly apparent that the majority of public school teachers were mainly interested in taking summer courses offered by the Faculty of Education. For the Summer Session of 1912, out of 224 requests for a summer calendar received as a result of a preliminary announcement, only twenty-seven teachers indicated an interest in subjects leading towards a degree.<sup>35</sup> Many teachers requested courses that would prepare them for the examination necessary for entrance into the Faculty of Education: this Faculty Entrance Examination was approximately equivalent to Senior Matriculation obtained from a collegiate. This meant that most subjects of the Faculty Entrance Examination were officially recorded as being credits for the First Year of the General B.A. course because in the day classes, the possession of Senior Matriculation excused a student from the first year of a four-year course. President Falconer observed that the introduction of the Faculty Entrance examination, jointly sponsored by the Faculty of Education and the University Extension Committee "has meant a complete change in the character of the work that has hitherto been attempted in the Summer Session".<sup>36</sup> Dr. Abbott simplified the President's views about the effect of introducing the Faculty Entrance examination into Extension work. Abbott bluntly stated:

The fact that with the appearance of these courses, it was found impossible to arrange courses in the Faculty of Arts, suggests a condition which has long been suspected, namely that the attendance in the Faculty of Arts in the past has been more because the teachers wished to write upon the Faculty Entrance examination than for the sake of the standing in Arts.<sup>37</sup>

The growth of liberal education for teachers under the auspices of the University Extension Committee was affected by the counter-attraction

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35 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, April 17, 1912.

36 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1914, p. 9.

37 University of Toronto, "Report on the Summer Session and Extension Work", President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1914, p. 18.

of professional training offered by the Faculty of Education. Moreover, the popular appeal of professional training in teaching techniques is illustrated by the attendance at summer courses sponsored by the Ontario Department of Education.<sup>38</sup> These courses enabled a public-school teachers to obtain a specialist's certificate in such subject areas as Household Science and Physical Training. From an academic point of view, such vocational courses were relatively easy compared to the standard required in the liberal Arts and Science courses conducted by the University. It is not surprising therefore that many public school teachers preferred to spend part of their vacation attending courses in professional education, rather than pursuing studies in liberal education. In view of this attitude, the Extension Committee of the University of Toronto decided that, after 1912, no more Arts subjects should be offered in the summer session, apart from subjects preparatory to the examination for admission to the Faculty of Education.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, from 1913, no Teachers Classes were held in the winter months and all activity ceased for the next three years.

But the extension picture was not as black as it may have seemed. The revival started when on October 10, 1911, the Board of Governors agreed that five dollars and expenses be asked from organizations requesting Extension lectures. By 1913, there were 113 lectures provided, of which sixty-six were outside Toronto.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the decision to charge a fee for the services of

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38 The following analysis is extracted from W.J. Dunlop, "A History of the Teachers' Course", April 5, 1951, p. 4 in the University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1951.

Summer Session Enrolments:

1907	65 students	( 35 women, 30 men
1908	98 students	( 55 women, 43 men)
1909	164 students	( 74 women, 90 men)
1910	143 students	( 88 women, 55 men)
1911	99 students	( 61 women, 38 men)
1912	154 students	(105 women, 49 men)
1913	338 students	(231 women, 107 men)

39 University of Toronto, Calendar for the Year 1912-13, p. 298.

40 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1913, pp. 26-7.



a lecturer had a beneficial effect in terms of ensuring that the audience really wished to be educated, because "it has eliminated the most difficult kind of organization ... Those who want lectures for mere entertainment, and tends to confine the lectures to those which desire them for a really serious purpose".<sup>41</sup> During the winter of 1913-14, correspondence courses were organised for the first time as a preparatory aid for students planning to attend the Summer Session. The only department that regularly gave extension courses and required correspondence courses was the History Department; although, when Botany or Zoology were offered in a summer session, these subjects required this type of preparation. McMaster University was also active in encouraging extra-mural work and reported that fourteen students were taking courses, some with a view to acquiring specialist's standing as a high school teacher.<sup>42</sup> Also, in 1913, Albert Mansbridge, founder of the Workers' Educational Association, visited Canada for the first time and sowed some seeds concerning liberal education for adults that would blossom in the next few years. By January, 1914, the Central Y.M.C.A. was asking the University of Toronto for a "class in English Literature similar to those known in England as University Tutorial Classes".<sup>43</sup> Nothing appears to have been done to respond to this request, possibly due to the outbreak of war before the Autumn of 1914.

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 soon produced an effect upon the value placed upon certain liberal studies. Dr. Abbott, Secretary of the University Extension Committee and a member of the philosophy department, reported to the President of the University of Toronto:

The war has had a very remarkable effect upon the instruction given in many Departments of the University

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41 Ibid., p. 27.

42 McMaster University, "Report of the Registrar of Arts for the Academic Year 1913-14", The Chancellor's Report to the Senate.

43 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, January 13, 1914.

... The Departments of History and Philosophy in particular have found a real demand on the part of students for extended discussion of problems connected with the war, which in the ordinary session might not be touched upon.<sup>44</sup>

Abbott cited examples of the type of problem that was discussed, such as those that related to citizenship and the role of the State. There was a demand from the public for lectures on "The War and Its Causes". A course of nine lectures was delivered in Convocation Hall with an average attendance of approximately one thousand persons.<sup>45</sup> This tremendous response exceeded any attendance figures for any University public lectures in the past. President Robert Falconer took the lead in organising a Speakers Patriotic League and Dr. Abbott became the honorary secretary; the declared intention of the League was twofold, namely to stimulate recruiting throughout Canada and to increase contributions to a Patriotic Fund. Financial aid was given to the Canadian Red Cross and the Belgian Relief Fund. Students responded to the call to arms and at McMaster University the Annual Report stated that, "The University is under a debt of obligation to Mr. Wallace, Lecturer in History, for his untiring services in forming and drilling the McMaster section of the Canadian Officers Training Corps". (C.O.T.C.)<sup>46</sup> By 1915 Mr. Wallace had enlisted as a Captain and departed for active service. A professor of Latin, G.H. Campbell, took over the drilling of the McMaster platoon of the C.O.T.C.<sup>47</sup> The Chancellor of McMaster University stated that abnormal conditions prevailed and then conveyed an appreciation of the liberal values for which the British Empire claimed to be fighting, when he declared:

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44 A.H. Abbott, "University Extension and the War", n.d., p. 2 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, September, 1914 - May, 1915.

45 Ibid.

46 McMaster University, The Chancellor's Report to the Senate for the Academic Year 1914-15, p. 8.

47 McMaster University, The Chancellor's Report to the Senate for the Academic Year 1915-16, Section VI, p. 3.

The Empire had been bleeding at every pore ... a University under Baptist auspices, with the traditions of freedom incorporated in its history, with the principles of righteousness for which our fathers fought endangered - such a University could not be recreant to its trust ... our normal attendance of male undergraduates approximates one hundred and seventy-five and ... since the close of the last session fifty-three have enlisted.<sup>48</sup>

Undergraduates at the University of Toronto also enlisted in large numbers, as is indicated by a report that the Principal of University College made to the President of Toronto. Principal Hutton reported that 383 undergraduates had enlisted by 1916 and that "in his Greek classes, there were losses through enlistment averaging over fifty per cent and running as high as seventy-five per cent".<sup>49</sup> In the early stage of World War I, there was a particularly large response from the British born immigrants in Canada,<sup>50</sup> who fostered the idea of coming to the aid of the old country by enlisting for King and Empire. On the other hand, there were some voices that proclaimed that the Imperial cause was not necessarily Canada's concern; a view that tended to become more vocal as the extent of the European struggle became apparent. This underlying tension, which was sometimes depicted as reflecting the difference between nationalism and imperialism, was to markedly effect subsequent developments in Canada. Such cleavages of opinion hardened as the sacrifices demanded by the war exceeded the early optimism of 1914-15.

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48 McMaster University, The Chancellor's Report to the Senate for the Year 1915-16, pp. 1-2.

49 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1916, p. 7.

50 See J.A. Blyth, "Emerging Canadian Independence: Canadians and the Great War", Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol 3, No. 2, March, 1974.

It is not proposed to repeat the details of the price paid by Canadian and British youth. For the purposes of this thesis, the important aspect of the cleavages of opinion in Canada is that it left a deep division that would, among other things, have its impact on the academic community. Specific instances of the way the history of the War was interpreted will be cited later.

While the patriotic response engendered by the War was obviously a disruptive force in the life of the universities, it seems to have stimulated an interest in adult education. The general climate of public service engendered by the War produced closer contacts between the Universities and the general public. The Chancellor of McMaster University stated:

A good deal has been done in patriotic, educational and religious work by members of the University. A considerable number of High Schools, educational meetings and Canadian Clubs, men's clubs, patriotic and fraternal associations and Y.M.C.A. assemblies have been reached. The representatives of the Universities have been welcomed wherever they have gone.<sup>51</sup>

One commentator has observed that "the expression 'adult education' entered the argot of pedagogy during World War I".<sup>52</sup> It needs to be kept in mind that the American use of the term "adult education" was a generic one, embracing all activities that can educate adults. But McMaster University and the University of Toronto followed, at this time, the narrower British interpretation of adult education being synonymous with liberal study. McMaster used the British term "extra-mural" to describe part-time students enrolled in the University's day programme.

In 1914 the Extension Committee at the University of Toronto set up a sub-committee to investigate the whole question of teaching Arts subjects during the summer session.<sup>53</sup> This special committee was chaired by President Falconer with Dr. Abbott as the secretary. By the end of 1915 the special committee reported and decided to submit a special teacher's curriculum for approval by the Council of Arts.<sup>54</sup> The content was an adaption of the Pass Course leading to a B.A. degree and was to be known as the Teachers' Course. Because of the small numbers involved, no options were allowed, and

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51 McMaster University, The Chancellor's Report to the Senate for the Academic Year 1917-18, Section IV, p. 10.

52 Horace M. Kallen, Philosophical Issues in Adult Education, Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1962, p. 12.

53 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, January 23, 1914.

54 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, December 7, 1915.

the curriculum comprised:

Second Year: English, Latin, French, History, Physics, Biology

Third Year: English, Chemistry, French, History, Geology, Minerology

Fourth Year: English, Geometry, French, History, Geology, Minerology<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, it was planned that the Teachers' course should be given in the afternoons and on Saturday mornings during the winter session. The calendar for 1916-17 also made the historic announcement that the 1916 summer session would provide courses for "teachers and others who desire to proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Arts but are unable to attend during the regular sessions".<sup>56</sup> A candidate could enter the second year if he held a Certificate of Entrance into the Faculty of Education or, if he lacked certain first year subjects, he could obtain them through the Faculty of Education. This wartime introduction of a degree programme for teachers obviously took advantage of the surge of interest in liberal study. At the same time the introduction of the B.A. programme for teachers in 1916 owed more to the vision of President Falconer than to any demand from the teachers themselves.

For the 1916 summer session there were thirty-one students enrolled for second year work for the B.A. degree, out of a total enrolment of 353.<sup>57</sup> After this session, arrangements were made for the University Extension Committee to give correspondence courses in Junior Matriculation and Senior Matriculation subjects. The instructors for these correspondence courses were drawn from the University of Toronto School, an elite secondary school supervised by the Faculty of Education. In effect, this action cleared the way for more emphasis upon the undergraduate level of work required in the new Teachers' Course. Another indication of a gradual increase in the

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55 University of Toronto, Calendar for the Year 1916-1917, p. 108.

56 Ibid.

57 A.H. Abbott, "Report on Summer Session and Extension", p. 1 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, January 1916 - April, 1917.

appreciation of liberal study was provided by the growth in extra-mural study at McMaster University, where extra-mural student enrolment increased from fourteen in 1913-14 to twenty in 1917-18.<sup>58</sup>

In the academic year 1916-17, nine men and thirteen women attended classes given in three second year subjects that had not been given in the previous summer session at the University of Toronto. When the results of the Spring examinations for 1917 were known, the performance of these students enrolled in the Teachers' Course was very creditable.<sup>60</sup> At this time, due to the War, there was a change in the individual directing extension activity. Dr. Abbott obtained leave of absence to serve as the Ontario Director of the Department of Labour dealing with the Imperial Munitions Board. Professor A.T. DeLury became the Acting Secretary of the University Extension Board and revealed, in his annual report for 1917-18, that the statistics for the summer session did not include courses provided by the Ontario Department of Education. The explanation provided for this omission of the Department of Education courses was that, in the past, "the connection with the University was purely nominal".<sup>61</sup> The general thrust of the work of the University Extension Committee was to exclude courses that were not considered of undergraduate quality. Also, in order to maintain standards in the Teachers' Course, the students had to have full university admission requirements, and the university registrar passed judgement upon applications for admission. A basic decision had been made that essentially the Teachers' Course was part of the regular winter classes,

58 McMaster University, "Report for the Registrar for the Year 1917-18", The Chancellor's Report to the Senate, p. 4.

59 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, January 10, 1917.

60 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes, November 13, 1917.

Teachers Classes 1916 - 1917			
Latin	A - 6	B - 6	C - 0
Biology	A - 6	B - 8	C - 2
History	A - 1	B - 5	C - 5
Totals	A - 13	B - 19	C - 7
			1 Failed
			1 Failed

61 University of Toronto, "Report of the Secretary of the Committee on University Extension", President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1918, p. 21.

except for the fact that the instruction was given at a time convenient to the teachers.

Public attention was focused upon the struggle in Europe. The President of the University of Toronto reported in June, 1917 that the number of students and members of the staff who had enlisted stood at 4,052.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, because of the high casualty rate among subalterns in the British Army, the British War Office sought Canadian undergraduates as candidates for commissions. Therefore the annual report of President Falconer recorded that "five drafts amounting to 130 men were organised and despatched during the year ... the work of the Overseas Company of the C.O.T.C. ... has gone forward ... (it is) organised for the purpose of training junior officers, the majority of whom take commissions in the British Army".<sup>63</sup> Professor A.T. Delury, the Acting Director of the Summer School for 1917, reported that the residence of the university could not accomodate male students because they were all occupied by the Royal Flying Corps.<sup>64</sup> Although adult education was stimulated by the War, it must, however, be recognized that it was really a by-product of the struggle and was not considered a paramount issue of the time. Possibly Dr. W.H. McNairn, who drilled the McMaster platoon of the C.O.T.C., reflected the attitude of many academics when he stated, "The more highly gifted a young man is the more is he to see the national situation in its true light and realize his own duty".<sup>65</sup> At the same time, there was one remarkable wartime venture

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62 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1917, p. 9.

63 Ibid., p. 11.

64 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1918, p. 21.

65 McMaster University, Letter of Dr. W.H. McNairn, Department of Geology to A.L. McCrimmon, Chancellor of the University dated April 5, 1918, p. 1 in Reports to the Chancellor of McMaster University for the Year 1918.

that started from the time when the President of the University of Alberta, Dr. H.M. Tory, made a survey of Canadian military camps for the Y.M.C.A. in 1916. By 1918, Dr. Tory was installed as President of the Khaki University in England and supervised courses involving 50,000 men over the next year and a half.<sup>66</sup> Each Canadian camp in England established a college of the Khaki University of Canada. Examinations were set that were recognized by the Canadian universities and records kept at University headquarters.

At the summer session of 1918 at the University of Toronto there was a complaint from students studying Science that sounds somewhat familiar, in the sense that these students desired to substitute a literary subject. According to the students enrolled in the Second Year Physics Course, the work involved "was so great that their other work had to receive scant attention".<sup>67</sup> Therefore the students petitioned for some modification of the Teachers' Course "to admit of more Language and History in place of Science".<sup>68</sup> In response to this request, the Committee on University Extension recommended that French replace one of the two Sciences required in the Third and Fourth years and the Council of the Faculty of Arts approved this change in the curriculum.

In view of the close association between Britain and Canada during the War, there was considerable enthusiasm about the missionary work of Albert Mansbridge when he revisited Toronto in 1917. Mansbridge recruited an important ally in Toronto when Dr. W.L. Grant, Headmaster of Upper Canada College, a prestigious independent secondary school, became a strong advocate of establishing the Workers' Educational Association.<sup>69</sup> Grant proposed

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66 E.A. Corbett, "Dr. Henry Marshall Tory" Food For Thought, Vol. 8, No. 6, March 1948, pp. 7-8.

67 University of Toronto, The Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, November 13, 1918, p. 16.

68 University of Toronto, The Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, September 18, 1918, p. 15.

69 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 11. This booklet was issued to celebrate the Jubilee of the W.E.A. in Britain and relates the history of the movement in Canada.



to the Trades and Labour Council that evening classes should be established for workers: in turn, the Trades and Labour Council approached Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto. Sir Robert responded by providing an experimental class in 1917 on "The Politics of Aristotle" and ten trade unionists enrolled. The success of this course led to a public meeting being called on April 29, 1918 to found a Toronto Workers' Educational Association. Sir Robert Falconer chaired this historic meeting attended by enthusiastic workers and university professors, including George M. Wrong, Head of the History Department at the University of Toronto.<sup>70</sup> President Falconer pledged that the University of Toronto would place one thousand dollars annually at the disposal of the new Association and keep students' fees as low as possible.<sup>71</sup> The majority of the men and women who joined the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) of Toronto "had belonged to kindred associations in the Old Country".<sup>72</sup> In the Autumn of 1918, six W.E.A. classes were started at the University of Toronto who also supplied the tutors.

Teachers' Course classes continued to expand slowly, with the number of students rising from twenty-nine in 1918-19 to forty-four in 1919-20.<sup>73</sup> In the Spring of 1920, two students became the first extension students to graduate with a B.A. degree. The summer session was maintained and so was the provision of public lectures, which comprised the oldest form of extending liberal education to the general public. Interest in extension work was heightened by the success of both the Khaki University

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70 Letter from A.E. Elliott to Miss Paterson, President Falconer's secretary, dated April 30, 1918, p. 2 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, April 1918.

71 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 11.

72 J.R. Kidd, Ed., Learning and Society, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1963, p. 13.

73 University of Toronto, "Report of the Secretary of the Committee on University Extension", President's Report for 1919-1920, p. 21.

in England and the Toronto Worker's Educational Association classes, plus the publicity provided by the release of the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Education. It may be recalled that the British recommendation was that each University should establish an extra-mural department with an academic head. Events in Toronto did not follow the British pattern although, during wartime, under President Falconer's guidance, the professors serving on the University Extension Committee had attempted to promote liberal study. But, in 1920, Dr. Abbott, the Secretary of the University Extension Committee, resigned from the University. A new era was about to begin as the University contemplated appointing a full-time director of extension work. In view of the way that, during wartime, professional training under the direction of the Faculty of Education had been discouraged, as part of the Extension Summer Sessions, it is interesting to note that the first director of extension work was recruited from the Faculty of Education.

Because the name of W.J. Dunlop was to become synonymous with the newly created Department of Extension, his background needs to be briefly examined. Dunlop was the son of a rural Baptist minister. Because of a lack of funds, Dunlop had to cease his undergraduate training in the Honour Modern Languages Course at the University of Toronto and subsequently became a public school teacher. In 1910, Dunlop caught the eye of Dean Pakenham of the College of Education who recruited him to teach at the University of Toronto School. Dunlop completed his B.A. by extra-mural study at Queen's University and, in 1919, advanced to a lectureship in the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto.<sup>74</sup> Dunlop's background was of particular interest to Dean Pakenham, because Pakenham was concerned about the influence exerted by the graduates of the rival Queen's

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74 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1919, p. 3.

University, both as principals of High Schools and as Inspectors of Public Schools. While graduates of the University of Toronto dominated the collegiates, Queen's was more influential in the more numerous high schools and public schools.<sup>75</sup> The main reason for this state of affairs was the "relative ease with which a B.A. degree could be obtained from Queen's by public school teachers".<sup>76</sup> Dean Pakenham of the Faculty of Education was a member of the University Extension Committee and began to press, early in 1920, for the establishment of a Department of Extension at the University of Toronto. Pakenham's main reason for seeking a full-time Director was to ensure an all out effort in extra-mural work, so as "to change the ratio of Principals as between Queen's University and the University of Toronto".<sup>77</sup> W.J. Dunlop was selected for this new position and inherited a situation where, to use his own words, "It was apparent that a feeling had grown up among some teachers that the University of Toronto did not want them ... In brief ... The Teachers' Course was in a state of chaos".<sup>78</sup> Dunlop had for some years been editor of The School, a magazine distributed throughout the Province and it was felt that, with his background, he would be able to influence

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75 W.J. Dunlop, "A History of the Teachers' Course" April 5, 1951, p. 4 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1950 to June 30, 1951.

76 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President S. Smith dated February 24, 1949, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1948 to June 30, 1949.

This letter was written only three years before Dunlop retired as Director of Extension, following which he was almost immediately elevated to become Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario. At this stage of his career, Dunlop apparently felt quite secure in revealing some of the reasoning behind his appointment as Director of Extension and Publicity at the University of Toronto.

77 Ibid.

78 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to Sir Robert Falconer dated October 26, 1920, p. 1 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, October, 1920 to June, 1921.

teachers to place their trust in the University of Toronto.

In 1920 a new type of class made its appearance. This was termed a university tutorial class and was a non-credit type of class organized by the Department of Extension that had no connection with those organized for the W.E.A. There were two classes, one in English Literature and the other in Political Economy with a total enrolment of fifty-four students.<sup>79</sup> It needs to be stressed that, unlike the English universities, the University of Toronto used the term "tutorial class" to signify classes run independently of the W.E.A. These tutorial classes were intended to appeal to men and women in Toronto who sought intellectual enlightenment on a variety of topics. Furthermore, the word "tutorial" when applied to Toronto adult education did not imply a three year course in the British tradition but usually referred to a class that met once a week for a total of fifteen or twenty weeks. In effect there were three streams of individuals pursuing liberal study: there were teachers enrolled in the Teachers' course; workers in W.E.A. classes, and members of the general public in tutorial classes. The emphasis was upon humane and literary study and, in view of the Ontario tradition of academic study, this was to be expected.

At the same time, however, the American concept of regarding university extension work as a form of public service was an influential factor in the philosophy adopted by Dunlop. It is revealing that the full title of W.J. Dunlop was Director of University Extension and Publicity because, as he stated on taking up his new post:

It is almost impossible to distinguish between publicity and extension work. The extension courses bring the University the very best of publicity and the publicity work results in increased requests for extension work.<sup>80</sup>

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79 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1920, p. 22.

80 University of Toronto, "Report of the Director of University Extension and Publicity, W.J. Dunlop, "President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June 1921, pp. 44-45.

Dunlop displayed a flair for publicity. At the end of his first year, he reported to the President of the University of Toronto that he had distributed a total of 62,500 copies of bulletins or booklets. Also, various lectures, classes and courses were advertised in the daily newspapers.

Urban newspapers were "supplied almost daily with articles and news items ... while an item on the University appears every week throughout the year on one of the inside pages of some two hundred country newspapers".<sup>81</sup>

Dunlop supplemented this printed material by encouraging meetings all over the province, and the speakers included President Robert Falconer and a few interested professors. Principally, however, the main speaker was W.J. Dunlop. In view of the reticence of some university academics about exposing the cloistered dignity of the institution to the glare of publicity, it is not surprising that Dunlop aroused some hostility. In his second year as Director, he met a well known professor on the street who "took him by the arm and said in a most kindly way, 'I like you, Dunlop, but I detest what you are doing'".<sup>82</sup>

The core programme of Teachers' classes had a unique strength in terms of providing a vehicle for the promotion of liberal study. Liberal arts courses have always been vulnerable to criticism from persons who believe in a more specialised professional form of training. It has been remarked that such "critics of an Arts graduate usually ask the question 'But can he get a job?',<sup>83</sup> and that the defenders of liberal education, "have always had to face this question from skeptics".<sup>84</sup> But the students in the Teachers' Course already had jobs. Moreover, despite the obvious

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81 Ibid., p. 45.

82 J.R. Kidd, Adult Education in the Canadian University, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956, p. 13.

83 Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Liberal Education, Chicago: 1957, p. 11.

84 Ibid.

vocational advantage of liberal study to a public school teacher, in terms of broadening his or her mental horizon, the fact remained that the students did not secure a financial return from spending their own money to register in the Teachers' Course. On the other hand, the University stood to gain financially. W.J. Dunlop claimed that from the first year of operation of his Department, the University was not put to extra expense for actual instruction in Arts subjects; and, it is also apparent that the fees paid by students in the winter were used to finance the summer session.<sup>85</sup> The public school teachers who pursued such a degree programme did not do so for financial gain, as School Boards did not pay them on the basis of academic qualifications. During 1920, the curriculum of the Teachers' Course was changed so as to allow more choice of subjects. The number of subjects taken each year was reduced to five, with the three compulsory subjects being English, French and a Science. To make up the additional two subjects for each year, a student could choose from History, Political Economy or Psychology. Furthermore, a new scheme was announced for 1920-21 whereby the work carried on in the Toronto classes could be extended into other cities. If an enrolment of twenty teachers could be obtained in the same subject a class would be established and this was first done at Hamilton in 1922.

The University of Toronto was influenced to some extent by American examples that stressed that a university extension department should provide a service to the community. Such a view, popular at a State

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85 Letter from W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer dated June 7, 1921, President's Papers, October 1920 to June 1921.

Dunlop recorded:

Income from Summer Session, 1920	\$ 682.
Fees from Tuition from Teachers' Classes	<u>1,961.</u>
Total	\$2,643.

Amount paid for Summer Instructors \$2,100. Tuition for the Winter Session does not involve any extra cost to the university.

university such as the University of Wisconsin, blended with W.J. Dunlop's philosophy of aiding a number of different organizations. An example of this service function were the correspondence courses administered on behalf of the Ontario Department of Education. These correspondence courses covered the liberal subjects of the Middle School examination, or Junior Matriculation, as well as those of the Upper School or Senior Matriculation examinations. Such correspondence courses were intended to assist teachers preparing to take summer courses conducted by the Department of Education.<sup>86</sup> Some academics might rightly claim that such work properly belonged in a collegiate rather than in a department of a university. On the other hand, however, a case could be made that the Provincial University, run at the expense of the taxpayer, should be willing to perform such administrative chores in the service of education. Here was an example of where the very broad American concept of adult education, popular at a State university, could be cited in support of maintaining activities that were not usually considered as part of the function of a university. Moreover, there appears to have been a trend of offering a short concentrated course to those engaged in newspaper publishing and agriculture. An example of this type of activity was the one week course held in 1920 for the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association to train editors of rural newspapers in Ontario. One wonders about the amount of instruction that could be absorbed in one week through the simultaneous study of English Literature and Composition, Canadian Constitutional History, Public Health and Hygiene, and Newspaper Jurisprudence.<sup>87</sup> In February of 1921, the executive of the Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association sponsored a two weeks' course for 279 farmers that followed the same basic curriculum, except that

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86 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1921, p. 47.

87 University of Toronto, The Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes of March 31, 1921.

economics and architecture replaced jurisprudence. It should be noted that, while these short courses followed an American pattern of service to the community, they also tended to include liberal subjects in the British tradition of adult education.

By 1921 the W.E.A. in Toronto provided seven classes in Toronto with a total enrolment of 160, and an additional two classes in Economics meeting in Hamilton.<sup>88</sup> A grant of \$500. from the Massey Foundation enabled the Toronto W.E.A. to purchase some books and W.J. Dunlop secured space at the University for use as a library.<sup>89</sup> It became apparent that, if the W.E.A. work was to continue to expand, there would be a need to increase the annual grant from the University of Toronto which, as the Provincial University, received financial support from the Provincial Government. A deputation of Labour and University representatives went to see the Premier of Ontario, the Honourable E.C. Drury, and as a result a special committee was established by the Legislature to investigate the situation concerning the W.E.A. and the University of Toronto. When the committee's report was brought down, it recommended that, "Adequate financial assistance should be granted by the Government to carry on this important work".<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the Ontario Government was requested to ask the University of Toronto to place its annual estimates a sum sufficient to finance the needs of the W.E.A., and, also, the University was asked "to lend a helping hand to the workers in their demand for higher education".<sup>91</sup> What resulted from this generous response by a Liberal administration was that

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88 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1921, p. 47.

89 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer dated June 4, 1921, University of Toronto, President's Papers, October 1920 to June 1921.

90 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 12.

91 Adult Learning, Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1936, p. 12.



the University of Toronto supervised the provision of tutors throughout the Province of Ontario, including the recruitment of academic staff from McMaster University and the University of Western Ontario. The reason for this situation was purely political as the two smaller universities did not have access to provincial funds. Certainly the registrar at McMaster University was alert to the possibilities for extra-mural work and, in 1922, reported that:

This year 26 students were registered for extra-mural work, which is a considerably larger number than last year. If facilities could be developed for giving more direct correspondence help, an extra-mural department of great popularity and usefulness could be built up. There are continual enquiries for this kind of work ... Under our present system the student is practically left on his own resources, and the result is that many drop out of their work during the year.<sup>92</sup>

The Chancellor of McMaster University appears to have ignored this appeal, judging from the fact that he chose not to mention it in his annual report.

Because the rapid growth of the Department of Extension Studies at the University of Toronto was strongly linked to the surge of interest in the W.E.A., the subsequent history of the Association in its heyday of the 1920's will be reviewed. A perspective on the very rapid growth of the W.E.A. can be gained from consulting the statistics concerning enrolment at the University of Toronto, shown in Table Eight of the Appendix, which indicate a climb from 160 students in 1921 to 1,142 students in 1927. As early as 1921 classes were being held at Hamilton and Ottawa. The subjects common to all three W.E.A. centres were English Literature, Economics, Trade Union Law and British History, while it is also noticeable that Public Speaking and Psychology were already popular in Toronto.<sup>93</sup>

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92 McMaster University, Registrar's Report on Registration for the Year 1921-22, pp. 4-5.

93 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1922, p. 66.

In the following year, the fact that the membership almost tripled in Toronto was "largely due to the unflagging energy of Albert Macgowan, the Secretary-Treasurer".<sup>94</sup> New classes were started in Brantford, Paris and Galt. By 1925, however, the boom in expansion had begun to level off and led to an analysis of the possible reasons for this slowdown in the growth of the W.E.A.:

The principal cause for the falling off in these classes is to be found in the prevailing industrial depression. When men are out of employment they will not attend study classes. Another reason may possibly have been that most of the Workers' Educational classes have been conducted on a one year curriculum ... Steps have been taken ... to establish Tutorial classes on a continuous three-year prescription of work. There will, under this plan, be fewer W.E.A. classes in Toronto and Hamilton.<sup>95</sup>

As the top administrator of the W.E.A. academic programme, W.J. Dunlop was in a unique position to outline the contemporary problems. It should be kept in mind that in Ontario the W.E.A. programme was supervised by the University of Toronto, which was the reverse of the usual English pattern, where the District Secretary of the W.E.A. dominated the scene, W.J. Dunlop, as Director of Extension, was in a far stronger position than a District W.E.A. secretary in England, whose salary depended upon the voluntary subscriptions of local Association members, and might be inclined to turn a blind eye to recognition of difficulties that could disturb the proclaimed harmony of the movement. As early as 1924, Dunlop pointed out in a published article that the financial contribution of the Canadian labour movement towards the maintenance of the W.E.A. was minimal. Dunlop stated that, "With the exception of a grant from the Trades and Labour Council, a small amount paid by affiliated trades union, and membership of one dollar each, the W.E.A. derives all of its financial support ... from the University of Toronto."<sup>96</sup> In a letter to President R. Falconer, Dunlop pointed

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94 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1923, p. 64.

95 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1925, p. 62.

96 W.J. Dunlop, "Adult Education-University of Toronto", Ontario Library Review, November 1924, p. 33.

to the high turnover of students in W.E.A. classes in Toronto, where only approximately twenty per cent of the students returned in a subsequent year, which resulted in a situation where "the W.E.A. is trying to educate a procession".<sup>97</sup> Dunlop went on to mention a problem concerning the response of students that would have sounded familiar to many tutors in England who taught W.E.A. classes:

It is very difficult to induce W.E.A. students to write essays and do exercises. Many of them wish to listen and do no real work. This is not usually the case with working men but is rather characteristic of those who are not really entitled to be members of W.E.A. classes.<sup>98</sup>

Confirmation of the more conscientious attitude of working-class students came from the remarks of the Chief Librarian of Toronto's Public Library, who recorded that:

A professor at the University of Toronto who does extension work confessed that his night classes of workmen were much more stimulating, more alive, and more intelligent than his day classes of university students - 'And' he continued, 'these university students sneer at the stupidity of the lower classes'.<sup>99</sup>

Dunlop wanted to ensure that manual workers predominated in the W.E.A. classes and regretted that the word "worker" had not been defined through indicating specific occupations.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, Dunlop wanted to limit the range of subjects to Economics, Civics and Trade Union Law, and insist on requiring written work in tutorials that lasted for three years. In order to discourage the many white collar and professional students attracted by the nominal admission fee of one dollar, Dunlop proposed to double the

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97 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to R. Falconer dated February 27, 1925, University of Toronto, President's Papers 1924-1925.

The figures cited by Dunlop state that "last year in Toronto there were 512 students but only 112 returned this year".

98 Ibid.

99 George H. Locke, "Literature and Adult Education", Ontario Library Review, November 1924, p. 27.

100 Ibid., p. 2.

fee for students who were considered non-W.E.A. types.<sup>101</sup> A policy decision was made that "only working men and women in the strict sense of that term would be admitted" to W.E.A. classes but that "in Tutorial Classes the distinction will not be made".<sup>102</sup>

One can sympathise with the general thrust of these views expressed by Dunlop. On the other hand, a consideration of these matters illustrates that the export of the W.E.A. idea to Toronto was possibly not as easy as crusader Albert Mansbridge had proclaimed. Mansbridge's visit to Toronto, on the eve of war in 1913, and during 1917, had stimulated not only a patriotic response from individuals who were British in sentiment but, to a large extent, represented a mission of preaching to the converted. Many of these individuals who subsequently became active in the W.E.A. had belonged to the Association in England before immigrating to Ontario.<sup>103</sup> But if the W.E.A. was to establish real roots in Ontario it had to come to grips with the form of society that existed in the Province. For while Toronto was generally British in sentiment, this did not mean that the form of society was a duplicate of that of England. In comparative terms, there was less class consciousness in Ontario compared to Lancashire or Yorkshire, where the concept of a "working class" was an acknowledged part of the social fabric.

The W.E.A. was accustomed to working in a highly industrialised society, such as the one that existed in Northern England. Therefore it is not surprising that, in Ontario, the W.E.A. concentrated upon developing classes in the main industrial centres of Toronto and Hamilton. By

101 Ibid.

102 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1925, p. 62.

103 Letter of Dr. S. Floyd Maine to J.A. Blyth dated June 20, 1973. Dr. Maine was appointed in 1928 to be the first Director of Extension at the University of Western Ontario. Maine had close ties with the W.E.A.

contrast, W.J. Dunlop aimed at serving the provincial needs of rural Ontario, with the result that the Extension Department promoted many tutorial classes in rural communities.

Moreover trade unionism was relatively weak in Ontario compared to Britain.<sup>104</sup> The idea of the W.E.A. as a movement representing labour and working-class interests had, therefore, less meaning in Toronto. An observer of the scene in the 1920's later wrote that "it (the W.E.A.) never became rooted in our Canadian life ... Its most ardent supporters were Old Countrymen".<sup>105</sup> Furthermore the administrative arrangements made the W.E.A. dependent upon the University of Toronto and this should be kept in mind when considering the statement by Dunlop that, "in England the W.E.A. classes were feeders to tutorials".<sup>106</sup> Dunlop neglected to mention that, whereas in England the universities serviced the demands of a strong independent W.E.A., the University of Toronto dominated the scene in Ontario. The effective power was with Dunlop who had no philosophical commitment to the W.E.A. that he supervised in Ontario, but whose essential loyalty was to the University of Toronto, upon whose behalf he was developing tutorial classes. In order to place this situation of the early 1920's in proper perspective, it is necessary to review some of the other activities of the Department of Extension at the University.

In 1921 Dunlop initiated rural tutorial classes at five small places in the Province where, on alternate weeks, there were classes in English Literature and Community Singing. Dunlop had been raised in rural

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104 See J.A. Blyth, "Trades Unions and Unemployment", The Canadian Social Inheritance, Toronto, Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972, particularly pp. 63-66.

105 Letter of Dr. S. Floyd Maine to J.A. Blyth, dated June 20, 1973, p. 3.

106 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to R. Falconer dated February 27, 1925, p. 1 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, 1924-1925.

Ontario and understood the desire of the farmer to acquire more education. While combining community singing with English may have been a boon to a small community, it is debatable whether such activity had any place in the activity sponsored by a University. At the same time, however, there was also a continuous rise in the number of local lectures down to 1927,<sup>107</sup> with the Director of Extension not sparing himself in his contribution.<sup>108</sup> A large volume of printed material publicized the activity of the Department of Extension<sup>109</sup> with special news items being distributed to the leading dailies of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. Dunlop also carried on a large volume of correspondence with adults who sought vocational advice<sup>110</sup> and, thereby helped to publicize the services provided by his department. In addition, an arrangement was made with the Department of Astronomy which provided considerable publicity. During the spring and summer, on one evening of the week, two telescopes were placed in the university grounds for the free use of the public. Not only did the public respond with attendance that ranged up to 300, but some of these individuals began to seek a tutorial class in Astronomy.<sup>111</sup> W.J. Dunlop was willing to experiment in new offerings and, as early as 1922, a summer course in Dramatic Art was provided in

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107 See the statistics in Table Eight in the Appendix that relate to enrolment in activities conducted by the University of Toronto.

108 For example in 1926, out of 338 local lectures, W.J. Dunlop delivered 36 himself.

109 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1922, p. 64. In 1922, bulletins of 15 types totalling 73,600 copies were distributed.

110 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1922, p. 64.

111 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1922, p. 67.

conjunction with the dramatic group at the Hart House Theatre.<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, the academics on the University of Toronto Extension Committee were rather alarmed at the prospect of conducting an extension course through the news media. This situation arose because the Toronto Daily Star proposed to W.J. Dunlop that members of the University staff should contribute a column on some academic subject throughout the winter, so as to provide an extension course in a particular subject. Coupled with this proposal was the suggestion that the University's staff should give lectures over the radio station controlled by the newspaper. These ideas were rejected on the grounds that newspapers were concerned with publicity and that radio broadcasts would involve more expense than the educational value of the scheme involved.<sup>113</sup> The academics on the University Extension Committee seem to have preferred to stay with the traditional lecture method.

W.J. Dunlop did not neglect the opportunity to provide classes in non-credit tutorial classes at the University. A wide variety of subjects were offered. In 1921, in Toronto there were evening classes in English Literature, Zoology and Economics; while afternoon classes were provided in Italian for Vocalists and Occupational Therapy.<sup>114</sup> By 1924, tutorial classes were being planned in Journalism, Advertising, History of Architecture and Landscape Gardening.<sup>115</sup> During 1925 two more tutorial classes were added comprising a class in each of Astronomy and Appreciation of

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112 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes of May 31, 1923.

Hart House was a social centre for male undergraduates. The building included a theatre for amateur dramatics and was provided through the generosity of the Massey Foundation.

113 Ibid.

114 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1922, p. 66.

115 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes of September 24, 1924.

Fine Arts.<sup>116</sup> This activity was commendable for several important reasons. In the first place, an effort was being made to build a bridge between the University and the general public, and a commentary of the time indicates that this was badly needed.

There is a tendency which I deplore in some academic circles to speak scathingly of the general public at large. This is particularly true of the younger intellectuals ... The stupid public which is not so stupid after all retaliates by holding up the academic world to ridicule, sneers at professors, calls them dull, pedantic dried up fossils who have isolated themselves from the world with its very real problems.<sup>117</sup>

The commentator, the Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, would have agreed with the argument for adult education presented in a book entitled The Meaning of a Liberal Education. In the view of the author, who was familiar with the American labour movement, the objective of adult education should have been to:

broaden the interests and sympathies of people regardless of their daily occupation ... to lift men's thoughts out of the monotony and drudgery which are the common lot, to free the mind from servitude and herd opinion, to train habits of judgement and of appreciation of value, to carry on the struggle for human excellence in our day and generation, to temper passion with wisdom, to dispel prejudice by better knowledge of self, to enlist all men, in the measure that they have capacity for it, in the achievement of civilization.<sup>118</sup>

While this sounded like a desirable objective of American liberal adult education, there was a basic problem which derived from the social milieu of North America. There was a lack of class consciousness in North America compared to England, and this basic difference between the two societies helped to account for the difficulty that W.J. Dunlop was having in trying to ensure W.E.A. classes were reserved for manual workers. The educator

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116 University of Toronto, Committee of University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes of March 13, 1925.

117 George H. Locke, "Literature and Adult Education", Ontario Library Review, November 1924, p. 27.

118 Everett Dean Martin, The Meaning of a Liberal Education, New York: Garden City Publishing Inc., 1926, p. 3.



who wrote The Meaning of a Liberal Education had studied the American labour movement for twenty years and reached the conclusion that:

The 'labour point of view' is commonly that which propagandists wish the worker to have. In America the revolutionary class conscious proletariat exists only on paper. If we consider the ideals, habits and ambitions of working people, it is difficult to conclude that they form a culture group apart. The working man ... has about the same ideas of patriotism, morals, government and success in life as his employer, and tends in every way to become more and more 'middle class'.<sup>119</sup>

This was particularly significant for Canada because of the strong ties between many Canadian trade unions and parent American organizations. While the term "international" was frequently used to describe such unions, the real term should have been "continental" in order to accurately describe the nature of the American influence. Therefore, when W.J. Dunlop was establishing his tutorial classes he had to contend with a number of social influences. Given the social climate of North America, it is hardly surprising that students who could afford to enrol in university tutorial classes generally preferred to enrol in the less expensive W.E.A. classes and, moreover, could argue that their classless society did not recognise that trade unionists constituted a special social group. It could, furthermore, be argued that the English pattern of educating a working class through paternalistic support by the Government had no place in Ontario. There was also a general acceptance of the American concept that a university financed by public funds should be at the disposal of all citizens. In short, the political climate required that a flexible approach be taken by a Department of Extension towards meeting the needs of various interest groups who felt they could call upon the help of "their" university. In 1923, there were requests for short courses for Public Health Nurses,

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

Institutional Nurses, Journalists, Retail Merchants and Private Duty Nurses;<sup>120</sup> soon afterwards the Life Underwriters of Canada and the National Clay Products Association sought courses for their members.<sup>121</sup> The courses provided for these groups tended to be professional courses of vocational content although, on the other hand, it could also be argued that the Teachers' Course had a vocational value as well as liberal content.

Some of the men who lectured to the Teachers' classes in these years were later to achieve fame. J. Bartlett Brebner lectured on History at Hamilton in 1922-23,<sup>122</sup> and would go on to become a prominent professor at Columbia University. H.A. Innis, later to become an economic historian of international stature, lectured during the summer of 1923 and became a keen supporter of extra-mural activity. Also, in 1923, there was a development that increased the popularity of the Teachers' Course. An arrangement was made between the University of Toronto and the Department of Education whereby a teacher holding a General B.A. degree could, by taking additional work, become eligible for a Public School Inspector's Certificate, or a Secondary School Subject Specialist Certificate.<sup>123</sup> Enrolment in the Teachers' Course more than doubled from 228 to 617 students, as career possibilities for promotion and a higher salary became apparent. Part-time study for a degree was becoming more popular and, at McMaster University, a total of fifty-five students enrolled in extra-mural work during 1924-25.<sup>124</sup>

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120 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes of April 25, 1923.

121 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, Minutes November 26, 1925. The National Clay Products Association sought a two weeks course in ceramics and this was provided.

122 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer, dated October 10, 1922, University of Toronto, President's Papers, August 1922 - June 1923.

123 R.B. Malkin, The Role Played by the Department of Extension, University of Toronto, Willowdale, Ontario; The Author, 1952, p. 8.

124 McMaster University, The Chancellor's Report to the Senate for the Year 1924-25, p. 9.

It must be admitted that not all academics viewed the growth of Extension activity with a favourable eye. An incident occurred at the University of Toronto in 1926 which displayed a rather narrow point of view on the part of the members of the History Department towards extension work. Because of the attitudes that were displayed in this episode, the details are worth a brief summary. On March 18, 1925 the Chairman of the History Department, Professor G.E. Wrong, wrote to President R. Falconer concerning the dissatisfaction among his staff about the inadequate remuneration received for lecturing to Extension classes during the Summer Session. Professor Wrong wrote that:

The salvation of a man in academic work is that he shall have considerable time in which to pursue his own studies in the summer. A summer session involves a serious break in respect of this, and for this reason the consideration for doing it should probably be higher.<sup>125</sup>

In an accompanying memorandum prepared by the History staff, which included a lecturer named Lester B. Pearson,<sup>126</sup> criticism was voiced of the standard of work achieved by Extension students which included the comment, "The standard of essays ... is usually very low, the work is often done perfunctorily, and much, if not most, of it bears little fruit".<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, this memorandum declared that the Teachers' Course did not always conform to the university regulations and that the administration

125 Letter from George E. Wrong to President R. Falconer, dated March 18, 1925, President's Papers, July 1, 1924 - June 30, 1925.

126 Lester B. Pearson, later to have a distinguished career as a diplomat and as Canada's Prime Minister, was a lecturer in History at the University of Toronto from 1923 to 1928.

Source: A letter from President H.J. Cody to James S. Duncan, dated April 28, 1944, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1944.

Furthermore, Lester B. Pearson gave 6 local lectures for the Extension Department in 1926. See University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1926, p. 62.

127 Memorandum prepared by the Staff of the History Department, p. 2. Attached to a letter from George M. Wrong to President Falconer dated March 18, 1925, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1924 to June 30, 1925.

was not too satisfactory. The authors of this memorandum were in for a shock because when W.J. Dunlop entered the fray three days later, with a seven page reply, some of the comments were devastating.

Dunlop started by acknowledging that Professor Wrong was a good friend of Extension work and that his reply was directed at the comments made in the memorandum from members of the History department. As far as the rate of remuneration for lecturing and marking essays was concerned, Dunlop suggested that remuneration was a matter for the Board of Governors. Then obviously irritated by the historians' claim that there was slack administration of the Teachers' Course, Dunlop commented on some administrative practices of lecturers in the History Department. Dunlop pointed out that teachers had reported that a recent History class was invariably dismissed half an hour before the official time of 9:30 p.m. and that essays were returned uncorrected anywhere from a month to six weeks later.<sup>128</sup> Dunlop also dealt with the complaint that Extension students did not conform to University Regulations by commenting that:

Regulations should not hinder but help. Naturally the members of your (Professor Wrong's) staff see these regulations from the viewpoint of their own convenience while I see them from the teachers' standpoint. As a teacher and as an extra-mural student, I went through all the process myself. The members of your staff (fortunately, they will say for them) did not. I know what difficulties teachers encounter.<sup>129</sup>

Dunlop strongly implied that the History lecturers were merely talking about official regulations when their real concern was the rate of their remuneration, and asked Professor Wrong, "Do you not agree that the enforcement of regulations is a mechanical and lifeless routine ... Like fire, regulations are good servants but poor masters".<sup>130</sup> Answering a reference

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128 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to G.M. Wrong dated March 19, 1925, p. 3, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1924 to June 30, 1925.

129 Ibid., p. 2. The phrase "fortunately, they will say for them" is contained within brackets in the original copy.

130 Ibid.

to inadequate preparation of Extension students, Dunlop pointed out that, "as a rule, these teacher-students earn higher percentages on their examinations than at least the average of intra-mural students".<sup>131</sup> In total, Dunlop conveyed an impression that the Staff of the History Department were not only ignorant of the affairs of the Extension Department and the students enrolled in the Teachers' Course, but were not even aware of the problems caused by the malpractice of some lecturers employed by the History Department.

Professor Wrong sought to pour oil on troubled waters and expressed to Dunlop, on behalf of his staff, the desire to co-operate and not cavil. The History Department sought a conference with W.J. Dunlop to see how they could aid the Extension Department. There seems little doubt that the academics of the History Department were now in full retreat and wished to acknowledge that their attack on the Extension Department was ill-advised. But the important aspect of this episode was that it probably reflected an attitude of many university lecturers towards Extension work. There was less concern about aiding school-teachers to become more well-rounded people than there was about trying to maximise the rate of remuneration for extension lecturing. This is not intended to be a criticism of academics who extolled learning for its own sake, but rather a recognition that the stimulus for undertaking Extension work was frequently a bread and butter affair.

In the following year of 1926, the increasing interest in extra-mural work at McMaster University was indicated by an announcement in the calendar that stated:

In special cases the work of the First and Second Years, (of the B.A. course) either in whole or in part, may be pursued extra-murally ... Applications from mature students, especially such as are engaged in teaching, will be favourable considered.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>132</sup> McMaster University, Calendar of Arts and Theology, 1926-27, p. 121.

By extra-mural work, McMaster appears to have meant attendance at afternoon lectures or assignments arranged with a particular department of the University. Meanwhile, at the University of Toronto, the year 1926 was significant for another battle that W.J. Dunlop appears to have won.

The invasion of the W.E.A. classes by persons who were not considered working men had reached the point where "out of 800 members attending classes in Toronto only 56 were manual workers".<sup>133</sup> W.J. Dunlop claimed that labour representatives had clamoured for more advertising of these classes, on the premise that working men did not know of these classes, but that the result had been, "Bankers, teachers, nurses, lawyers, doctors, and all classes of citizens came to the classes, maintaining they were workers".<sup>134</sup> Those students who were workingmen felt that they had lost their classes, as they were now "submerged in large classes of fifty or more people, few of whom they knew, and who were bent on taking down in notebooks all that the professors said".<sup>135</sup> Dunlop wrote to President Falconer on July 21, 1926 outlining the basic problem. The subsidised W.E.A. classes intended for workingmen cost as little as \$2, while a tutorial class in the same subject cost \$10 and Dunlop remarked:

So long as both sorts of classes are held in University buildings, there is no means of forbidding people of means to enter W.E.A. classes. They all claim to be workers but they have no concern with the W.E.A. at all. To them all these classes are university classes. The result is that there are some 600 students in W.E.A. classes from which the University receives no return at all and there are about 100 students in tutorial classes paying \$10 (each).<sup>136</sup>

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133 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 12.

134 W.J. Dunlop, "Class Consciousness as a Factor in Adult Education", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Ottawa, 1929, p. 85.

135 Ibid.

136 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer dated July 21, 1926, p. 2 in University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1926 to June 1927.

The University administrators were disturbed by this preponderance of white collar workers or professional people in classes ostensibly intended for manual workers. There seems to have been serious consideration given to withdrawing all financial support from the W.E.A., because the Association reported that only after pressure had been exerted on the University authorities by local trade union leaders was there an assurance that funds would continue to be forthcoming for the next year.<sup>137</sup> But while the University conceded that funds would continue to be made available to enable the Association to keep functioning, certain conditions were imposed. Future W.E.A. classes were to be restricted to manual workers and the classes were not to be held in the University buildings. When this decision was announced at the W.E.A. annual meeting, there was a storm of protest and the Secretary, A. McGowan, resigned and was replaced by another stalwart named Drummond Wren.<sup>138</sup> A debate followed upon the definition of a worker. Up to this time, the W.E.A. executive had always assumed that there was general acceptance of "the British definition for membership, i.e. the word 'workers' was defined to mean anyone who worked for a living, professional men and employers only being excluded".<sup>139</sup>

When the W.E.A. classes opened in the Fall of 1926, the enrolment in Toronto plummeted from 800 students to 135. The problem of finding new accomodation was solved by the co-operation of the Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, a staunch ally of workers' education, who made available a number of libraries in which classes could be held. In order to meet the conditions imposed by the University of Toronto, a definition of the word "worker" was deemed "to include all men and women engaged in occupations similar to that followed by Trade Unionists".<sup>140</sup> One would

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137 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 15

138 Drummond Wren was a veteran of World War One who, in various capacities, served the W.E.A. from its start in 1918 until his retirement in 1951.

139 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 12.

140 Ibid., p. 15.

think that such a definition would have pleased the founder of the parent W.E.A. organization, Dr. Albert Mansbridge, who had stressed that classes should be dominated by manual workers. But, when visiting Toronto, Mansbridge took the position that, "he was opposed to the restrictions on membership as we would lose the educational value of having the different viewpoints presented in our class discussions".<sup>141</sup> It would seem that the pronouncements of Mansbridge on the meaning of the word "worker" tended to confuse people in both England and Canada, but for diametrically opposed reasons. In England manual workers were supposed to be in a ~~majority~~ <sup>minority</sup>, whereas, in reality, the movement catered mainly to middle-class students: in Canada the Toronto W.E.A. was criticised for purging the middle-class elements in order to ensure the dominance of manual workers. There was, moreover, a consideration in the North American context that was not a serious factor in England. The American phobia for branding socialists as communists had its counterpart in Canada. W.J. Dunlop was convinced that within the Toronto W.E.A., "a few Communists worked their way to membership on the Executive Council and began their 'boring from within' tactics".<sup>142</sup> Some members of the W.E.A. even sought to get rid of the word "workers" in 1928 on the ground that the word "seemed to have become a communist monopoly".<sup>143</sup> The name of the Association retained the word worker but only by the casting vote of the President, Dr. W.L. Grant. What is particularly noticeable about this Toronto debate of 1928, over the word "worker", was that the nature of the W.E.A. was being critically examined long before the parent organi-

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141 Ibid, p. 13.

142 W.J. Dunlop, "Class Consciousness as a Factor in Adult Education", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceeding of the Conference Held at the University of Ottawa, 1929, p. 85.

143 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 15.



zation in England would seriously face this issue. In any event the visits of Albert Mansbridge to Toronto helped to confuse rather than clarify the question of what was meant by the word "worker".

During the 1920's, there were a number of leading British personalities who came to Canada under the auspices of the National Council of Education whose mandate included the promotion of adult education. Conferences were held at Winnipeg in 1919, at Toronto in 1923, Montreal in 1926 and Vancouver in 1929. To these conferences came such adult educators as Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Henry Newbolt, The Right Honourable H.A.L. Fisher and John Buchan. There was apparently some criticism that "most of them represented the imperialistic point of view"<sup>144</sup> and this comment point up the changing political and social climate in Canada compared to pre-war years. Because this new social milieu impinged on the attitude of adult educators in Canada, a brief examination of the relevant background is necessary.

Canada emerged from World War One as a creditor nation and with an enhanced spirit of nationalism but with a deep division between English Canadians and French Canadians. There had been a political crisis in 1917 when an attempt was made to impose conscription for military service upon the men of the Province of Quebec. In an effort to heal this internal breach in Canada, there was a post-war reluctance to exhibit great pride in the positive achievements of the Canadian Corps during World War One, which had been so admired in Britain. The newly enhanced status of Canada in the family of nations thus had to be explained in terms that would not reopen old wounds, and was therefore fitted into the framework of what one writer has described as negative nationalism, which he explained as follows:

What is this negative nationalism? It has so captured the Canadian mind that it might best be termed the Authorized Version of Canadianism. Its title could

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<sup>144</sup> P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1935, Chapter IV, p. 16.

really be 'from colony to nation'; because it is the naive story of Canadian growth from mere divided colonies to mighty nationhood ... that sturdy Canadian autonomy which finally revolutionized the Empire into the Commonwealth - that - Canada made.<sup>145</sup>

Canada continued a Whig version of history that stressed the inevitability of progress in human affairs, at the very time when such a view was being abandoned in a Britain exhausted by World War One. Consequently, in the 1920's, historian and political scientist extolled Canadian independence by stress upon the constitutional development that had not only given Canada control over her foreign policy, but had changed the British Empire into a Commonwealth. Seen from this Canadian perspective, the series of Imperial Conferences in London that culminated in the Balfour Declaration of 1926, and the confirming Statute of Westminster of 1931, represented the discarding of the last vestiges of colonial status. What was, however, not so apparent at the time was that, while Canada had officially obtained her complete political independence from Britain, the steadily increasing influence of the nearby United States posed a threat to this Canadian independence. This threat to independence was particularly noticeable in influences that affected everyday life, through the numerous economic and social contacts, and one of the areas that felt the pull of American ideas was that of adult education.

In his survey of adult education in Canada, P. Sandiford noted that the phrase "adult education" first emerged in the United States, "in 1924 as a generic term to describe a group of previously unrelated activity"<sup>146</sup> A discerning American critic commented:

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<sup>145</sup> Scott Symons, "The Meaning of English Canada", Continuous Learning, Vol. 2, No. 6, November-December, 1963, p. 253.

<sup>146</sup> P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada, A Survey, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1935, Chapter IV, p. 6.

Sandiford attributes this claim to an American study entitled Jacques Ozanne, Regional Surveys of Adult Education: A Review Prepared for the American Association for Adult Education, New York: American Association for Adult Education, (1934).

Adult education ... becomes a matter of slogans. Each educator is sure he has it and can give the formula. It is that 'every man must be given opportunity to think for himself', or it is to give people 'a new and modern world view' ... or to enable one to 'evaluate his experience' ... Many of these things may be very desirable, but are they education?<sup>147</sup>

Seen in this American context, adult education was "a democratic process and hence tends to make the desire and ideals of the uneducated rather than those of the educated its standards and aims".<sup>148</sup> The term "adult education" became so vague that, in 1924, the Carnegie Foundation financed an inquiry to try to discern what was covered by this generic term. The result was that it was discovered there were "hundreds of definitions of adult education, each expressive of the interests, the faith and the vision of the definers".<sup>149</sup> In America, a pattern was emerging where the term "adult education" referred to any activity that could be defined as educational: such a broad approach to the education of adults was vastly different from the narrow English interpretation that it meant liberal education for adults. Canada was bound to be affected by American thinking although, in the field of education, the impact was usually less influential in the eastern Provinces because of their deeply rooted educational traditions. The University of Toronto was a conservatively-minded institution and, therefore, W.J. Dunlop had a secure base from which to resist some of the worst excesses of what some American institutions called university adult education. On the other hand, the climate of opinion in North America appears to have influenced the flexible approach taken to providing an educational service.

In 1925, the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto

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147 Everett Dean Martin, The Meaning of a Liberal Education, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1926, pp. 313-314.

148 Ibid., p. 314.

149 Horace M. Kallen, Philosophical Issues in Adult Education, Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1962, p. 12.

reported, "There is always something new in short courses. This year a course of 52 lectures was given in subjects relating to life insurance".<sup>150</sup> In the following year, a two-year diploma course in Occupational Therapy was introduced and this was the first such course for Canada,<sup>151</sup> and was intended to open a new career for young women. The curriculum for this course in Occupational Therapy included "woodwork, basketry, weaving, needlework and leatherwork".<sup>152</sup> While the nature of this course would seem to lean in the direction of "basket weaving" activity, deplored by some academics in American university circles, there was a rationale for this development. W.J. Dunlop said that "The Department of Extension is being used as an experimental station. This would seem to be a very appropriate use for this department".<sup>153</sup> President Falconer amplified the thought by saying "the effort is being made to test out emerging educational needs, so that without undue loss such as may require permanent provision will be carefully selected in process of time".<sup>154</sup> Following this basic philosophy, there were a variety of courses introduced over the next few years. In 1928 a one-year course for graduate nurses was introduced that was intended to prepare them for teaching and administrative positions in hospitals.<sup>155</sup> Also in the field of health services was the introduction of a course on Physiotherapy in 1929.<sup>156</sup> Courses were also developed for the business

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150 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1925, p. 61.

151 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of March 10, 1927, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

152 Ibid.

153 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1927., p. 69.

154 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1928, p. 9.

155 Ibid.

156 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of September 26, 1929, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

community, by the introduction of correspondence courses for the Canadian Credit Institute and the Canadian Underwriters Association. Short courses were arranged for the Retail Merchants Association,<sup>157</sup> Town Planners and the Association of Canadian Bookmen.<sup>158</sup> There was even a request for training teachers from the West End Creche Club which was referred to a sub-committee for investigation.<sup>159</sup> Dunlop expressed his own view in 1927 that experience had taught him that, "the short extension course, and not the continuous evening class, is most decidedly the means for meeting the special needs of specialised occupational groups".<sup>160</sup> Yet while this vocational training was actively promoted, the Department of Extension did not neglect to develop liberal education in the late 1920's.

Local extension lectures continued to prosper and this was probably aided by an increase in the lecturer's remuneration which, in 1928, went up to \$10 per lecture for lectures held outside Toronto.<sup>161</sup> In 1929, out of a total of 269 lectures, the Director of Extension delivered forty of them, which indicated the lead set by W.J. Dunlop in promoting extension activity. There was also a steady growth in university tutorial classes which, by 1929, had 1,488 students enrolled in a variety of non-credit

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157 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of January 16, 1930, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

158 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of January 13, 1927, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

The course for Canadian Bookmen was intended to familiarise students with book publishing and book distribution. The Committee on University Extension stated that "It was understood it would pay for itself. If there should be a deficit the Association of Canadian Bookmen promised to make it up".

159 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of February 15, 1929, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

160 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1927, p. 68

161 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of March 10, 1927, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

courses in subjects ranging from accounting to modern drama.<sup>162</sup> The Department of Extension reported that, since the tutorial classes had been physically separated from W.E.A. classes, the membership was more homogeneous and enthusiasm was greater and the average attendance was better.<sup>163</sup> When he was building up this side of extension work, W.J. Dunlop laid great stress on the need to carefully select the tutors because in his words:

Adult students demand the best - no one but a senior man of international reputation will suit some of them. They are looking for entertainment and prestige along with their adult education. Some will not enrol unless they have seen the tutor's name and picture in the paper.<sup>164</sup>

Such an attitude was certainly different to that prevailing in England where schoolmasters were frequently engaged as part-time tutors for W.E.A. tutorial classes. On the other hand, allowance must be made for the snob appeal used by Dunlop, which enabled those students attending university tutorial classes to tell their friends that they were going to classes at the University. Dunlop deplored the existence of class consciousness within adult education when he gave an address, in 1929, to the National Conference of Canadian Universities. But it is noticeable that Toronto W.E.A. classes for workers were now given in the less prestigious surroundings of public libraries, and "university tutorials" were aimed at the white collar segment of the community. Steady expansion took place in the enrolment of tutorial class students, which reached a peak of 2,393 in 1931, and was paralleled by a constant increase in the number of subjects of instruction, that included:

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162 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1929., p. 65.

163 Ibid.

164 W.J. Dunlop, "Class Consciousness as a Factor in Adult Education", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings, Conference held at the University of Ottawa, 1929, p. 84.

Accounting, advertising, appreciation of art, drama, economics, English composition and fiction, finance, German, history, Italian, modern English poetry, modern world history, philosophy, psychology, public speaking, Spanish, social science.<sup>165</sup>

This was an impressive array of subjects to be offered as non-credit liberal education.

W.J. Dunlop sought to strengthen his hand in dealing with the problem that university tutorial classes often competed with W.E.A. classes. Dunlop secured discretionary power to determine in places outside Toronto which were university tutorial classes and which were W.E.A. classes.<sup>166</sup> It was also proposed that the fee for university tutorial classes should be lowered to \$5 in urban centres. Given the circumstances that W.E.A. classes could no longer be held on the University campus in Toronto and the fee for university tutorial classes was lowered in places such as Hamilton, the Director of Extension confidently predicted that "there will be a revenue of \$2,000 where there is now none at all".<sup>167</sup> Dunlop explained in a letter to Tom Moore, President of the Toronto Trades and Labour Congress, the way that he saw the situation:

We (the University of Toronto) are spending this year \$4,000 on the W.E.A. and for ten years have been supporting this educational organization; in some years with much more than \$4,000. The District Labour Council of Toronto gives the W.E.A. an annual grant of \$50 ... But the Trade Unions have, on the whole, been most indifferent towards this work. The attendance at classes is poor though the tuition fee charged by the W.E.A. is only \$2 per annum. Our University Extension classes, in which the fee is \$5 per annum are flourishing ... The W.E.A. classes could easily be the same if trade union support

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165 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1930, p. 72.

166 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of March 10, 1927, Minute Book, February 17, 1927 to September 29, 1930.

167 Ibid.

were given.<sup>168</sup>

Then Dunlop came to a real issue, as he saw it:

Are international trade union funds being sent across the line into the United States to help support workers' education there .. If the answer is in the affirmative I am sure that you agree with me that the University of Toronto should at once cease spending money on the Workers' Educational Association of Ontario.<sup>169</sup>

Dunlop subsequently reported to University President Falconer that he had met with labour leaders concerning funds going to the United States, and stated that:

They admit such contributions have been made and they have produced letters and reports to show me that the Canadian Trades Unions have not done this voluntarily; they have been dragged into it, under protest, by their United States headquarters ... They are most anxious that the W.E.A. should continue here.<sup>170</sup>

This situation points up the precarious position of men who are trying to promote the W.E.A. in Ontario. The parent organization in England had flourished because of the firm support of a strong trade union movement, but this was lacking in Ontario; moreover, funds were being drained from Canada by the American trade union movement. But, in the Toronto Tory tradition espoused by some educators at the University of Toronto, the concept of Canadian independence was linked to rejection of American influences.

Furthermore, there was a deep seated prejudice against men who had received a technical training, because as the Presidents of the Ontario Universities later observed in their study The Structure of Post-Secondary Education in Ontario:

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168 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to Tom Moore dated November 21, 1928, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1928 to June 1929.

169 Ibid.

170 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to R. Falconer, dated March 29, 1929, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1928 to June 1929.



Industrial education ... suffered from an association in the public mind with reformatory schools like the one in Guelph, and with the trade schools for delinquent and incorrigible children at Mimico, Bowmanville and Galt. Moreover some of the new vocational and commercial departments were used as dumping grounds for academic failures.<sup>171</sup>

The prejudice against technical training has to be kept in mind when considering the difficulties of trade unionists who tried to promote workers' education. W.J. Dunlop was undoubtedly aware of the general climate of opinion. Moreover Dunlop never attempted to disguise his political leanings towards being a Tory which, in Ontario terms, meant a tradition of resisting American domination. With this Ontario background, it is not really surprising to find Dunlop urging, in 1929, that the University President allow him to transfer funds allocated to the W.E.A. classes to the account for tutorial classes. Dunlop remarked, "I think you will agree that it is a sound principle to transfer as much as possible from a non-revenue producing system of classes to one wherein the fees more than take care of the cost".<sup>173</sup>

In 1930 the Secretary-Treasurer of the W.E.A., Drummond Wren, declared that his experiences had taught him that "the best way to secure

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171 The Association of Presidents of Provincially Assisted Universities and Colleges of Ontario, The Structure of Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, pp. 8-9.

172 The term "Tory" was an American epithet that implied an individual who was loyal to the British crown during the civil war that started in the American colonies in 1776. These "Tories" fled to Canada after hostilities ceased in 1783, where they became known as "United Empire Loyalists", and the founding group of modern Ontario. In political terms, the group that described themselves as Tories disliked republicanism and extolled the British connection. A tradition developed that the capital of Ontario was "Tory Toronto" and this belief was inculcated in school textbooks. See L.F.S. Upton, The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths, Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1967.

173 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to R. Falconer dated November 6, 1929, University of Toronto, President's Papers, September 1929 to June 1930.

funds was from the University of Toronto".<sup>174</sup> At the same time, the budget of \$10,200 proposed by Wren for the Toronto W.E.A. to cover the following year's activity<sup>175</sup> seems unrealistic, when judged against the much lower level of support normally accorded by the University of Toronto. Fortunately, the Carnegie Corporation of New York came to the rescue with a grant of \$5,000 to pay for a full-time secretary to organize classes throughout Ontario. This grant led directly to the formation of an Ontario W.E.A., with Drummond Wren as a full-time general secretary who had an office on the campus of the University of Toronto. It must be recognised, however, that Wren was not a free agent in planning the programme of the W.E.A. because W.J. Dunlop controlled the purse strings related to payment of tutors.

At the same time, Dunlop supported the efforts of Drummond Wren in 1931 to establish W.E.A. classes in the larger towns throughout the Province. Dunlop found that his appropriation to pay W.E.A. tutors was too small, so he sought permission from President R. Falconer to transfer \$1,000 to this account from his appropriation for Teachers' Classes.<sup>176</sup> As President Falconer was a member of the Advisory Board of the W.E.A., such a request was readily supported. Drummond Wren worked hard to try to build up membership in the W.E.A. and in 1930 revealed his philosophy towards his work:

Making a living is inevitable associated with competition if not strife ... The root of social harmony lies in like-mindedness, and that, in the social sense, is not to be

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174 Drummond Wren, Memorandum, n.d. University of Toronto, President's Papers, November, 1929 to April 1930.

175 Ibid.

The budget for 1930-31 was made up as follows:

1 full-time instructor	\$3,000
travelling expense and secretarial work .	\$2,000
Library	\$2,000
8 Tutors in Toronto at \$4.00 each	\$3,200
	<u>\$10,200.</u>

176 Letter from W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer, dated December 8, 1931, President's Papers, September 1931 to June 1932.

found in a common pursuit of competitive activities, but in the region of noble thought and purpose. Here great men of every age have lived, and their books and their record of their lives and conversation remain as willing guides for the newcomer ... it is the business of the University to be a welcoming and hospitable host and interpreter.<sup>177</sup>

This creed combines the liberal approach to education with some doubt as to the capitalist belief in the virtues of competition. Drummond Wren was obviously concerned about the end objective of W.E.A. classes while possibly W.J. Dunlop, as an administrator with wider responsibilities, viewed such activity in terms of whether it was a sound investment of limited resources. There were already indications that W.E.A. students were not completely satisfied with the liberal approach inherited from England. Classes in Economics and English Literature still had some support but, by 1930, there were classes that seemed to be aimed at preparing trade union members for collective bargaining. Classes were conducted in finance, industrial psychology, labour problems, trade union law, public speaking and journalism.<sup>178</sup> But, if the W.E.A. appeared to be departing from promoting liberal education in familiar academic subjects, the Teachers' Course continued to flourish by recruiting students for Arts subjects.

W.J. Dunlop discouraged the use of the term "extra-mural work" to describe the Teachers' Course as he felt that it did not adequately describe the arrangements for securing the B.A. degree. Dunlop stressed that students enrolled in the Teachers' Course had to attend the same number of hours of lectures as prescribed for regular day-time students, and that both types of students wrote the same examination, so that "For

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177 Drummond Wren, "A Paper concerning the W.E.A.", n.d., University of Toronto, President's Papers, November 1929 to April 1930, pp. 9-10.

178 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1930, p. 72.

this reason I prefer the term 'extension work'."<sup>179</sup> During 1930, there was a registration of 210 students in the Teachers' Course of whom 162 were taking the initial year,<sup>180</sup> which was officially described as Year Two.<sup>181</sup> History and French appeared to be far more popular than Latin and German.<sup>182</sup> It was at this time that the curriculum was revised for the Teachers' Course, so as to allow a little more latitude in the choice of subjects with the following subjects being required in Year Two:

1. English or Mathematics
2. French or Latin or German
3. History
4. Latin (if not chosen in 2) or one of the Sciences
5. Economics or one of the philosophical subjects  
(Psychology, Ethics and History of Philosophy)

The prescription for the Third and Fourth years was the same, namely:

1. English
2. Mathematics or French or Latin or German
3. History
4. Latin (if not taken in 2) or one of the Sciences
5. Economics or one of the philosophical subjects

The only compulsory subject for all years was History. There is no evidence in the available records of the time as to why this requirement was considered necessary. It is difficult to believe that the reason was a belief that cultural values can only be transmitted through the study of

179 W. J. Dunlop, "The University of Toronto", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings, Conference held at McGill University, 1928, p. 75.

180 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of October 2, 1930, p. 1.

Total enrolment in the Teachers' Course was 210 students, including the following breakdown by subject:

Year II English	27 students	Year II French	53 students
Year II History	53 students	Year II Latin	6 students
Year II German	2 students	Year II Economics	21 students

181 The First Year was the same as the Matriculation Year from a Collegiate and, therefore, work in the Teachers' Course ordinarily began in the Second Year.

182 See statistics under Footnote No. 180.

History. One can speculate that there were possibly two pragmatic reasons. Firstly, that the study of History was popular because it did not require the same degree of academic background needed for subjects such as Latin, Mathematics or a Foreign Language. Secondly, the subject of History had some relevance to the curriculum followed in the classrooms of the public schools and, therefore, had some vocational value.

One interesting aspect of the administration of the Teachers' Course was the problem associated with securing adequate academic staff to teach the students. This issue provides a good contrast between the methods used to teach extra-mural students in the northern English universities compared to those followed in Ontario. In 1927, W.J. Dunlop told President R. Falconer that it was difficult to secure academic staff for the Teachers' Course at the University of Toronto, and went on to suggest that:

arrangements could be initiated for providing an Extension staff, the members of which would give part-time to Extension work and part-time to the regular work of such departments as English, Economics, History, Psychology. <sup>183</sup>

One of the underlying reasons for the difficulty in securing lecturers from the regular University staff may have been the times at which some extension lectures were held. For example, because the Department of Extension planned to help students from outlying rural areas, courses were offered on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings, so that students could take two classes by staying overnight in the city.<sup>184</sup> Obviously this arrangement could spoil any plans for long weekends on the part of the lecturers involved and, probably, contributed to a reluctance to undertake Extension work. Dunlop seems to have envisaged that academic staff might be employed by the Extension Department in a similar fashion to the way an English

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<sup>183</sup> Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President R. Falconer dated November 2, 1927, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1927 to June 1928.

<sup>184</sup> W.J. Dunlop, "The University of Toronto", National Council of Canadian Universities, Proceedings, Conference held at McGill University, 1928, p. 77.

extra-mural staff tutor was recruited. However, the Committee on University Extension discussed the topic and, while agreed on the need for additional staff, declared that, "it would not be well to have a staff exclusively for Extension".<sup>185</sup> The academics on the Committee for University extension wanted the regular staffs of Arts departments to be increased, "with the understanding that each Department would take care of such Extension work as it might be asked to do".<sup>186</sup>

One gains the impression that some Arts Departments saw an opportunity to increase their staffs, but were determined to prevent W.J. Dunlop from building up his empire through securing more direct control over lecturers. This impression is strengthened by the fact that a few years later the Committee on University Extension was phased out as the body directly responsible for the Teachers' Course. The Council of the Faculty of Arts established a Committee on the Teachers' Course, which was responsible to the Council and the role of the Department of Extension restricted to the day to day administration of the course.<sup>187</sup> In the following year the University of Toronto made Senior Matriculation a requirement for all courses and this meant that the Teachers' Course became officially a three year course. By 1931, the Summer Session was becoming increasingly popular for teachers proceeding towards a B.A. degree, with 261 students enrolled, of whom half were taking one subject.<sup>188</sup>

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185 University of Toronto, Committee on Extension, Minutes of November 3, 1927, Minute Book, for February 17, 1917 to September 29, 1930.

186 Ibid.

187 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of October 2, 1930, p. 1.

188 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of September 25, 1931.

Of the 261 students, 131 were taking one subject, 90 were taking two subjects and 38 taking three subjects. This leaves two students not accounted for and there is no explanation provided concerning these students. The important aspect of these figures is that they show that most teachers took only one subject and only a minority attempted the maximum of three subjects.

Some statistics became available on how long it took a teacher to complete the B.A. programme, which revealed that it took an average time of 5.6 years, except for those veterans who had been allowed a credit of one full academic year for war service.<sup>189</sup>

There was still some resentment by members of the University academic staff against the Teachers' Course. Professor C.B. Sissons, a classic scholar, directed some pointed questions to the Council of the Faculty of Arts which exhibited scepticism concerning the approach to an extra-mural degree programme:

Is the committee (on the Teachers' Course) satisfied that it is in keeping with the ideals and standards of the University of Toronto and its colleges, or in the interests of the teaching profession, that a large number of teachers should be encouraged to proceed to a degree while teaching and without devoting themselves exclusively to study during one or more years.<sup>190</sup>

Sissons went on to explain his doubts about the way in which a liberal arts course appeared to be used as a stepping stone to professional advancement:

Is the committee satisfied that it is advisable to develop what is virtually a professional college within the Arts Faculty rather than to have students whose careers will be found in various occupations and professions mingling in the arts work, and that work largely as an end in itself.<sup>191</sup>

These questions cut to the heart of the issue as to what constituted a liberal education. Was the University merely selling a piece of paper to teachers that was valuable in the market place? The Committee on the Teachers' Course had to frame answers to these questions. Their reply

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189 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of November 12, 1931.

Veterans, or ex-servicemen, took an average of 4.5 years to complete their programme for a B.A. degree.

190 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of November 12, 1931.

191 Ibid.

readily conceded that it was difficult to determine the motivation of students enrolled in the Teachers' Course:

There is no way of discovering the exact purposes for which students take the Teachers' Course. It is safe to say, however, that the great majority of them take it to improve their professional standard. In doing that they no doubt gain a broader culture, even if purely cultural purposes were not their motives.<sup>192</sup>

The committee stated that it felt that the work done in the Teachers' Course "may well be quite in keeping with the standards and ideals of the University of Toronto".<sup>193</sup> Then, in tones reminiscent of the answer that W.J. Dunlop had given the History Department in 1925, the Committee pointed out that so far as standards were concerned, "the average grade obtained by students in the Teachers' Course, who write on the same papers, is above the average obtained by students in the (regular daytime) pass course".<sup>194</sup> But the Committee had more difficulty justifying whether the Teachers' Course was consistent with the ideals of the University of Toronto. Conceding that it was better for students to get their education in the regular daytime course, the Committee fell back on the rather pragmatic argument that "If the University of Toronto does not offer this opportunity to teachers, other universities will continue to offer it as they now do".<sup>195</sup> One can almost detect a silent prayer from W.J. Dunlop and Dean Pakenham that the battle against Queen's University must not be lost by default. This exchange concerning educational philosophy between Professor C.B. Sissons and the Teachers' Course Committee did not seem to strengthen the case for a part-time degree course. One is left with the impression that many members of the academic staff were either in-

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192 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of November 26, 1931.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid.

195 Ibid.



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192 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, Minutes of November 26, 1931.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid.

195 Ibid.

different to extension work, or, as in the case of C.B. Sissons, wanted assurance that university standards were not being allowed to deteriorate.

In the late 1920's there was a sudden burst of publicity concerning McMaster University. The Baptist Convention decided, in 1927, to transfer McMaster University to Hamilton and began a campaign to obtain adequate funds for the construction of the necessary buildings. A number of prominent citizens of Hamilton were eager to have their own university and aided the acquisition of a site of ninety-two acres. In October 1929, the cornerstone of University Hall was laid by Viscount Willington, then Governor General. This development was very significant for Extension work. McMaster University had long lived in the shadow of the University of Toronto. So long as McMaster was located in cramped quarters in Toronto, the University had not been in a position to attract many adult students. At the same time there was an awareness of the possibilities for extension work because, in 1928, the registrar commented, "Extra-mural work under present facilities is far from satisfactory ... but we have had a number of students of excellent calibre who got their start in this way".<sup>196</sup> In October, 1928 the Committee on University Extension at the University of Toronto decided to drop Extension Courses in Hamilton, as soon as McMaster was in a position to commence work there.<sup>197</sup> While this displayed a very co-operative attitude, it should not be construed as implying that the University of Toronto was losing interest in expansion. In 1929 Dunlop initiated a programme whereby members of the Department of Extension visited Collegiate Institutes and High Schools of the Province to explain to pupils the various courses offered by the University of Toronto. It has already been pointed out that Dunlop's full title was Director of

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<sup>196</sup> McMaster University, Registrar's Report to the Chancellor, 1928, p. 3.

<sup>197</sup> University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of October 4, 1928, Minute Book, February 17, 1917 - September 29, 1930.

Extension and Publicity and this activity combined both facets of Dunlop's work.

The proposed move of McMaster University to Hamilton was probably a sound approach towards creating a less parochial atmosphere for the institution, which would, presumably, help to attract more adult students. An indication of the atmosphere that prevailed at the Toronto campus was provided by some comments made by a newly arrived Englishman, who would later become immersed in extension activity. C.H. Stearn was a classics scholar who reported to the Chancellor of McMaster University that:

Though I think the sine qua non of a successful University is the retention of all the freshness that belongs to youth, I have received the impression, during my first year here at McMaster, that there is not sufficient departure from the atmosphere of the High School consistent with its claim to be a University.<sup>198</sup>

Stearn had suggestions as to how to improve this state of affairs. One was that "the practice of striking a chord at the end of chapel service as a signal for all to rise is childish and there ... should be abandoned".<sup>199</sup> Stearn then went on to show that he was attuned to the need for developing extension work, as a means of improving relations between the University and the community, by stating:

- (a) I suggest the arrangement when possible of Extension lectures.
- (b) The formation later on of vacation courses.<sup>200</sup>

Obviously at least one academic on the staff at McMaster University was aware of the possibilities for extension work. As the registrar of the University had already advocated an expansion of extra-mural activity,

198 C.H. Stearn, Department of Classics, McMaster University, Report to the Chancellor dated April 19, 1930, Annual Departmental Reports, 1930.

In order to appreciate the comment of C.H. Stearn, a brief biographical outline is helpful. Stearn, a Cambridge graduate, had served as a chaplain in the British Forces in the First World War, including service in Egypt, Africa and France. Stearn entered academic work after leaving the British Army.

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid.

these indications of interest in developing extension work augured well for the future.

McMaster University began its first regular session on the new Hamilton campus in October, 1930. Planning for Extension work began that Fall, when a committee was formed which included Professor C.H. Stearn of the Classics Department and Professor C. New, Head of the History Department. One of the Committee's early decisions was that McMaster should establish a Teachers' Course that required six subjects in each year and not five as at Toronto.<sup>201</sup> This decision concerning the number of courses required for a B.A. degree had nothing to do with the designation used to describe the Teachers' Course at McMaster, which was known as Course Eighteen, simply because that happened to be the numerical position of the new Evening Course in the Calendar. Pending the development of an independent curriculum, McMaster decided to follow that of the University of Toronto. This was also a matter of convenience, as this decision enabled students in the Hamilton area who had already embarked on Extension study with the University of Toronto to transfer to McMaster without an interruption in their programme. In 1931, ninety-one students enrolled in Course Eighteen, of which forty-eight were women.<sup>202</sup> It is particularly interesting to note that while most of the students were teachers, there were sixteen men and twelve women who were not in the teaching profession.<sup>203</sup> Presumably McMaster was attracting individuals in the Hamilton area who were primarily interested in liberal study for its own sake although, on the other hand, the possession of a university degree had a status value. Experience gained at McMaster with their evening programme tended to con-

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201 McMaster University, Committee on Extension Work, Minutes of Meeting of September 16, 1930, p. 1.

202 McMaster University, Registrar's Report to the Chancellor, 1931, p. 3.

203 Ibid.

firm that, as with the Teachers' Course at the University of Toronto, the most popular subjects were History and French.<sup>204</sup> The popularity of French was probably due to some extent to the fact that Canada was a bi-lingual country and French was promoted in the high schools: also, that in a Provincial educational system oriented to a literary tradition, the alternative of taking Higher Mathematics was not viewed too enthusiastically. Possibly knowledge of this preference for History and French worked to the advantage of McMaster when establishing Course Eighteen; because the Committee on Extension work accepted the University of Toronto premise that classes had to average twenty students in order to meet expenses.<sup>205</sup>

While McMaster was following the University of Toronto in establishing a degree course for extension students, there are signs that McMaster was studying other ways in which an evening programme could be developed. Among the McMaster records for 1928 is an American study concerning extension work at the university level. The study originated at the University of North Carolina, where a group had been financed by the Carnegie Corporation to survey adult education. The survey was a thorough analysis of university adult education for graduates and included, for example, the following commentary on the need to educate the educated in a lifelong process:

Educating oneself is not a seasonal process ... Out of this situation is arising a demand that our colleges and universities approach their educational task with a fuller view. It is insisted they become a permanent educational servant of the educated man ... Students have hitherto registered for the period from 'matriculation to graduation'. Tomorrow they will be registering for the period 'from matriculation to the grave'.<sup>206</sup>

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204 Ibid.

Of the six classes given in 1931 the enrolment was:

English 2a	26 students	English 3a	12 students
History 2a	35 students	French 2a	30 students
Political Economy 2a	27 students	Geology 2a	22 students

205 McMaster University, Committee on Extension Work, Minutes of the Meeting of September 18, 1930.

206 Daniel L. Grant, The University of North Carolina, Intellectual Relations With Alumni, p. 1 in McMaster University, File on Professors Reports, 1927-28

This is a remarkable piece of vision for 1928. The Report distinguished between three needs of the college educated man, which were described as the need for professional training, cultural education and current events. There was little doubt in the mind of the author that vocational training had the greatest appeal because, "It has close identity with one's income and political or social position and consequently it is one concerning which the average man will make an effort the most readily".<sup>207</sup> Admittedly, this Report studied at McMaster dealt with the college trained student and leaned primarily towards support of vocational style training, although liberal education was also seen as a need of the educated man. This American Report emphasized post-graduate training and, while McMaster was concentrating on part-time study at the undergraduate level, the study of this document shows that extension work might be developed on a different basis. Before concluding this interpretation of events down to 1931, reference should be made to an aspect of Course Eighteen at McMaster University that would make it different to the Teachers' Course at the University of Toronto. This concerns the denominational character of McMaster because, in 1931, when planning for Course Eighteen was taking place, the Registrar wrote to the Chancellor:

The question of the inclusion of the Bible should be considered. The Committee (studying curriculum) assumed that no Bible would be required for this course. In looking over the charter of the University, it would appear that the Bible should be part of any regular course leading to a degree.<sup>208</sup>

This provides a sharp contrast to the secular inclination of the Victoria University in Lancashire, England that had provided the climate for extra-mural work at the Universities of Manchester and Liverpool. Moreover, although extra-mural work in Yorkshire was dominated by the W.E.A., to the exclusion of control by the University of Leeds, it is interesting to

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207 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

208 McMaster University, Registrar's Report to the Chancellor, 1931, p. 4.

reflect that the strong nonconformist fervour there seems closest to the atmosphere prevailing at McMaster University.

The year of 1931 is the terminal point for this chapter. In the next chapter, one of the main themes will comprise discussion of the Extension programme pursued at McMaster University, now of Hamilton, Ontario. While the University of Toronto would always, as far as could be foreseen, dominate the Extension field in the Province, the area around Hamilton was no longer in its sphere of influence. In surveying the entire scene in 1931, it is reasonable to conclude that Extension work had made steady progress and that liberal study was well established.

## UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

1932 - 1948

The impact of the Great Depression was keenly felt during the early 1930's by Toronto and Hamilton. Both cities had become prosperous as manufacturing centres for the whole of Canada but, as the demand for goods diminished, unemployment became a serious problem. In 1934, over 120,000 people of a total Toronto population of 600,000 were living on relief.<sup>1</sup> This figure does not include the poverty-stricken whose pride would not permit them to seek charity. Men walked the pavements looking for jobs that did not exist, in the same fashion as did workers in Lancashire and Yorkshire, although there were certain features of life in Ontario that produced a unique reaction to these conditions. Most importantly, the cold winter made men agreeable to try any form of education that enabled them to get into a heated building, particularly as many were unable to afford to heat their own homes. Public libraries and YMCA's were thronged with men willing to try anything that promised to keep them out of the cold.

In 1932, a Central Committee on Education and Recreation for the Unemployed were formed, composed of representatives of church organizations, the University of Toronto, the W.E.A., the Board of Education, the YMCA, and the Department of Public Welfare.<sup>2</sup> Arrangements were made to admit unemployed people to evening classes without payment of any fee. Under this scheme, during the winter of 1932-33, over 540 men registered in technical schools, seventy-five in University Extension classes and

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1 See J.A. Blyth, The Canadian Social Inheritance, London: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972, p. 30.

2 P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1935, Ch. XVI, p. 9.



eighty in W.E.A. classes.<sup>3</sup> While the general lack of prosperity did effect enrolment in classes organized by the University of Toronto, the depression did not cripple the activity of the Department of Extension. Sir Robert Falconer retired as President of the University in 1932 and his successor, Dr. H.J. Cody, was a staunch supporter of adult education and a close personal friend of W.J. Dunlop.<sup>4</sup> President Cody stated in his first annual report that, "It is safe to say that through the department of extension the University is reaching 30,000 people a year, outside its academic walls".<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Dunlop kept reminding the President that this achievement was accomplished during the depression despite the rigid economy practiced by the Department of Extension and Publicity.<sup>6</sup>

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3 Ibid.

4 Dr. H.J. Cody had been the rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church on Bloor Street, Toronto, which was probably the largest and most influential of the downtown churches. W.J. Dunlop became a parishioner in 1928 when he ceased to belong to the Baptist Church. Apparently Dr. Cody once commented upon the mental uplift that he received, on ascending into the pulpit, "to look down and see seated in the aisle seat of the second row, W.J. Dunlop". See Roy S. Foley, William James Dunlop, Toronto: Canadian Masonic Research Association, 1965, Ch. IV, p. 2.

5 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1933, p. 11.

6 Letter from W.J. Dunlop dated June 6, 1932, University of Toronto, President's Papers, September, 1931 to June, 1932. The President's Papers show that Dunlop periodically drew attention to his efforts to practice economy and his generosity in permitting other departments to use his duplicating equipment.

An indication of the way students were being effected by economic conditions was provided by two reports on the Teachers' Classes of 1932-33. Among those who were in attendance were forty-five students who were not teaching because many of them had been unable to secure employment in schools.<sup>7</sup> Another indicator of the economic situation was that the provision of local lectures declined from a high of 269 in 1928-29 to 138 lectures during 1933-34, before an upward trend began again. One interesting civic group that welcomed lecturers from the University of Toronto was the Extension Association of Orillia, formed by women of the town who sought to secure adult education in the evenings through lectures upon controversial topics. After flourishing since the late 1920's, the Orillia Association had to reduce its programme in 1934 due to a shortage of funds. This development may have been welcomed by lecturers sent out by W.J. Dunlop, because it was reported that, "Newspaper attacks 'running to a full page of editorials in one issue alone' made University of Toronto lecturers reluctant to visit Orillia".<sup>8</sup> Possibly an additional hazard was that a celebrated humorist, Professor Stephen Leacock of McGill University, was a property owner in Orillia

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7 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, p. 45.

The minutes report that some of these students were married women, which is not surprising as the Toronto Board of Education was reluctant to employ a married woman. This information was provided by older members of the Toronto Board of Education and confirmed by Mr. D. Nethery, the Director of Historical Research for the Board. Mr. Nethery researched the subject and discovered that in 1925 a formal policy to this effect was adopted. See Toronto Board of Education Minutes, 1925, Appendix, p. 418. This policy was not changed until October 6, 1942 when married women could be employed "for the duration of the war". See Toronto Board of Education Minutes, 1942, Appendix, Management Report No. 16, Part 1, p. 334. Finally, on May 16, 1946 the employment restrictions against married women were rescinded. See Toronto Board of Education Minutes, 1946, p. 94.

8 P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Ch. 3, p. 12.

and the ladies could probably enlist his aid, if necessary, to harpoon any lecturer from Toronto whom they felt did not earn his lecturing fee. The University of Toronto sent lecturers all over the Province, as far north as Timmins and as far west as Fort William,<sup>9</sup> while at the University itself there were some remarkable attendances at free lectures provided in 1935. General interest topics, such as a description of life in England or India, drew an average attendance of 900, while over 400 people showed up to hear lectures on the works of Shakespeare.<sup>10</sup> Members of the general public appeared to become culture conscious when there was little money available for commercial entertainment.

The Teachers' Course continued to attract students and it was noticeable that men predominated in the enrolment.<sup>11</sup> This situation may well have reflected the employment practices of the Toronto Board of Education, who would not hire a married woman teacher and, therefore, there was little incentive for married women to embark on a degree programme. Attendance in university tutorial classes declined but there were still 1822 persons enrolled in 1932-33, with English, Psychology and Economics being the most popular subjects. Among the new classes approved for 1933-34 were those in Chemistry of Clays, Law, and Appreciation of Music.<sup>12</sup> In general, liberal study seems to have held up fairly well in the depths of what were colloquially termed "The Dirty Thirties".

At Hamilton, McMaster University had established Course Eighteen for Teachers which averaged an enrolment of 150 students during the

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9 Ibid., p. 9.

10 Ibid., p. 12.

11 University of Toronto, Committee on the Teachers' Course, Minute Book, p. 46.

In 1932-33, the enrolment in Teachers' Classes comprised 214 men and 134 women.

12 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 9, 1933, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 to November 25, 1943.

ing the Winter, a Summer Session was held each year, as this was a time when school teachers could concentrate upon study. Members of the University academic staff did not exhibit a great deal of enthusiasm about teaching in the summer and this attitude was illustrated by an incident in 1935. A course in Sociology was planned for the Summer Session but "Mr. Haak was busy at graduate work and Professor Taylor was too busy".<sup>20</sup> Professor Taylor suggested that a course in Ancient History be substituted, which provided the Classics professors, C.H. Stearn and E.T. Salmon, with an opportunity to design a course for Extension students.<sup>21</sup> Both Stearn and Salmon were enthusiastic advocates of Extension work but, one suspects, that one reason was that only a small number of regular students wanted to study classics. But in terms of ensuring that Extension work had a liberal character, nothing could have augured better for the future than to have a course designed specifically to develop interest in the classical societies.

Moreover, the students seemed to be ready for intensive study because, in 1935, the McMaster Registrar made a remarkable statement:

It has come to my ears that some of the Evening Course students are feeling that the University is too lenient in the work of this course, that the students get their degrees too easily.<sup>22</sup>

Students who wanted to work harder must have pleased some academics and helped to confirm that the serious adult student wanted no special consideration. Also, in 1935, there was a phenomenal increase in students enrolled in Second Year English with 135 students in that particular course.<sup>23</sup>

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20 McMaster University, Extension Committee, Minutes of Meeting of April 22, 1935, p. 1, Minute Book, 1930-55.

21 Ibid.

22 McMaster University, Committee on Extension Work, Report of the Registrar dated March 30, 1935, p. 2.

23 McMaster University, Registrar's Annual Report, 1935-36, p. 175.

winter sessions provided between 1932-35.<sup>13</sup> By 1933, there was a growing conviction among the University Extension Committee that the programme should be enlarged, and a committee report proposed:

Our programme ... include short courses in perhaps half a dozen centres. The lectures would be given with the average person in mind and without any thought of a formal university requirement in relation to a degree. It is recommended that members of our Senate and the Faculty acquaint themselves further with the facts concerning the Adult Education Movement in Great Britain.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of this recommendation, the following year saw new centres opened at Brantford and Grimsby.<sup>15</sup>

The principal concern of McMaster University in extension work continued to be Course Eighteen. Statistics for the Winter enrolment of 1933-34 show that women were in a majority in all classes held in English, Sociology and Art; while men had a slim majority in the enrolment for a History course and in Geology.<sup>16</sup> Of the total enrolment of 150 students that Winter, 117 were teachers;<sup>17</sup> also, the Registrar reported that only nine of these students had recorded their denomination as Baptist.<sup>18</sup> Obviously the students were unconcerned about the Baptist character of McMaster University and the largest denominational group was formed of sixty members of the United Church of Canada,<sup>19</sup> followed by twenty-eight Anglicans and nineteen Presbyterians. In addition to the evening classes dur-

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13 See Table Ten in the Appendix concerning McMaster University enrolment.

14 McMaster University, Report of the Chancellor to the Senate of the University For the Session 1932-33, p. 24.

15 McMaster University, "Annual Report for the Session 1933-34", Baptist Year Book, 1934, for Ontario and Quebec and Western Canada, p. 162.

16 McMaster University, Report of the Chancellor to the Senate of the University for the Session 1933-34, p. 8.

17 McMaster University, Registrar's Annual Report, April 1934, p. 16.

18 Ibid.

19 The United Church of Canada was formed in 1925 from a merger of Methodists, Congregationalists and some Presbyterians.

The reason was that the Ontario Department of Education issued Circular 72, which stated that teachers holding Interim First Class Certificates could make them permanent on completing one year at an Ontario University, and that English was a compulsory subject. This policy provided a vocational push towards making public school teachers a more professional body and, in the process, gave an impetus for teachers to study liberal arts subjects.

One aspect of McMaster's approach to Extension work was different from that of the University of Toronto. McMaster University continued to permit students to study through extra-mural work, which meant that an individual could secure permission from a particular department of the Arts faculty to pursue a course of study, either by attending regular afternoon sessions or through correspondence work. Courses in Science and Languages could not be pursued by correspondence work.<sup>24</sup> In 1933 there were thirty-one extra-mural students that included seven graduates working towards a secondary school specialist certificate or towards an M.A. degree.<sup>25</sup> Although the University of Toronto did put on summer courses to aid teachers to become secondary school subject specialists, McMaster was unique in offering the opportunity to pursue post-graduate study towards a Master's degree. Arrangements for extra-mural study were made at the discretion of the department involved. The general approach may not have been too satisfactory, if one judges by the number of extra-mural students which declined from thirty-one to twenty by the following year.<sup>26</sup>

In 1932 the W.E.A. organization was living a hand-to-mouth

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24 McMaster University, Bulletin of General Information, 1933-34, p. 95.

25 McMaster University, Registrar's Report to the Chancellor, April, 1933, p. 15.

26 McMaster University, Report of the Chancellor to the Senate of the University For the Session 1933-34, p. 12.

existence. The Carnegie Corporation made a grant of \$5000 for administrative expenses in 1931 and, after this amount was used up, the Association held a dance for its members in an effort to raise more funds.<sup>27</sup> The University of Toronto continued to pay the remuneration of the lectures in this work and, during 1932, there was one intriguing experiment.

A lecturer ... went to the Labour Temple in Toronto each Saturday morning and delivered a lecture on economics to a group of more than 150 unemployed men. These Saturday lectures were always followed by an animated discussion.<sup>28</sup>

One can visualise that this particular audience was not so much concerned with acquiring a liberal education, as in demanding a high degree of relevance between the theory of Economics and the practices of the business world. Although, the exchange of views each Saturday may well have provided a liberal education for the lecturer involved.

W.J. Dunlop continued to take care of the administration of the W.E.A. tutors and his attitude is revealed by his request that the Secretary of the W.E.A. be made his assistant, "as it would ratify what existed!"<sup>29</sup> Dunlop was quite explicit in the way he explained the role of the W.E.A.:

I hope it is understood that the Workers' Educational Association is merely a device to arouse the interest of working men and women in classes that are provided by the Department of Extension ... The W.E.A. is no outside organization: all this work is and has been definitely one of the activities of the Department of Extension. The W.E.A. is merely self-government operated by adults.<sup>30</sup>

Dunlop saw the W.E.A. as an organization that merely recruited students. It is interesting to reflect that a similar point of view would be publicly declared in England, twenty years later, by such extra-mural directors

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27 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 17.

28 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1933, p. 96.

29 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to H.J. Cody dated November 17, 1933, President's Papers, September 1933 - May 1934.

30 Ibid.

as M. Bruce of Sheffield University.<sup>31</sup> The difference between England and Ontario was essentially that the trade union movement in North America was relatively weak in the early 1930's. Members of Canadian trades unions had a heterogeneity of cultural backgrounds and there was no political consciousness of being a member of a working class. W.J. Dunlop saw the W.E.A. as that part of his Department which specialised in recruiting trade unionists. On the other hand, Dunlop was likely to meet resistance from the leadership of the W.E.A. when pressing his point of view, and possibly, this may have been why he had identified several members of the Executive Council as Communists.<sup>32</sup> What is also noticeable about Dunlop's bid to reduce the W.E.A. to a mere recruiting agency for his Extension Department was that it took place after Sir Robert Falconer had retired from being President of the University of Toronto. Falconer had been a stalwart supporter of the W.E.A. since its formation in Toronto, while his successor as the President of the University of Toronto did not have this type of attachment to the Association.

In 1933, the affairs of the Ontario W.E.A. were placed upon a more secure basis. A grant of \$12,500 over a five-year period was provided by the Carnegie Corporation, following a recommendation from Dr. Douie, Secretary of University College, London, England.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Douie came to Toronto and addressed the members of the W.E.A. He stated that he had visited W.E.A.'s throughout the world in his investigations for the Carnegie Corporation, and that the experiment in Ontario of restricting the membership to the accepted definition was unique.<sup>34</sup> While the new

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31 See p.326 in Ch. 6.

32 W.J. Dunlop, "Class Consciousness as a Factor in Adult Education", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings, Conference held at the University of Ottawa, 1929, p. 85.

33 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, pp. 17-18.

34 Ibid., p. 19.



financial grant was most welcome, the attached conditions of acceptance did not encourage the growth of a voluntary, independent organization. Whereas previous grants from the Carnegie Corporation had been made directly to the W.E.A., this grant was to be made to the University of Toronto; moreover, the General Secretary of the Association was to be appointed to the staff of the University. As the General Secretary of the W.E.A. was an elected official responsible to the Directors, he was now responsible to two authorities, one paying his salary and the other laying down the policy of the Association. The terms of the grant from the Carnegie Corporation virtually ensured that the W.E.A. would be the servant of the Department of Extension. Such a situation was the complete reverse of the arrangements that had developed in the Yorkshire North District of the English W.E.A., where the district secretary dominated the extra-mural tutorial classes, ostensibly provided by the University of Leeds.

Enrolment in the W.E.A. classes of Ontario continued to increase with 1958 students enrolled in 1933-34.<sup>35</sup> But, as men and women who were unemployed were admitted without payment of any fee, it is difficult to judge the popularity of the Association. This was also a time when there was considerable social unrest and the perspective of the University of Toronto can be judged from the official comment that, "The Workers' Educational Association is one of the most important stabilising influences in the community".<sup>36</sup> Hamilton continued to be a main centre for W.E.A. work and, in 1933, with the co-operation of McMaster University, a unique experiment took place at the local Sanatorium. Members of the staff of the Sanatorium had enrolled in W.E.A. classes and the lectures in psychology and current events were broadcast from the tutor's microphone to

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<sup>35</sup> University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 93.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

some bed patients who wore headphones. Meanwhile a few university graduates were enrolled in a class that studied political economy, medieval history and Bible study under three professors from McMaster. The lectures on these three subjects were broadcast over the hospital radio service and proved to have a wide appeal. In view of the apparent interest at Hamilton Sanatorium in educational lectures, the Bell Telephone Company arranged for a direct wire from McMaster University so that professors could talk from their offices or transmit lectures given to undergraduates.<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere in Hamilton, there were W.E.A. classes in English Composition, History, Economics, Psychology and Public Speaking.

In the city of Toronto there were seventeen W.E.A. classes in 1934-35 including those in Outline of Science, Painting and Drawing, and Interpretative Dancing.<sup>38</sup> Toronto also had the distinction of providing the only three-year W.E.A. course run in Ontario, which was somewhat loosely described as Economics. One wonders about the possibility of completing a curriculum which, for the first year, prescribed the following:

A study of anthropology--the rise and influence of religions, the rise and fall of other civilizations and economic systems; then a thorough study is made of the history of our industrial system up to the present time. While many books are recommended for supplementary reading, Knight, Barnes and Flugel's "Industrial History of Europe" is used most exclusively.<sup>39</sup>

A first year course with such a sweeping curriculum was presumably, meant to sound impressive. Obviously, the technique of academic window dressing that had been known to arouse the ire of purists in England was, also, known to the Toronto W.E.A. The Ontario W.E.A. also tried to extend workers'

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37 P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1935, Ch. IV, p. 5.

38 Ibid., p. 3.

39 Ibid.

education to the farm labourer. In the Autumn of 1934, a two-week course in Economics was provided for agricultural workers at the University of Toronto which, in turn, led to winter classes in two rural locations with a total enrolment of eighty-four students.<sup>40</sup>

The University of Toronto continued to try to meet the needs of various professional groups. The course in Occupational Therapy and Psychotherapy continued although, on January 14, 1932 the Director of Extension said that, "There was the difficulty of students obtaining posts after graduation".<sup>41</sup> During the following year a series of twenty lectures was provided on the technique of purchasing for the Purchasing Agents' Association. But not all of the requests received from professional groups were fulfilled. In 1934 there was a request for a course for police constables upon which no action appears to have been taken by the Committee on University Extension.<sup>42</sup> Such a request for a university level course in police work seems particularly interesting in view of the later boom in courses in Criminology, during the 1950's, at the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. Presumably there was a latent demand for such courses on both sides of the Atlantic by personnel involved in law enforcement. Another familiar issue involved the prestige attached to a University diploma and the reluctance of academics to recommend the presentation of such a piece of paper to Extension students. There was, for example, a request from the Association of Accountants and Auditors for the Department of Extension to handle correspondence courses. In acceding to this request, the Committee on University Extension stip-

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40 Ibid., p. 6.

41 University of Toronto, University Extension, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 - November 25, 1943, Minutes of January 14, 1932.

42 Ibid., Minutes of January 11, 1934.

ulated that "in no sense would there be a diploma granted by the University of Toronto".<sup>43</sup> The academics on the Committee of University Extension were well aware that business or professional associations sought to capture the aura of prestige that went with a link to the University of Toronto. While sympathetic to requests for new courses, the attitude of the Committee tended to stiffen at the mention of diplomas or certificates.

In 1934, a number of businessmen in Hamilton organized themselves into a club with the title of the Business Men's University Club. They then approached McMaster University with a request that classes should be offered in subjects pertaining to business administration. Two courses were provided, one in Political Economy and the other in Chemistry, and sixty students were enrolled; with their educational background varying from a university degree to some level of high school training. Over half the students indicated when enrolling that they had the idea that it should be a degree course.<sup>44</sup> But the leaders of the Club thought otherwise:

The executive of the Club has felt ... that a degree course would not meet the requirements of most of the members or would be an impracticable aim for many of them, and have asked that a course might be provided to cover three or four years and be recognised by a certificate or diploma, the course to consist mainly of subjects connected with business administration, probably containing also some general cultural subjects.<sup>45</sup>

The executive of the Club convinced McMaster University that their objective was not the prestige attached to a university degree but, rather, a high level of professional training combined with some liberal education. The university agreed to set up a credit course and have examinations in five subjects, which were Commercial Law, Economics, Accounting, Chemistry

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Minutes of January 14, 1935.

<sup>44</sup> McMaster University, Registrar's Annual Report to the Chancellor, April, 1934, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

and French. In the following winter of 1934-35 the most popular courses were Commercial Law which had thirty-three students and Accounting with forty-two students.<sup>46</sup> What was revealing about this high enrolment was that some of the students were undergraduates, due to the fact that these subjects were not included in the offerings of the regular university calendar.<sup>47</sup> One might assume from this development that vocational training was more highly rated than traditional liberal study. However, in order to illustrate the difficulty of attempting to draw a definite conclusion about this venture, it needs to be explained that the Business Men's University Extension Club soon reorganised and obtained a provincial charter with the name "The Academy of Arts and Sciences of Hamilton".<sup>48</sup> A situation where Arts undergraduates enrolled in an evening course organised for businessmen who, in turn, sought to be known as academicians of Arts and Science is rather difficult to categorise. The problem is not merely one of deciding what subjects can provide a liberal education but requires a study of social factors. Possibly some businessmen wanted the prestige associated with university liberal education in a province that had laid stress upon this facet of education: while, on the other hand, some undergraduates had less concern with questions of status than in securing a job in the very competitive world of business.

As the midpoint of the 1930's was reached there seemed to be some improvement in the economic situation. Such an encouraging sign had its counterpart in new developments in adult education. One of these developments was the use of radio as a means of reaching large numbers of people. As early as 1932 the Director of Extension and Publicity at the

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46 McMaster University, Registrar's Annual Report to the Chancellor, March 30, 1935, p. 16.

47 P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1935, Ch. III, pp. 14-15.

48 McMaster University, Registrar's Annual Report to the Chancellor, March 30, 1935, p. 17.

University of Toronto had accepted an offer to broadcast lectures over a local station without expense to the university.<sup>49</sup> Lectures were broadcast on science, literature and history. A nationally owned radio corporation called the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission was established and asked W.J. Dunlop to coordinate a series of twenty radio lectures by members of the staff of various universities in Canada.<sup>50</sup> Simultaneously, the educators involved in Canadian adult education were drawing together under the leadership of W.J. Dunlop, who organised the first symposium on adult education that drew eighty-seven delegates from all the Provinces of Canada. The purpose of this symposium was to pool ideas concerning adult education. Among the guests invited to attend this two-day conference at the University of Toronto in May, 1934, were Dr. Albert Mansbridge, founder of the W.E.A., and Morse Cartwright, Executive Director of the American Association for Adult Education.<sup>51</sup> A committee was elected under the chairmanship of W.J. Dunlop to unify the efforts of adult educators in Canada. The American Association for Adult Education offered to pay the travelling expenses of members of the committee to travel to Montreal where, on June 20, 1934, a Canadian Association for Adult Education was officially founded.<sup>52</sup> Among the individuals who supported W.J. Dunlop were Dr. W.L. Grant and Sir Robert Falconer, men who had earlier been instrumental in establishing the W.E.A. in Toronto.

Sir Robert Falconer voiced some thoughts about adult education under the title of "Leaders Who Can See Things Whole". These sentiments

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49 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of January 14, 1932, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 to November 25, 1943.

50 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 90.

51 Ibid., p. 90.

52 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 91.

are worth quoting at length because they form an admirable summary of the philosophy that underlay much of the adult education in Canada:

When people learn to think reasonably for themselves they make a stable society, because then change comes by persuasion not by force ... adult education seeks for those ideas which will create wholeness in a community ... Not one-sided interests, not class slogans nor national self sufficiency but a unified human society in which each individual will find his highest satisfaction must be the aim of our education ... In Canada we stand in peculiar need of unification ... we have not only our two major sections, English-speaking and French-speaking, but very large blocks of European people who have little understanding of the other peoples. Each section has its interests and often they do not harmonize ... Therefore we have unusual need of leaders who can see things whole, who understand what justice really is and that toleration is one of its qualities. But even more we need average people who have this frame of mind. Here is one opportunity for adult education.<sup>53</sup>

These thoughts from Sir Robert were in tune with the concept of spreading a liberal spirit throughout society by means of adult education. Falconer had demonstrated in his own distinguished career that an educational leader could exhibit qualities of tolerance and persuasion. At the same time, however, it must be recognised there was a danger in espousing a creed that sought to minimize conflict within Canada. Such a view could be used to reinforce a narrow interpretation of Canadian nationalism that declared dissident voices to be a threat to national unity. Moreover, the practice of Canadian politics supported the concept that a leader should placate interest groups and, thereby, tended to perpetuate prejudice. So long as adult education was a supplicant for funds from these political leaders, or leaders in the business world, the development of the enlightened process outlined by Sir Robert Falconer would not be easy. While there were undoubtedly defects in the paternalistic British approach to adult education, one of its great strengths was that national unity was well established, and permitted individuals to vigorously debate issues without any

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53 Sir Robert Falconer, "Leaders Who Can See Things Whole", in J.R. Kidd, ed., Adult Education in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, pp. 29-30.

fear of appearing to undermine the stability of the State. The new Canadian Association for Adult Education (C.A.A.E.) had a large job ahead of it, if it was to faithfully pursue the educational objectives envisioned by Sir Robert Falconer. W.J. Dunlop was elected President of the C.A.A.E. and soon began to make suggestions to the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission concerning programmes suitable for adult education, including discussion upon such topics as democratic principles and housing. This co-operation between the C.A.A.E. and the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission continued after 1936, when the name of the latter body was changed to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.), and patterned along the lines of Britain's B.B.C. Public affairs programming became an educational feature of the new medium of mass communication.

Adult education was becoming a more well known field and, in 1935, the first survey of adult education in Canada was recorded. Some of the comments made in this study reveal the distinctive flavour of the use of the term "adult education" in Canada.

Adult education as it is understood on the North American continent is nothing more or less than the 'further education' or 'continued education' so often spoken of by English educators.<sup>54</sup>

The term "further education" was principally restricted to vocational subjects, or to English and Mathematics taught with a vocational bias.<sup>55</sup>

The teaching of English in Ontario included courses for non-English-speaking persons to help them to learn to write and speak the language.<sup>56</sup>

These activities were supported by the Ontario Department of Education which gave financial aid to various local Boards of Education. The Provincial Government also gave aid to the Women's Institutes which, by 1935, had a membership of 45,000 in Ontario.<sup>57</sup> Another women's organization

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54 P. Sandiford, ed., Adult Education in Canada. A Survey, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1935, Ch. 1, p. 3.

55 Ibid., Ch. II, p. 6.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., Ch. X, p. 9.



that was included under the umbrella of adult education was the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.), which had eighty-five chapters or local groups in Ontario, and encouraged a broad assortment of study on international affairs and the Government of Canada.<sup>58</sup> Included also in the term "adult education" was the activity associated with museums and art galleries, although it was pointed out these were poorly equipped compared to similar institutions in Great Britain and the United States because, while those countries spent "14 cents per head per annum ... Canada spent less than 5 cents per head per annum".<sup>59</sup> This summary of activities covered by the term "adult education" shows that Ontario did not follow the narrow British definition, although the broad range of activity did include university-level liberal education.

In the years immediately prior to World War Two, public lectures continued to be a popular feature of the work of the universities. At McMaster the members of the Classics Department were very prominent in promoting extension activity. Professor C.H. Stearn encouraged all members of his small classics staff to give outside lectures, so that in 1936 he reported, "All members of the Department have delivered public lectures or broadcasts on classical topics during the year, including Drama, History and Literature, both Greek and Roman".<sup>60</sup> By 1937, Stearn had taken a leaf out of W.J. Dunlop's book by issuing his report under the heading of Extension Work and Publicity, where he stated:

One would dare to hope ... that it will not be long before the University operates a broadcasting station of its own. When that time comes, the Classical Department will be ready to do its part.<sup>61</sup>

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58 Ibid., Ch. X, p. 11.

59 Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 1.

60 McMaster University, Report of C.H. Stearn, Professor of Classics, April 16, 1937, p. 2. Annual Departmental Reports, 1936-37.

61 McMaster University, Report of C.H. Stearn, Professor of Classics, May 1936, Annual Departmental Reports, 1935-36.

A colleague of Stearns, Professor E.T. Salmon, was active in both W.E.A. work and that of the C.A.A.E. Salmon wrote an article in 1936 that summarised some of the dilemmas of Canadian adult education and also made the following speculation:

The question arises as to the purpose of such (adult education) work. Is it to be strongly practical? Is it to give only professional training or to discuss only sociological problems? Is it for the bookworm or the hustler?<sup>62</sup>

As a classics scholar, Salmon was firmly on the side of those who sought to provide liberal education. In 1939, Salmon recorded that radio courses had been broadcast to Hamilton Sanatorium on Biblical Literature and the History of the Earth; and that the pioneer work done at the sanatorium had encouraged the Provincial Government to ask all five Ontario universities to stimulate university adult education.<sup>63</sup>

To qualify for a B.A. degree at McMaster University through Course Eighteen required the successful completion of nineteen credit courses. Of these credit courses only seven were elective, and the core of the twelve compulsory credits was formed by the requirement that in each year a student had to take English, History and French. The heavy literary flavour of the course can be assessed from the fact that only one course in Science was required on the prescribed programme. In the winter evening classes, women outnumbered men in a ratio of approximately two to one;<sup>64</sup> but, as there were more non-teachers among the men, it is

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62 E.T. Salmon, "McMaster and Adult Education", McMaster Alumni News, Vol. 8, No. 1, December 1936, p. 1.

63 E.T. Salmon, McMaster University, Report for the Year 1938-39. Submitted to the Canadian Association for Adult Education, p. 1.

64 Evening Course Students:

<u>Session</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
1935-36	103	267	370
1936-37	132	262	394

See McMaster's University, Registrar's Reports, for 1935-36 and 1936-37.

possible that men attached more status value to the degree.<sup>65</sup> McMaster's Extension activity concentrated upon development of its B.A. programme and this is not surprising because, as an American educator specialising in liberal education has commented, "Degree programs, by and large, can support themselves, because a degree is a social and economic symbol of considerable power".<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, degree programmes were easy to administer as the registrar could readily predict possible registration from student records that revealed the compulsory subjects that students had yet to complete. On the other hand, it was difficult to establish with accuracy what subjects were really popular, because the students on Course Eighteen at McMaster had to select from a limited range of options that were offered in a regular pattern.

The majority of students enrolled in Course Eighteen at McMaster University were female teachers. Professor E.T. Salmon considered that the reason why there had been a large increase in extension enrolment was that the regulations of the Department required a year of university work, beyond Senior Matriculation, before a Public School First Class Certificate could be made permanent.<sup>67</sup> The truth of Salmon's analysis was shown by the statistics on Extension students enrolled in the winter of 1937-38 when, out of 272 teachers, 188 were working towards securing a Permanent First Class Certificate.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, this situation also prevailed in the

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65 Ibid. In 1935-36, there were thirty-four men who were non-teachers, which formed 33% of the total male enrolment. By contrast, only thirty of the women were not teachers, forming 11% of the total female enrolment.

In 1936-37, there were sixty-one non-teacher male students enrolled, which formed 46% of the total male enrolment: while only twenty-four women were not teachers, forming 9% of the total female enrolment.

66 H.L. Miller, Liberal Adult Education, Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1960, p. 48.

67 E.T. Salmon, "McMaster and Adult Education", McMaster Alumni News, Vol. 8, No. 1, December, 1936, p. 1.

68 McMaster University, Report of the Chancellor of the University, 1937-38, p. 9.

Summer Session where the enrolment leaped from seventy-nine students in 1935 to 225 students in 1936.<sup>69</sup> The Summer School became a more important operation than the Evening Classes and Professor C.H. Stearn was appointed as Director of the Summer School in 1938. There seems little doubt that teachers attending the Summer Session were more interested in improving their teaching qualifications than in liberal study. Confirmation that this was a general attitude came from the enrolment trend at the University of Toronto Summer School. Graduates of the Teachers' Course could take either further training to become a secondary school subject specialist, or pursue study towards a Bachelor of Pedagogy. By 1939, the small response to the opportunity to become a subject specialist led to the decision to discontinue offering honours courses in Arts subjects for specialists;<sup>70</sup> yet, at the same time, over 104 teachers registered for courses in pedagogy.

This emphasis upon professional interests was bound to effect the atmosphere prevailing during Summer Schools at Ontario Universities, and a critic, Professor J.F. MacDonald of the University of Toronto, outlined his opinion:

The atmosphere of the summer school was likely to be that of a teachers' convention - a professional atmosphere among people doing professional work ... Their real interest was to pass the examination, 'Is that part of the examination syllabus?' was the usual question.<sup>71</sup>

W.J. Dunlop replied with an answer that emphasized the success enjoyed by summer-school students:

Many summer-school students went to the top of the secondary-school field, becoming principals and

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69 McMaster University, Report of the Chancellor to the Senate, 1936-37, p. 8.

70 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1939, p. 107.

71 J. Matheson, "The Effect of Summer Schools on the Standards of Faculties of Arts", National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings of Conference held at Queen's University, 1937, p. 30.

inspectors. Judged by the product, he thought the work of the summer schools must be adjudged good.<sup>72</sup>

Dunlop's reply evaded the question of whether public school teachers in Summer Sessions revealed any widespread desire to pursue liberal education in a spirit of exploration. From the evidence available concerning the studies pursued by teachers in extension programmes at the University of Toronto and McMaster University, in the years up to 1939, one can only conclude that the predominant motivation was professional advancement. In order to examine if there were adult students enrolled in liberal study for its own sake, it is necessary to turn to the university tutorial classes.

The "university tutorial" class organised by the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto was a unique creation. On the one hand the tutorial class was different in length from the W.E.A. tutorial classes organised in England but, on the other hand, the non-credit feature was retained. W.J. Dunlop had contact with other directors of extension in the United States and recorded the reaction of some of them to the non-credit feature of such courses:

In conversation with directors of university extension in the United States some weeks ago it was learned that the rage for 'credit' is much more pronounced in that country than it is in Canada. These directors were amazed when told that between three and four thousand men and women are eager to study in classes arranged for the general public ... by this university, when for this study no credit of any kind is given.<sup>73</sup>

The subjects offered in these tutorial classes were a mixture of academic, vocational and general interest subjects. In order to discuss these courses, it is necessary to outline the evening tutorial classes held in 1936 in order of popularity, recording the enrolment for each subject:<sup>74</sup>

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72 Ibid., p. 31.

73 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1936, p. 96.

74 Ibid.

English diction	241	Advertising	62
Public Speaking	227	Modern History	56
Psychology	208	Public Administration	54
Journalism	198	Astronomy	53
Accounting	189	English Composition	47
Current Events	185	Business Organization	45
English Literature	168	Art	44
Conversational French	146	Mercantile Law	40
National Relations	93	Investment	34
German	74		

Formal academic subjects such as Modern History or German were only moderately successful but it is also noticeable that, as in England, English Literature appealed to a relatively large group of adults. When one studies the five most popular subjects, the impression given is that these had a utilitarian appeal. Students who sought correct diction and public speaking, allied to such subjects as Psychology, Journalism and Accounting, evidently wanted "to get on".<sup>75</sup> Recreational subjects such as Art and Astronomy were not very popular, while such business subjects as Mercantile Law and Investment had a very limited appeal. It is difficult to apply any generalisation to this programme other than to say that, while there were liberal elements, it would be incorrect to describe this programme as liberal education from which students did not stand to improve their chances of personal advancement.

As Dunlop observed several times in his reports to the President of the University of Toronto, it was difficult to predict the popularity of new offerings within the tutorial class programme. There was a tremendous range of interests that led, for example, in 1937, to courses in Air Conditioning, Gymnastics, Lip Reading, Philosophy and Town Planning.<sup>76</sup> The

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75 The difficulty of establishing the motivation of adults enrolled in evening classes was discussed at length in earlier chapters pertaining to England. It is here assumed that students in Toronto were ambitious if they attended winter classes oriented towards vocational training.

76 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of December 9, 1937, p. 3, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 - November 25, 1943.

President of the University of Toronto observed that this type of extension course carried itself financially through the fees that were paid.<sup>77</sup> Dunlop expressed his own recipe for success in organising these classes, when he stated:

In the evening class, everything centres around the tutor. Some of the most successful tutors are women. 'Equal pay for equal work' is the invariable rule in these classes. The tutor must, first and most important of all, have personality. The instruction must 'sparkle'.<sup>78</sup> If it does not, there will soon be no students.

The key concept appears to have revolved around "sparkling" tutors teaching popular subjects. Undoubtedly a great deal of education was conducted through the medium of these classes, but one wonders if such courses as "dancing and swimming" and "mechanical power transmission" were really suitable subjects for a University.<sup>79</sup>

The Ontario W.E.A. continued to promote adult education to the industrial worker and, in 1936, extended its work to include farmers enrolled in what were termed Agricola Study Clubs. W.J. Dunlop described Drummond Wren as an "educational missionary" and felt that the expense of his activity was warranted because, "Those who are most indifferent to their need for education are usually those who listen most readily to the propagandist doctrines shouted by the representatives of the subversive elements in the community".<sup>80</sup> In terms of numbers the Ontario W.E.A. had long been passed by the Toronto University tutorial classes but, nevertheless, in 1937-38, there were 1432 students enrolled in W.E.A. classes

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<sup>77</sup> University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1939, p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> W.J. Dunlop, "Adult Education", The School, Vol. 24, June, 1936, p. 287.

<sup>79</sup> These subjects were recorded as new additions in 1939. See University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1939, p. 102.

<sup>80</sup> W.J. Dunlop, "Adult Education", The School, Vol. 24, June, 1936, p. 828.

all over Ontario.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the main subjects that were taught were similar to those that were well known in the English parent association; namely Economics, Psychology, Philosophy, Political Science and Sociology.<sup>82</sup> Instructors from McMaster University taught Sociology in Hamilton and Current Events in St. Catharines.<sup>83</sup> But although the W.E.A. programme may have appeared to be healthy the Association was about to have a severe financial crisis.

The grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York was arranged on a diminishing scale so that, while it had started out at \$3,500 in 1933-34, the amount available to pay Drummond Wren's salary in 1937-38 was only \$1,500.<sup>84</sup> Fortunately, the Dominion Government aided the Association between 1938-39 with a total grant of \$10,000.<sup>85</sup> This was a commendable action in view of possible friction with the Provincial government which jealously guarded its constitutional right to control all education in Ontario. The Dominion grant was made through the action of the Minister of Labour, the Honourable Norman Rogers, who remembered his experiences as a tutor for the Ontario W.E.A. Rogers justified his grant on the basis of the W.E.A. providing educational facilities for unemployed persons. But the Provincial Government wielded an economy axe in 1939 that chopped ten per cent off grants to higher education and, in turn, the University of Toronto slashed the annual allocation for the W.E.A. from \$8,000 to \$2,000.<sup>86</sup> Possibly part of the difficulties en-

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81 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938, p. 102.

82 Ibid.

83 McMaster University, Report for the Year 1937-38 submitted to the Canadian Association for Adult Education, p. 2.

84 Letter of W.J. Dunlop dated June 5, 1937, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1936 - June 1937.

85 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 22.

86 Ibid., p. 23.



countered by the Ontario W.E.A. stemmed from the increasing tension between W.J. Dunlop and Drummond Wren. The Secretary of the W.E.A. wrote to Dunlop on August 19, 1939 and sought to confirm the details of an earlier discussion. Wren wrote, "You advised me as to your intention as to the disbursement of the \$2,000 which had been allocated by the University (of Toronto) to W.E.A. purposes ... Am I correct in my understanding ... that no part of the \$2,000 may be used for the payment of tutors from other universities?"<sup>87</sup> Dunlop sent this letter, along with a copy of his reply to President H.J. Cody and commented that Wren had "deliberately misunderstood him, so I did not explicitly answer his question".<sup>88</sup> Meanwhile, the executive of the W.E.A. had sought an interview with President Cody and this led to the establishment of a joint committee of academics and W.E.A. members to study the problem of tutorial grants. The difficulties seemed to be on their way to becoming solved when the Committee persuaded the University to increase its allotment to the W.E.A. by \$900 for 1940.

Before considering the unique problems introduced to extension by World War Two, the nature of some of the vocational training supervised by the Department of Extension needs to be briefly examined. In 1937, a one-year Course in Air Navigation was started and the Dominion Government provided a link pilot trainer on loan to the University.<sup>89</sup> While ostensibly the plan was to train civilian personnel for commercial airlines, the potential for training military aircrew was apparent. Also,

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87 Letter from Drummond Wren, General Secretary of the W.E.A. to W.J. Dunlop, August 19, 1939, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940.

88 Letter from W.J. Dunlop to President H.J. Cody dated September 13, 1939, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1939 to June 1940.

89 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of September 15, 1937, Minute Book, November 13, 1930-November 25, 1943

in 1937, short courses of five weeks duration were planned in conjunction with the C.A.A.E. to train leaders in adult education, with the Canadian Association prepared to give \$1,000 to support these courses.<sup>90</sup> By 1938, a short course was conducted for seventy-two social workers who wished to update their knowledge.<sup>91</sup> This interest in helping to solve the problems of the community was paralleled by events at McMaster University, where a study began to frame the requirements needed for a Vocational Guidance course for social workers, personnel workers and teachers.<sup>92</sup>

The matter of certification of Extension courses at the University of Toronto became a major responsibility for a new committee. On December 9, 1938, Statute 1413 repealed the earlier Statutes 307 of 1894 and 594 of 1908. There was now to be a Standing Committee of Senate to be called the Committee on University Extension; this committee was to consist of the Chancellor, the President, Director of Extension, thirteen members of the Senate and thirteen representatives appointed by Faculties and Departments.<sup>93</sup> This was the first time that the Director of Extension had served on a Senate Standing Committee that supervised the activities of the Extension Department. This Committee was given the specific power to fix courses of study leading to diplomas and certificates. This power was soon exercised when, in October 1939, the Director of Extension proposed a three-year Certificate Course in Business, which he claimed:

would link the University more closely with the world of business and would enable many young people who are now engaged in business to improve their knowledge and their training.<sup>94</sup>

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90 Ibid.

91 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938, p. 110.

92 McMaster University, Alumni News, Vol. II, No. 1, Oct. 12, 1939, p. 1.

93 University of Toronto, Senate Minutes, December 9, 1938.

94 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of October 10, 1939, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 - November 25, 1943.

Dunlop pointed out that many of the existing tutorial classes in such subjects as Accounting, Mercantile Law and Business Organization could be used as the basis of such a course.<sup>95</sup> A student who completed six courses could qualify for a certificate and the entire programme was to be spread out over three years. The admission standard was set at Junior Matriculation, or Grade 12, which was lower than that required for a degree programme. There was no attempt to incorporate liberal arts subjects, as there had been at McMaster when that university co-operated with businessmen in arranging a course. At Toronto, the subjects of Economics and Psychology were offered as two options but were taught with relevance to the world of business. However, by the time this Certificate Course in Business was launched, the outbreak of World War Two overshadowed the normal activity of the Extension Department.

The mobilization of men led to a concern about educating the rank and file of the Armed Forces. Whereas prior to the War the education of adults had been conducted on a parsimonious basis, the wartime claim that democracy was in danger opened the purse strings of the Government. There were two pressure groups seeking adult education for the troops, which were the Citizen's Committee for Troops in Training and the Canadian Legion War Services Incorporated. These groups sought guidance from W.J. Dunlop, chairman of the Executive Committee of the C.A.A.E., who agreed to accept the responsibility for the education of the troops in Military District No. 2, which comprised the area around Toronto.

Dunlop convened a meeting of representatives of the four English speaking universities of Ontario, a group which included Professor E.T. Salmon of McMaster, and it was agreed to offer a modified junior matriculation course for members of the Armed Forces. A committee was

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95 Ibid.

formed called the Committee on Education of the Troops, of which W.J. Dunlop was chairman and, as the University of Toronto Extension Department already handled correspondence courses in Junior Matriculation subjects, he offered to pass along details of these courses to the other universities. The Committee proposed that the subjects should be taught in the evening, "and that instructors be asked to do the teaching without remuneration, at least for the present".<sup>96</sup> Secondary school teachers from the University of Toronto School volunteered to teach courses in Geometry, French, English and Accounting. These new classes also aided men who, while not yet in the Armed Forces, aspired to become pilots and navigators in the Royal Canadian Air Force (R.C.A.F.). Recruiting officers of the R.C.A.F. requested the assistance of the Universities in preparing potential recruits for service as aircrew, and large classes were held in Mathematics which enabled 460 men to meet the requirements in the first year.<sup>97</sup> In addition, 125 men were enrolled in classes on aerial navigation,<sup>98</sup> while the Diploma Course in Aerial Navigation was providing navigation instructors for the R.C.A.F. During the same period, at McMaster University, Professors Stearns and Salmon joined the C.O.T.C. contingent to help train officers,<sup>99</sup> as well as arranging for classes in the English language for seventy-five French-Canadians stationed in Hamilton.<sup>100</sup> The growing importance of extension activity at McMaster was recognised at this time by the appointment, in 1941, of Professor C.H. Stearn to be Director of Extension. Also by, 1941, the initial arrangements for mem-

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96 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of January 9, 1940, Minute Book, November 13, 1930-November 25, 1943.

97 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1940, p. 100.

98 Ibid., p. 101.

99 C.H. Stearn, McMaster University, "Report to the Chancellor dated June 10, 1941", Departmental Annual Reports, 1940-41.

100 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, Annual Report, p. 5., Departmental Reports for 1941-42.

bers of H.M. Forces had been expanded to include Senior Matriculation (Grade XIII), through correspondence courses provided without cost to the serviceman. With the aid of the Canadian Legion Educational Services, the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto was soon mailing courses to men stationed in England and prisoners of war in Germany.

One feature of university activity that differed from World War One was that there was less flag waving through the medium of patriotic public lectures. In fact, interest in local lectures seem to have started a permanent decline. There was of course the competition of radio broadcasts and, in wartime, a desire to relax through listening to music. But this does not seem to have been the whole story. At the University of Toronto, W.J. Dunlop reported in 1941 in a "Report on War Service" that he had addressed many Lodges throughout the Province.<sup>101</sup> Dunlop dovetailed his extension lectures with his Masonic activity and was Grand Master of the Masonic Order for Ontario; presumably the "war service" reported to the President of the University of Toronto comprised an adaption from the promotion of adult education to discussion of the War.

A different situation prevailed at McMaster University, where professors displayed little enthusiasm for local lectures, and one explanation is rather revealing:

It seems to be custom in at least one society in the city, to assume that, while professors from Toronto and other universities should be paid, McMaster professors come for nothing; the result is that programmes carry what they can afford of Toronto material and fill in with McMaster!<sup>102</sup>

While this statement could be seen as an indictment of the Scottish blood inherited by many Hamilton citizens, this would rather misrepresent the

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<sup>101</sup> W.J. Dunlop, "A Report on War Service dated Dec. 12, 1941", University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1941 - June 1942.

<sup>102</sup> McMaster University, "Memorandum re Extension Lecturers and payment of fees", Extension Committee, Minute Book, n.d. The year appears to be 1941.

situation. It would seem that the author of this memorandum, who omitted to give his name, aspired to organise professors and regretted that they had a habit of making a private arrangement to lecture gratis for some club. The habits of academics are apparently apt to play havoc with those who desire efficiency. In any event, it seems apparent that the local lecture was not as popular in the Second World War as it had been in the previous struggle.

The nature of the Second World War introduced a unique set of conditions for the encouragement of adult education. Allied troops, including Canadians, became virtually permanent residents of the United Kingdom. As the extensive British arrangements for educating the rank and file have been discussed at length, the discussion here assumes that Canadian adult educators were aware of the activity in the United Kingdom. Certainly the wartime concern over social justice that produced the Beveridge Report was well known, as over 65,000 copies of that report were sold in North America. The views of Canadian adult educators were aired in a periodical called Food for Thought. Early in the War, in May 1940, at a time when the Battle of Britain was about to begin, the editor of this journal stressed the familiar concern over the importance of Canada's role in the English speaking world:

Canada, as the natural connecting link between Britain and the United States occupies a position of considerable delicacy. Belonging to the American continent ... she has the task of interpreting Britain's ideals and necessities, both to her rather heterogeneous population, as well as to her large neighbour south of 'the Undefended Frontier'. It is a complex task.<sup>103</sup>

Possibly Britons and Americans would be rather astonished to hear about the complexity of this self-assigned role of Canada, because Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook seemed to be able to manage in their direct

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103 R.S. Lambert, Food for Thought, No. 5, May, 1940, p. 15.

communication with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. But as the war progressed there was less talk of Canada being the linchpin of the English-speaking world and more interest shown concerning social issues. A commentator has recorded that:

As the crisis deepened, and the implications of the war became apparent, the conviction grew that even larger responsibilities loomed ahead for the (Canadian Adult Education) Association. Clearly our whole society was being challenged ... It was felt that the C.A.A.E. must be in a position to bear its full weight in the postwar world. With this sense of urgency, a representative group met in ... 1942 to attempt a philosophy of the whole movement.<sup>104</sup>

From this conference at London, Ontario, attended by 230 delegates from across Canada there was released "The C.A.A.E. Manifesto". The principles concerning social controls and planning were enunciated in ringing phrases:

Human beings are ends, not means. Efficient service to the community, and not social privilege, financial power or property rights, should determine the status of the individual.<sup>105</sup>

In a country that had often stressed the classless nature of the community, this was quite strong medicine. From the deliberations of this conference came the belief that what was wanted was a sustained programme of public enlightenment. The C.A.A.E. collaborated with the C.B.C. in producing a radio show called the Citizen's Forum, which entailed a panel discussion by experts that was broadcast nationally, supplemented by further discussion by listeners who were organised into small groups. Such a grand plan was commendable but there were problems, as was revealed by the comment, "The organization of groups among urban people has proved a problem".<sup>106</sup> At the same time adult education was reaching a vast au-

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104 J.R. Kidd, ed., Adult Education in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, p. 45.

105 "The C.A.A.E. Manifesto", Food for Thought, Vol. III, No. 10, June 1943, p. 4.

106 J.R. Kidd, ed., Adult Education in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, p. 45.

dience compared to pre-war days and a great deal of the credit for this expansion was due to W.J. Dunlop. By his organising ability and energy, Dunlop had rendered great service to the cause of adult education and deserved the recognition accorded to him by the University of Western Ontario which, in 1942, awarded him an honorary LL.D. Another factor that contributed to the expanded activity of adult education was the help of the National Film Board which in 1942 began to produce documentary films on a variety of issues suitable for adult viewing. By the end of the war the National Film Board had produced an amazing total of over one thousand films which were distributed throughout Canada.<sup>107</sup> This gigantic operation, financed by the Canadian federal government, came at a most opportune time for adult educators.

The Carnegie Corporation had distributed over five million dollars in support of adult education in North America but, in 1941, the Corporation issued this statement:

After extended study and discussion of the considerations involved, the Corporation now believes that the Corporation can best serve the cause of adult education during the next decade by providing funds not for the continuation of the program initiated in 1925 ... but for the establishment of a limited society, institute, or other organization devoted to intensive study of the opportunities, problems, materials and methods of adult education and to the training of leaders and competent workers.<sup>108</sup>

The result of this decision was to reduce the flow of funds supplied to adult education by the Carnegie Corporation.

One of the organizations that had received help from the Carnegie Corporation in the past had been the Ontario W.E.A. In order to understand how workers' education fared during the war years, an important

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107 Ibid., p. 189.

108 William E. Cotton, On Behalf of Adult Education An Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature, Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1968, pp. 8-9.



element of American workers' education needs to be briefly examined. Whereas the W.E.A. in England stressed individual self-improvement through liberal study, the emphasis in America was on group action for group purposes. This meant indoctrinating the union membership in the traditions and ideals of their union plus the development of local leaders. Because trade unions in Canada were frequently locals of parent unions in the United States, they could not remain immune from the philosophy that imbued such an international union. What was even more important was that the type of liberal education advocated by the W.E.A. was unlikely to receive any firm support from the union headquarters. Moreover, during the Second World War, for the first time Canadian trade unions began to attract large numbers of new members.<sup>109</sup> The official history of the Ontario W.E.A. records that:

Much of the work of the Association moved from the academic to the practical ... a research director began the publication of Labour News, the writing of briefs for trade union negotiations, and keeping records on wages and working conditions that would be useful to the unions.<sup>110</sup>

The W.E.A. was moving from a British point of view to one that reflected the influence of the United States. Such a trend intensified the difficulties of the officers of the Association who sought to uphold the liberal tradition of education. Furthermore, when the University of Toronto withdrew financial support of the Association, in 1942, this action came as a body blow.

In view of the valuable support that the University of Toronto had given to the W.E.A. since the Association was founded the circumstances need to be briefly examined. Professor H.A. Innis was chairman of the

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109 See J.A. Blyth, The Canadian Social Inheritance, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972, p. 75.

110 Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 26.

joint committee that tried to resolve the difficulties between W.J. Dunlop and Drummond Wren concerning the provision of tutors. A letter that Innis wrote to the President of the University of Toronto conveys an impression that Dunlop had been indulging in practices that had created friction with other universities. The letter proposed "that funds be given directly to Queen's and Western, rather than through your office",<sup>111</sup> and went on to indicate one of the sources of discontent with the comment:

Your advisory committee has felt that it achieved a definite step forward in securing a return to the full rate of payment. The half-time rate was responsible for ill feeling against the university and particularly the Department of Extension on the part of the instructors concerned.<sup>112</sup>

In his reply of May 8, 1942, President Cody stated that he and the Minister of Education had agreed that the amount for the W.E.A. to be placed in the estimates was to be \$3,000. While this was welcome news, the subsequent comments make one wonder if W.J. Dunlop had primed the President, because Cody continued:

Should the W.E.A. make any appeal to the Minister it will not receive much sympathy ... Really when workmen are earning high wages, as they are at present, I believe that if they had some definite fee for the classes given them, they would appreciate the teaching part. Apparently the broadcasts which are arranged by Mr. Wren have been giving rise to serious criticism throughout the Dominion.<sup>113</sup>

The latter part of this statement confirms that the real difficulty was that the W.E.A. had developed dreadful socialist tendencies which were not appreciated by conservative educators. Professor Innis was a good friend of the W.E.A. and no doubt conveyed to them the climate of opinion that prevailed in official circles. But worse had yet to come.

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111 Letter from H.A. Innis to President H.J. Cody dated April 20, 1942, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July, 1941 to June 30, 1942.

112 Ibid.

113 Letter from H.J. Cody to H.A. Innis dated May 8, 1942, President's Papers, July 1941 to June 1942.

A letter from W.J. Dunlop to President Cody dated July 10, 1942 stated that he had sent Dr. Innis a letter in which the following appeared:

The financial situation in the University is not particularly bright this session ... Among the appropriations that have been deleted is that for the Workers' Educational Association. Before that grant was deleted from the list, the Minister of Education was consulted and agreed that the proposed action was fully justified.<sup>114</sup>

Dunlop had struck back against his critics and seemed to be well on the way to eliminating the W.E.A. Even the office help of the Association knew Dunlop's power because he declared that, "It was necessary to send a telephone message to the office of the Workers' Educational Association to tell the stenographer there that she can no longer receive her salary through this office".<sup>115</sup>

The W.E.A. executive now decided that nothing would be lost by a direct appeal to the Premier of the Province. Drummond Wren was granted an interview with the Honourable Mitchell F. Hepburn, who had meanwhile been advised by President H.J. Cody that it might be wise to pay any grant directly to the Association. Premier Hepburn agreed to restore the grant, pay it directly to the Association, and even raised it to \$4,000.<sup>116</sup> In effect this episode severed the close relationship between the University of Toronto and the W.E.A. Although the Association continued to have the loan of a house on St. George Street upon the campus of the University, the handwriting was on the wall. At the end of the war, the Association was asked to vacate the property on the premise that the building was needed to accomodate an influx of university students. For all practical purposes, this action terminated the link between the University of Toronto and the W.E.A. which had been weakened

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<sup>114</sup> Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President H.J. Cody dated July 10, 1942, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 10, 1942 - June 30, 1943.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Workers' Educational Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, p. 25.

by the struggles of 1942.<sup>117</sup> In one way the decline of the W.E.A. was paradoxical because during wartime there was an upsurge in the strength of trade unionism. But the stirring of trade union consciousness seems to have aroused some concern among educators at the University of Toronto, and this concern was illustrated by an incident of 1942 which involved British and American academics.

The minutes of a meeting held by the University of Toronto Committee on University Extension for January 22, 1942, contain details of a discussion about a proposal to hold a lecture course entitled "Industrial Relations in Wartime". This course had been designed by the Department of Economics and the speakers were to include A.R. Mosher, President of the Canadian Congress of Labour; Professor J.H. Richardson, Visiting Professor in Economics from Leeds University; Elton Mayo and S.H. Slichter of the Harvard School of Business Administration. W.J. Dunlop had misgivings about the subject matter which he considered provocative and so he did not recommend that the course be given.<sup>118</sup> In turn, the Board of Governors declined to give approval to the course, and this constituted the first time since Dunlop became director of Extension and Publicity in 1920 that a course submitted by him had been rejected.<sup>119</sup> The incident reveals some of the underlying distrust about

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117 It should be recorded that in 1949 the Association was again deprived of support by the Government of Ontario. The Association was unable to pay tutors and accumulated debts. Two years later a fairy god-mother enabled the Association to clear its debts in the guise of W.J. Dunlop, the newly appointed Minister of Education, who restored the grant. However, the decline of the W.E.A. continued as it steadily shrunk from what was a national organization based in Toronto to merely a local operation in Toronto.

See Workers' Education Association, Our Canadian Adventure in Education, Toronto: 1953, pp. 27, 51.

118 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of January 22, 1942, Minute Book, November 13, 1930 to November 25, 1943.

119 Ibid.

Dunlop recorded this observation. One can only assume that the Director of Extension passed the controversial issue to the Board of Governors, in order that he could claim that he had not made the final decision.

having open discussion led by professors from Leeds University and Harvard University who were, presumably, seen as likely to support native subversive elements.

In such a climate of opinion the W.E.A. was bound to have a difficult time. From 1942 their work continued in conjunction with a committee of Toronto professors that selected the tutors, but the real problem was that the trade unions never really supported the W.E.A. Those unions that did affiliate only required a nominal yearly financial levy of five cents per member.<sup>120</sup> The dwindling fortunes of the W.E.A. will not be recounted in detail as, for the purposes of this thesis, the severance of the tie with the University of Toronto makes the Association no longer relevant. In trying to analyse the reason why the W.E.A. failed to become established, the lesson that seems evident is that this British idea could not survive in a different social milieu. Canadian society did not have a deeply rooted paternalistic tradition of noblesse oblige, coupled with a belief that the bulk of the population formed a working class, and consequently an educational idea rooted in these notions failed for lack of support. Moreover, the Canadian experience tends to shed light upon the essential weakness of the creed espoused by the parent W.E.A. organization in England. The growth of the movement founded by Albert Mansbridge had led to speculation as to whether the word "Workers" accurately reflected the majority of students enrolled in classes. In Ontario the illusion that students were manual workers was ruthlessly exposed by W.J. Dunlop, when he enforced the rules that logically flowed from Mansbridge's emphasis on serving the manual worker. The same issue was known in England but would not erupt into a national controversy until after the Second World War. By that time the momentum of the movement in Ontario had been lost because of a lack of support.

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120 John Wigdor, "Workers' Education - 1944", Food for Thought, Vol. IV, No. 10, July 1944, p. 5.

On the other hand, some of the large business corporations exhibited a wartime interest in adult education. Lever Brothers, the British soap company, had a chief executive in Canada named President Nairn who felt that employees would benefit from training that gave them both a better understanding of human relations and the industry in which they earned their living.<sup>121</sup> Lever Brothers were joined by the meat packing companies of Swift Canadian and Canada Packers and, collectively, these companies sponsored courses arranged by the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto. Courses were provided in industrial chemistry, physics, French and Psychology. While a claim can be made that these subjects can be taught in a liberal manner, the stress placed upon industrial application<sup>122</sup> did not encourage the lecturers to broaden their approach.

Liberal education did continue during the war years. At the University of Toronto the number enrolled in the Teachers' Course was smaller than pre-war, but this was to be expected in view of the absence of many teachers on war service. Moreover, ex-servicemen now had an opportunity to attend the university in regular full-time classes and thereby speed up the time required to secure a B.A. degree. At McMaster, the War curtailed extension activity and, in particular, the Summer Session. In the summer of 1943 the attendance fell drastically, because the Ontario Department of Education suggested that teachers go on farms or into war factories and, also, relaxed the requirement about attending university in order to secure a Permanent Public School First Class Certificate.<sup>123</sup>

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121 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1942, p. 43.

122 Ibid. President Nairn of Lever Brothers stressed the usefulness of education, in terms of more efficient employees having a better grasp of elements of the company's operations.

123 McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension to the Chancellor, Annual Departmental Reports, 1942-43.

But the teachers began to return to study in the following year when, despite a renewed plea by the Department of Education to engage in war work, the Summer School enrolment jumped from 139 to 270 students, with sixty of the latter doing Course Eighteen work.<sup>124</sup> In contrast to the austere conditions provided at the University of Toronto Summer School, McMaster sought to provide extra-curricular activities to make the Summer Session enjoyable as well as instructional. There were free classes in Folk Dancing, Dramatics and Group Singing, and the provision of these subjects exhibited the philosophy of the Director of Extension, who stated:

In general I was opposed to universities offering the kinds of instruction which ordinarily belong to technical schools, conservatories, and schools of art. Universities were concerned with the Humanities and the Sciences ... But I saw no inconsistency in doing all I could to make the Summer School something more than an assembly line in a degree factory.<sup>125</sup>

Professor Stearn was aware that there were critics of these extra-curricular activities, but observed:

The constant growth of the Summer School, in the days before School Trustees rewarded the teacher for every new credit towards graduation, was in no small measure due to those 'frills' or 'fringe benefits', as some, mocking, called them.<sup>126</sup>

Stearn often reflected on the purpose of adult education and, in 1943, provided this personal interpretation:

Adult Education should comprehend every intelligent activity of body and soul ... So interpreted, this movement is concerned not only with classes in English, Psychology and Philosophy but with the Drama, the Dance, the Gymnasium, the swimming pool, the Artist's loom, the Workshop, the Carpenter's Bench, yes, and even the Quilting Bee.<sup>127</sup>

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124 See statistics in Appendix regarding McMaster University.

125 C.H. Stearn, "From Parker's Piece to Canadian Campus", An Autobiography, p. 136.

Dr. Colin Stearn of McGill University kindly provided a copy of that part of his father's autobiography which was relevant to Extension work.

126 Ibid., p. 137.

127 C.H. Stearn, "Adult Education in an Ontario Community", Food for Thought, Vol. IV, November, 1943, p. 18.

The Director of McMaster's Extension Programme certainly had a broad view of the nature of liberal education. What seems noticeable about the application of this philosophy was that those subjects described as "fringe benefits" formed non-credit courses. Credit courses demanded greater effort and the student choice was restricted to respectable academic subjects.

In 1941, a change occurred in the requirements for Course Eighteen when the curriculum was revised so that a total of nine credits were to be completed in compulsory subjects and eight and one-half credits of elective subjects.<sup>128</sup> One wonders at the purpose of requiring half a credit but the methods of academia are sometimes hard to rationalise and, possibly this fraction represented some type of compromise or had symbolic value. A more important development of 1941 was the introduction of a course in Cost Accounting, which was recognised by the Society of Cost Accountants as a credit towards their degree of Registered Industrial Accountant (R.I.A.); and which in addition carried academic credit towards McMaster's B.A. degree.<sup>129</sup> The inclusion of this business subject in the B.A. programme seems a sensible decision and possibly owed something to earlier experience with those courses designed for businessmen that had attracted undergraduates. The dividing line between subject matter that could be considered liberal education or vocational training was sometimes difficult to establish. Therefore a recognition that a subject such as Accountancy could be regarded as containing a potential for both forms of education was a realistic assessment.

Attendance in the extension tutorial classes at the University of Toronto declined until 1943-44 when there was a surge in enrolment.

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128 McMaster University, Extension Committee, "Conference re Extension Curriculum on November 5, 1941", Minute Book, 1930-1955.

129 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, Annual Report, Annual Departmental Reports 1941-42, p. 5.



By late 1943, the victory of the Allies seemed to be assured and possibly a war weary general public was turning towards other interests. The total enrolment figure of 5,185 was more than double the figure for the previous year.<sup>130</sup> In order to convey the diversity of offerings in these tutorial classes, the subjects will be listed in the order of popularity revealed by the enrolment figures:

Geography	300	Firefighters	99
Interior Decoration	283	English Literature	98
Business Organisation	243	Economics	90
English Voice, Speech and Diction	189	English Composition	75
French	171	Cost Accounting	68
Accident Prevention	163	Vocational Guidance	59
English Diction	152	Medieval History	37
Accounting	137	Electro-Magnetic Theory	32
Authorship	126	German	24

Footnote No. 131

It is difficult to generalise about such an assortment of subjects. What is noticeable is that the largest enrolment was in classes concerned with English diction which seems to be a commentary on the desire of individuals to smoothe the path of upward social mobility. In the evening classes held the following year, between 1944-45, a new enrolment record of 5,503 students was recorded, with the new subjects including How to Conduct a Meeting, Trees, and Soil Mechanics.<sup>132</sup> By 1945, university tutorial classes showed signs of breaking new attendance records, particularly as the end of the war signalled a general burst of interest in the education of adults.

The University of Toronto was expecting many veterans to enrol as undergraduates and therefore the administration was receptive to any ideas that would assist in planning for these adult students. The Depart-

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130 The figure for 1942-43 had been 2,341 students enrolled in evening tutorial classes.

131 The University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1944, p. 45.

132 The University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1945, p. 54.

ment of Economics proposed a diploma course in Business for those ex-servicemen who contemplated entering the business world. By December 1944 the course had been planned and comprised a ten month course requiring fourteen hours a week. The administration of the course was to be handled by the Department of Extension upon the understanding that the course would be discontinued at the end of the rehabilitation period. The introduction of this course started an earnest debate as to whether a student who successfully completed all the requirements should receive a certificate or diploma. One professor objected to the proposal that a diploma should be awarded because the Occupational Therapy and Physiotherapy diploma required two academic years.<sup>133</sup> In vain did the Committee on University Extension point out that the word "diploma" was being used to distinguish the veterans course from the regular Course in Business for which a certificate was awarded. A decision was made to change the name of the proposed course to the Certificate Course in Business Administration.<sup>134</sup> However, six weeks later, Professor Ashley of the Department of Political Economy sought to have the name changed to "The Certificate Course for Ex-Servicemen in Business" and this rather unwieldy title was approved by the Committee on University Extension.<sup>135</sup>

Another course for veterans handled by the Department of Extension was a two-year course in Institutional Management which was established to train veterans to manager tourist resorts. Miss McGregor of the School of Social Work took exception to the granting of a diploma and asked that a certificate only be given to which the Extension Commit-

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133 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954, Minutes of December 8, 1944.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid., Minutes of February 14, 1945.

tee agreed.<sup>136</sup> The saga of the suitability of academic recognition for different courses was not, however, yet ended. The organisers of the courses in Physiotherapy and Occupational Therapy were seeking enhanced status and, in an effort to play down the rather demeaning basket weaving connotation connected with parts of their courses, had changed the description given in the Calendar. For example, the title "crafts" was replaced with the term "therapeutic occupations".<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, these courses were extended to provide a three-year programme and permission was sought to grant degrees with the title of Bachelor of Therapy (O.T.) and Bachelor of Physiotherapy (P.Th.).<sup>138</sup> On the other hand the university registrar preferred the title B. Ther. for Bachelor of Occupational Therapy.<sup>139</sup> But further discussion about the most suitable title became unnecessary when the Executive Committee of the Senate rejected the proposal that degrees be awarded for these programmes.<sup>140</sup> At the same time, the discussion had drawn attention to the lack of liberal content in these two courses because as a Dr. Baillie objected, "the course (in Occupational Therapy) in his opinion was too heavily overloaded and ... did not provide a liberal education necessary for a degree".<sup>141</sup> This was an appropriate reminder that a university degree was not intended to be a trade qualification.

This was a time when there was considerable concern voiced about the importance of liberal education at the University of Toronto, and the

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136 Ibid., Minutes of November 12, 1945.

137 Ibid., Minutes of February 24, 1944.

138 Ibid., Minutes of November 12, 1945.

139 Ibid., Minutes of December 6, 1945.

140 Ibid., Minutes of February 21, 1946.

141 Ibid., Minutes of November 12, 1945.

Senate established a Special Committee on Greek Studies which proposed that:

No student should graduate without an acquaintance with the Greek view of life and its bearing on modern civilization and the Committee suggests all honours students in the Faculty of Arts have a two hour course in Greek and Roman Civilization preferably in the Fourth Year (and) ... that with the same principle in view, the professional faculties be invited to consider the advisability of presenting similar courses.<sup>142</sup>

The Committee on University Extension agreed that "a course in Greek and Roman History would be advantageous in both Occupational and Physiotherapy and should be included when courses available were known".<sup>143</sup>

McMaster University also seemed to be blending vocational and liberal study. McMaster initiated a diploma course in Vocational Guidance which was principally aimed at teachers attending the Summer Session. An inducement for public school teachers to take the course was the provision that the courses in Political Economy and Psychology could also be credited towards a B.A. degree programme.<sup>144</sup>

During the war, the Director of McMaster's Extension Department had become very interested in the idea of community development. A popular idea at that time was that community centres should be established as meeting places, and that there should be community councils representative of the community. The executive of the C.A.A.E. asked Professor Stearn to chair a committee that was established to study the functioning of Community Councils and their relationship to adult education.

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142 Ibid., Minutes of April 13, 1946. Dr. Dunlop read a letter from the Registrar that contained the cited recommendation.

143 Ibid.

144 McMaster University, Department of Extension, Brochure on Diploma Course in Vocational Guidance (Career Planning), p. 2.

Stearn sent out a questionnaire to organizations and individuals who might be interested in welcoming adult educators into such councils, and the replies were revealing. Stearn reported that, "There are, it seems, still some who think of Adult Education in purely cultural terms; the replies indicate that this conception is on the wane".<sup>145</sup> Stearn then went on to outline his own convictions on the subject, which are quoted at length because they exhibit an awareness of the danger of professional educators becoming involved in community movements that are best left to develop by themselves. Stearn discussed the concept of a community centre and then stated:

The University can never take the place of such a centre. When asked if they wished assistance from the local university, one group said they would welcome help of the proper kind; another that they had not considered the question, another that it had not been discussed. All of which replies were not particularly thrilling to a Director of Extension! But perhaps they are right. Wise directors are prepared to help when asked, rather than try to take control of a thing that should grow of itself ... In her excellent booklet on 'Adult Education Councils of America' ... Ruth Kotinsky sounds a wise warning for two classes of Adult Education enthusiasts against 'hogging' such movements in order to promote their own particular interests. May I with bated breath name both of them? One is the Director of Extension; the other is the Librarian.<sup>146</sup>

Professor Stearn saw that the pursuit of social objectives by a professional administrator was often accompanied by interest in accomplishing personal objectives. Stearn was a scholar rooted in the classics and his outlook contrasted to the type of professional administrator who recorded:

The new world doesn't need clever people who are clever for private study ... The new adult education is social ... When we say it is also activist, we mean this: it

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145 C.H. Stearn, "These Community Councils", Food for Thought, Vol. IV, No. 6, March 1944, p. 15.

146 Ibid., p. 16.

doesn't see itself as something aloof from the general social process, worshipping a neutral abstract truth in lofty detachment. ... (What is needed is) the true democracy of the community forum where the expert contributes modestly as a servant of the people and the Common Man has the central place ... Teachers and professors and adult educationists have to make up their mind ... whether they are on the side of social change or on the side of the status quo.<sup>147</sup>

Apart from the anti-intellectual attitude displayed in this article, the grouping of "Teachers and professors and adult educationists" displays a rather revealing attitude. In fact, it seems symptomatic of the tendency noted by Professor Stearn that professional administrators often promote their own interests and, in this case, one was linking his name to instructors because it suited his purpose.

The Canadian tendency was to make the administration of adult education a profession, which contrasted to the English pattern, where directors of extension were usually scholars in their own right. An example of the cleavage between administrator and academic in Ontario was provided by the reaction of the W.E.A. when confronted with the administrative professionalism of W.J. Dunlop; the Association turned to professors such as H.A. Innis. A few years later Professor Innis was a leading member of a Royal Commission on Adult Education in Manitoba and helped to draft the following summary:

In the main, adult education has tended to fall into the hands of those who do not command the respect of scholars and are looked upon with suspicion by them. Both scholars and the public look upon them as concerned with vested interests, including parties, governments or their own positions. Bringing the university to the people may become a pick-pocket device which the public ought to suspect. As a part of the university machinery designed to impress legislators ... adult education may become a device to fool the public.<sup>148</sup>

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147 Watson Thomson (Director of Adult Education for the Saskatchewan Department of Education), "Adult Education -- New Model", Food for Thought, Vol. V, No 4, January, 1945, pp. 6-8.

148 Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1947, p. 147.

This was a strong condemnation of Canadian adult educators and certainly emphasizes that academics did not want to be grouped with them.

On the other hand, the growth of adult education required a professional approach to ensure stability. Dr. Dunlop reported to the President of the University of Toronto that Dr. J.A. Althouse, Director of Education for Ontario, sought to coordinate university adult education for the whole province. Dunlop wrote:

Some time ago Dr. Althouse asked me whether the Universities of Ontario would undertake the responsibility for promoting, developing and providing Adult Education for the whole Province. I called a meeting of representatives of the Universities ... The Universities Adult Education Board was then organized and I was elected chairman of it ... For the fiscal year beginning April 1st, 1945 it is expected that the Department of Education will provide an appropriation of \$50,000.<sup>149</sup>

Dunlop stressed the fact that the annual appropriation was intended to promote adult education and not to help finance programmes at individual universities. One of the first moves by the newly formed Universities Adult Education Board was to arrange courses in Community Leadership "for men and women who already are or wish to become group leaders in the various fields of social endeavour".<sup>150</sup> A one-week course was arranged at McMaster during August, 1945. Possibly such leadership training would pay dividends in terms of expanding the cross section of the community who could be encouraged to participate in adult education. An American study of adult education in 1946 commented that, "It has often been remarked apropos of adult education, 'the people who need it don't take it, the people who take it don't need it'".<sup>151</sup> Such a statement sounds less

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149 Letter W.J. Dunlop to President H.J. Cody dated February 22, 1945, President's Papers, July 1944-June 1945.

150 McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension to the Chancellor, Annual Departmental Reports 1945-46, pp. 4-5.

151 Glen Burch, Principles of Adult Education, Washington, D. C.: The Author, 1946, p.11.

like the American belief in an egalitarian democratic way of life than an endorsement of the familiar British pattern of adult education, where the main effort was directed towards educating the educated.

In November, 1945, the University of Toronto welcomed Sir Richard Livingstone from Oxford University, a distinguished thinker upon adult education. Sir Richard spoke on the theme of speaking the truth and defined truth as follows:

I mean by it that veracity which does its best to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; where it is uncertain confesses to uncertainty, where it lacks knowledge does not pretend to it; which is candid and frank, takes no unfair advantage in argument, is careful not to misrepresent an opponent or to ignore the strength of his case and the weakness of his own.<sup>152</sup>

This statement by a scholar of the classics was a timely reminder of the main objectives of a liberal education.

But, although the benefits of a liberal education had long been extolled, the public school teachers in Toronto did not seem to display much enthusiasm about the value of pursuing study towards a B.A. degree. From a peak enrolment of 1,195 students in 1936-37, a total that included the students attending Summer School of 1937, the number steadily declined until in 1946 there was only 614 students enrolled.<sup>153</sup> In other words, the long range trend over that decade had been to approximately halve the number of students registered in the degree programme. Undoubtedly the war had dislocated the normal enrolment of male teachers, while another factor had been increased competition from such universities as McMaster. But over the same period, the broad offering covered by the term "university tutorial classes" had seen an increase in registration from 3,725

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<sup>152</sup> R. Livingstone, On Speaking the Truth, The Third Falconer Lecture delivered at the University of Toronto, November, 1945, Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946, p. 3.

<sup>153</sup> See statistics in Appendix.



students to 8,002 in 1946.<sup>154</sup> In short, during the time that the number of degree candidates had halved, university tutorial class enrolment had doubled. Moreover, most of the students enrolled in the tutorial classes were pursuing courses of study that had vocational overtones: for example, in 1946-47, Advertising had 374 students, Journalism 204, Real Estate Practice 281 students and Salesmanship 214 students.<sup>155</sup> One of the main reasons for the surge of enrolment in 1946 was that the Department of Extension had found a lucrative market in providing courses for the Advertising and Sales Club of Toronto. The only regular academic subjects that had any appeal were languages; in the case of English, the classes were mainly courses in secretarial work or speech training; while there was also some interest in such foreign languages as French, German and Spanish.

During 1946 the University of Toronto gained a new President in Dr. Sidney E. Smith who, in the following year, made a declaration concerning the role of the University, which was, in his opinion:

To enable people to learn the lessons of history so that its tragedies will not be repeated. To enable people to establish within themselves courts of free inquiry in which prejudice and cant, suspicion and hatred may be allayed in the light of truth. To fire youth with a mission ... to strive for the establishment of order and decency within their nations and among their nations ... youth are our main hope. May they apprehend better than their elders that our sorry plight is not due to man's machines but rather to man's morals... herein is the main challenge to the universities.<sup>156</sup>

President Smith was a worthy successor to an earlier president, Sir Robert Falconer, who had possessed the same type of broad vision. In terms

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154 Ibid. The breakdown of enrolment provided for January 30, 1947 shows a total of 7,567: Presumably more students joined the classes after Christmas to bring the total up to 8,002.

155 See the breakdown of university tutorial classes for January 30, 1947 in the Appendix.

156 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1947, p. 25. The introduction by Dr. S.E. Smith was dated September 8, 1947.

of extension study, one cannot help noticing that the University of Toronto was not influenced to any extent by ideas imported from Britain or the United States concerning liberal adult education. For example, the concern expressed by President Smith about securing harmony and tolerance was not accompanied by any Extension courses in International Affairs that was a feature of British adult education. While, similarly, an American idea concerning the value of studying Great Books did not make too much impression in Ontario.

Because this American venture was a most imaginative attempt to promote liberal study for adults, the idea received a review in the C.A.A.E. Journal by an American, under the title "Are 'Great Books' the Answer?" wherein it was stated:

On the 10th of June, 1947 newspapers in the United States and Canada received a news release. 'Organization of the Great Books Foundation to develop a mass education program intended to reach millions of Americans in the next five years was announced yesterday by Robert M. Hutchinson, Chancellor of the University of Chicago'.<sup>157</sup>

Underlying this scheme was a belief that mature people could grasp influential ideas that concern the human condition and among the seminal thinkers to be studied were Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Locke, Adam Smith, Marx, Darwin, Freud and Einstein. These books were to be discussed by small groups, with instructors controlling discussion by the Socratic method. Unfortunately, such a wealth of wisdom was likely to create a basic problem concerning the number of students who could benefit, because of the "high level of difficulty ... (as) only ten per cent of the adult population of the United States have as much as one year of college training".<sup>158</sup> As if this was not enough, the scheme was run by Encyclopedia Britannica which the University of Chicago partially owned and, therefore, a frustra-

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<sup>157</sup> Robertson Sillars, "Are the 'Great Books' the Answer?", Food for Thought, Vol. IX, No. 3, December, 1947, p. 14. Robertson Sillars was research assistant, Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

ted student might conclude that while the study was liberal the promotion was highly commercial. Canadians maintained a watching brief, while thousands of Americans from coast to coast enrolled in the Great Books venture which, regrettably, failed to live up to its publicity. Nevertheless the imagination and scope of the scheme, as a way of promoting liberal education, was highly commendable.

It should not be assumed, however, that university extension directors had any reluctance about copying successful educational ventures of either Britain or the United States. By 1948, Dr. Dunlop proposed to hold a Festival, "such as is held at Edinburgh" which would include Drama, Music and Literature; including four Shakespearian plays in the evenings and lectures in Elizabethan literature during the day.<sup>159</sup> This cultural project involved the assistance of the Department of English and the Faculty of Music and the University Committee on Extension quickly gave its approval. Generally speaking, however, the ethos of Canadian adult education was rather narrower, as was illustrated by the statement by the Director of the C.A.A.E. that, "It is true that the responsibility of adult education lies in the realm of imaginative training for modern citizenship".<sup>160</sup> Unfortunately, the word "citizenship" often had a strident note of nationalism in Canada and was, therefore, unlikely to be welcomed by thousands of veterans who had served in Britain during the war, if it included the pre-war emphasis on how Canada had struggled free from British Imperialism and created the Canadian Commonwealth of Nations. But one of the major difficulties of the C.A.A.E. was much more basic and involved finance.

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159 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 30, 1948, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

160 E.A. Corbett, "Short History of Adult Education", Food for Thought, Vol. VII, April 1947, p. 17.

Dr. E. Corbett, Director of the C.A.A.E., obtained \$10,000 a year from the Carnegie Corporation and \$7,750 from Provincial Grants.<sup>161</sup> But this was less than half of the annual budget, so \$22,250 had to be obtained privately through canvassing, so that "Much of the money comes from big business such as banks, meat packers, oil companies".<sup>162</sup> This seems inconsistent with much of the socialist doctrine that had emanated from the C.A.A.E. in wartime, such as, for example, the Manifesto issued in London (Ontario). One can only conclude that while the social philosophy of the C.A.A.E. was on the political left, its pocket book was often on the right. In 1947, a new face appeared in the C.A.A.E. executive office when Dr. J. Roby Kidd returned from the United States to become Assistant Director. Possibly Dr. Kidd would introduce new ideas because, as a biographer wrote:

Perhaps the most important thing he (Dr. Kidd) learned during his stay in New York was how to think BIG about adult education ... He learned that ... it is not only feasible, but also highly desirable, to plan in terms of big budgets, adequate staff and national and international program.<sup>163</sup>

Presumably this meant that the C.A.A.E. was likely to benefit from large scale fund raising because "He (Dr. Kidd) is a special advisor to American foundations and to Canadian universities and to business corporations on both sides of the border".<sup>164</sup> The problem of the C.A.A.E. seemed to be similar to that of the trade unions, in that support for Canadian programmes had to be sought in the United States, which made it difficult to maintain a truly Canadian independence.

In 1947, the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto showed an awareness of the social needs of the community. In collaboration

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161 Thelma LeCocq, "Ned Corbett", Food for Thought, Vol. IX, No. 5, February 1949, p. 15.

162 Ibid.

163 Walter B. Herbert, "Profile: J.R. Kidd", Food for Thought, October 20, 1959, p. 14.

164 Ibid., p. 16.

with the School of Social Work, courses were provided for social workers throughout the Province in evening classes and week-end study.<sup>165</sup> Efforts to meet the needs of various groups in the community were, however, not always financially successful. On one occasion the report of Dr. Dunlop to the President of the University of Toronto produced a note of levity, because he wrote:

As you know, I have arranged two short courses for Florists and Growers ... I think I lost some money on this second course because those who were promoting the course spent too much on flowers.<sup>166</sup>

Possibly this illustrates the complexities of trying to meet a large number of demands from outside organisations. To cope with the increasing demand from business and industry an important policy decision was made in 1948. An Associate Director of the Department of Extension was appointed named J. Royden Gilley, an engineer, who was specifically charged with directing all courses concerned with business and industry. This appointment provides one of the main reasons why this chapter finishes at 1948, because it seems advisable to study the impact of Mr. Gilley in a separate chapter. But before considering Mr. Gilley's contribution, developments at McMaster University in the late 1940's need to be reviewed.

The annual reports of C.H. Stearn between 1945-47 discussed the problem of securing academic staff during the Summer Session. In 1946 only one out of ten lecturers was a member of the McMaster regular staff:<sup>167</sup> while, in the following year, out of eleven instructors, nine came from the outside, including four from the U.S.A.<sup>168</sup> Stearn felt that this

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165 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1947, p. 55.

166 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President S. Smith dated September 10, 1948, President's Papers, July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949.

167 C.H. Stearn, McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension to the Chancellor, Annual Departmental Reports 1945-46.

168 Ibid., Annual Departmental Report 1946-47.

situation required drastic action and stated to the Chancellor, in a message spelt out in capital letters, that:

IT IS SUGGESTED THAT IN APPOINTING NEW MEMBERS TO THE FACULTY YOU, SIR, MIGHT RAISE THE QUESTION OF THEIR WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE A SHARE OF EXTENSION WORK ... THIS APPLIES PARTICULARLY TO THE DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PSYCHOLOGY.<sup>169</sup>

One wonders how the professional colleagues of Stearn reacted to this suggestion. There is no evidence, however, that the Chancellor committed himself to pursuing this suggestion. Although Extension work was a part of the University fraternity there was obvious reluctance on the part of academics to accord university adult education the same consideration as applied to regular day programmes. Possibly part of the problem of recognition was the feeling among some academics that extension activity implied using the back door of the university to allow outsiders to take what they wanted from a community of scholars. Of course, this was not how the Director of Extension viewed his role for, in 1948, Director Stearn lamented:

It is a matter of regret that after twenty years, considering the large industrial area which lies at the door of the University, little or no provision has been made for extension work in the field of Commerce and Science at the academic level ... serious steps have yet to be taken to institute a course for the B. Com. degree through the Department of Extension. And yet here ... one would be justified in expecting the most eager response.<sup>170</sup>

Stearn in the previous annual report had commented that a new course called "Industrial Organization and Management" had been greeted enthusiastically by experienced businessmen.<sup>171</sup> Moreover, Stearn pointed out that most of the courses offered for the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants for their R.I.A. degree qualified for inclusion in a B. Com. course. Also,

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169 Ibid., Annual Departmental Report 1945-46, pp. 3-4.

170 C.H. Stearn, McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of Extension, September. 1948. p. 2.

171 C.H. Stearn, Report of the Director of Extension to the Chancellor of McMaster University, Annual Departmental Reports 1946-47, p. 2.

that the base of such a commerce degree could be broadened by the inclusion of liberal subjects such as English, History and Political Economy.

In this report of 1948, Stearn was concerned about distinguishing between Extension work and Adult Education. He felt the term Extension should apply to academic study that was, literally, an extension of the regular academic session. Stearn had recently visited the Extension Department of the University of British Columbia (U.B.C.) and discovered that, "Extension" there left alone all work entailing academic prerequisites, standards or examinations. In Stearn's view, Extension activity at U.B.C. was really Adult Education, "as we at McMaster have hitherto defined it".<sup>172</sup> In short, Adult Education was essentially concerned with activities not connected with the regular academic session. Not only was the distinction worth making so as to clarify the functions of the Department but, moreover, the separation of these two aspects made it easier to pursue the development of new courses, while minimizing the academic critics who chose to view the Department as both an academic diploma mill and a centre of miscellaneous activity.

Stearn reviewed the lack of success with McMaster's Vocational Guidance diploma course. Although justly proud of this pioneering venture that other universities had copied,<sup>173</sup> Stearn stated, "I submit that the future of the Diploma lies in the fields of Industrial Relations and Social Service ... its content must be reorganised ... so as to transfer its appeal from the academic to the industrial community!"<sup>174</sup> This was consistent with recognition that the future of the Department lay "in the wide field of what is generally styled 'Adult Education'".<sup>175</sup> Stearn saw two

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172 Ibid., p. 1.

173 Ibid., p. 3.

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid., p. 7.

main fields that could be cultivated. First, the demand for vocational training of ambitious young men in the industrial plants of Hamilton. Secondly, the filling of a vacuum left by "the temporarily discredited Workers' Educational Association".<sup>176</sup> The reasoning behind this two pronged proposal appears to have been essentially political:

The present preoccupation of the working man with wage disputes has opened the way for the various Labour Unions to take over the organization of the W.E.A. and to exploit it in the interests of their own class without proper appreciation of economic penalties. The universities now have an opportunity to act as advisers, if not arbiters, in a critical period of our social history ... Our department of economics have everything to gain by personal contacts with working men in such classes as might be organized. Such contacts would do much to dispel the impression that universities are necessarily the allies of Big Business, and help to persuade Labour that they have other 'brothers' besides those in their own unions.<sup>177</sup>

The assumption that workers would eagerly embrace the opportunity of working with the universities tended to be at odds with the stated impression that workers saw the universities as allies of big business. Moreover, in the world of adult education, the C.A.A.E. provided a good illustration of the belief that educators obtained a large proportion of their financing from big business. If the apostles of adult education in the Labour movement had respect for university personnel, it tended to be reserved for such academics as Professor H.A. Innis who had demonstrated a willingness to stand with them against professional administrators. Therefore, the programme outlined by Stearn contained pitfalls, although he did recognize there were difficulties when he declared, in capital letters:

HERE THEN IS A PROGRAMME FOR ADULT EDUCATION. SUCH A PROGRAMME REQUIRES THE SERVICES OF A MAN OF EXPERIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING, ONE WHOSE PERSONALITY SHOULD COMMEND ITSELF TO MEN AND WOMEN IN GENERAL, IN OTHER WORDS 'A

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176 Ibid., p. 8.

177 Ibid.



GOOD MIXER', BUT ONE WHOSE ACADEMIC TRAINING WOULD ENSURE A RESPECT FOR HIGH STANDARDS IN WHATEVER EDUCATIONAL WORK HE UNDERTAKES, WITHOUT THE SUSPICION OF BEING A HIGHEROW.<sup>178</sup>

Such a man was already on the staff of McMaster in W.J. McCallion, a lecturer in Mathematics. As in the case of the appointment of J.R. Gilley at the University of Toronto, it is wise to defer until the next chapter, consideration of Extension that involved the contribution of W.J. McCallion.

This chapter has ranged from the depths of the Great Depression to the buoyant optimism that followed the Second World War. What seemed to be happening over this whole period was a trend that saw less emphasis on Teachers' Courses that stressed liberal study, and more interest in the ways the Extension Departments could serve business and industry. J.R. Gilley was an engineer with many contacts in the business world and his appointment seemed to be symbolic of a swing in the direction of trying to serve the larger community. Moreover, men who had a broad interest in adult education could well provide an infusion of liberal spirit into Departments of Extension that were still considerably oriented towards reproducing an academic programme designed for youthful undergraduates. Consideration of the way in which Extension work developed after 1948 will form the main theme of the next chapter.

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178 Ibid.

## UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN ONTARIO, 1949 - 1958

In the year 1949 there were a number of changes in the Department of Extension at the University of Toronto. Dr. Dunlop dropped the word "publicity" from his title and became officially known as the Director of Extension.<sup>1</sup> The University of Toronto appointed another individual as Publicity Officer, which meant that W.J. Dunlop no longer received a special advertising allotment for publicising the University. Also, the Associate Director, J.R. Gilley, made his presence felt by a course in administration for professional engineers in which 156 students enrolled.<sup>2</sup> Another development was the agreement reached with the Faculty of Medicine to take over the courses in Occupational Therapy and Physical Therapy which Dunlop had begun as an experiment twenty years earlier.<sup>3</sup> There was a decline in the number of Extension lectures, which is not surprising for an age when radio was well established and television increasing in popularity: Dunlop reported "times and tastes change, only twenty-four (lectures were) requested this year".<sup>4</sup> Similarly evening tutorial class enrolment declined and an examination of the statistics for these classes provides an insight into the prevalent trends. There were five evening classes in Psychology, four each in French and Spanish and three in Diction and Voice Development.<sup>5</sup> The prominence of foreign languages would seem to indicate that, in the post-war world, there was public interest in the possibility of travelling in Europe.

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1 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1949, p. 62.

2 Ibid.

3 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of October 6, 1949, Minute Book, February 14, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

4 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1949, p. 74.

5 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Report on Enrolment of November 1st, 1949, Minutes of November 4, 1949, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

In recording a total of 3,313 students enrolled in academic subjects, as of November 1st, 1949,<sup>6</sup> there seems to have been a loose definition of the word "academic". Although there was a separate category entitled Business, included under the heading of "Academic" were such subjects as Accounting, Business Law, Cost Accounting, Internal Auditing and a course for Private Secretaries.<sup>7</sup> There was a marked increase in courses arranged for business and industry and, in 1948-49, new evening classes included one concerned with the manufacture and sale of paint in which 278 students enrolled; a course for purchasing agents with 201 students and, another, with 247 enrolled for salesmanship.<sup>8</sup> By the following year W.J. Dunlop was stating quite explicitly that the "trend in University Extension for the next few years will be in providing instruction for people engaged in business and industry".<sup>9</sup>

The trend towards business courses envisaged by Dr. Dunlop certainly owed a great deal to his new colleague J.R. Gilley, but one wonders also if this shift of emphasis possibly owed something to deeper social currents. In the years following World War Two, the influence of American ideas was increasingly felt in Canada. American investors poured capital into Canada, while television programmes threatened to engulf the cultural identity of Canadians: so it was almost inevitable that the American presence should have been felt in the field of university extension work. Dr. A. Flexner, the distinguished Director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, had flayed American universities for shame-

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6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1949, p. 62.

9 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1950, p. 73.

less commercialism and "playing to the gallery in much of their extra-mural work".<sup>10</sup> Flexner pointed out that the British tradition of adult education had never sunk to the depths of the American belief in promoting any type of course.<sup>11</sup> Canada seemed to be moving out of the British orbit of influence into that of the American, and one could argue therefore that courses for salesmen, purchasing agents and advertising men were to be expected. Furthermore, there was already a close link between the C.A.A.E. and the business world, as was noted in Chapter Ten. When Dr. Corbett was about to retire as Director of the C.A.A.E., a sympathetic Dr. Dunlop recorded that "He (Corbett) has really raised almost all the funds on which the organization has functioned for fifteen years".<sup>12</sup> As business organizations were asked to contribute towards the support of the C.A.A.E., it was natural that they should reflect on how the evening classes at the Provincial university could assist them in training employees. The widespread invasion of Canada by American corporations merely intensified this process.

There were other significant changes in the work of the Department of Extension. In 1950 the course in Institutional Management that had been established to aid veterans was closed down. More importantly there was a new policy adopted by the Toronto Board of Education that affected the prospective enrolment in the Teachers' degree course. Teachers working for the Board of Education were in future to be paid on a scale that recognized academic qualifications.<sup>13</sup> This development promised to increase the incentive for public school teachers to enrol in a B.A. programme, although there could be a time lag before this showed up in the

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10 Cited in W. Moberly, The Crisis in the University, London: S.C.M. Press, 1949, p. 256.

11 Ibid.

12 Letter of W.J. Dunlop to President S. Smith dated November 1, 1949, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1, 1949 to June 30, 1950.

13 Toronto Board of Education, Minutes of February 15, 1951. The Board approved a Committee Report to use academic qualifications, as well as seniority and responsibility, to determine salary.

enrolment figures. During the meanwhile the non-credit courses held the spotlight.

Events at McMaster University appear to have followed a similar pattern to those at the University of Toronto. Non-credit courses expanded at a faster rate than credit courses.<sup>14</sup> In September, 1951 W.J. McCallion was appointed as Assistant Director of Extension and this seems to have been a recognition that there was a need to service the demands of the business world. W.J. McCallion had been for some years a lecturer in Business Mathematics and was therefore well equipped to assess contemporary needs. As one "W.J." was arriving at McMaster another had just departed from the University of Toronto. The Dunlop regime ended in June, 1951 and the retiring Director saluted the host of men and women who had aided him in his work:

My grateful thanks are due ... to the members of the staff of the University who have co-operated so magnificently in providing instruction: to member of my own staff who have laboured loyally, faithfully, and enthusiastically to make the work a success; to the business organizations ... and also to the Advertising and Sales Club of Toronto, the Industrial Accidents Prevention Association, the Public Relations Association of Ontario, the Purchasing Agents Association, the Investment Dealers' Association of Canada, the Toronto Paint Club, and the Toronto Quality Control Society. The link between the University and the world of business has been remarkably strengthened during the session now closing.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Dunlop had rendered great service to the University of Toronto for over thirty years. His subsequent career is beyond the scope of this thesis but, as by the end of 1951, Dr. Dunlop had been appointed Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario, his name will occur again in connection with adult education.

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- |                    |         |         |         |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 14                 | 1947-48 | 1948-49 | 1949-50 |
| Credit courses     | 614     | 408     | 465     |
| Non-Credit courses | 634     | 997     | 886     |
- See McMaster University, Annual Reports, for the years in question.
- 15 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1951, p. 84.

J.R. Gilley became Director of Extension at the University of Toronto. The situation that Gilley inherited was very diverse as can be gauged from the enrolment of 1951.<sup>16</sup> The big battalions were not in the Teachers' Classes but in the remaining evening classes, where, in academic courses, women outnumbered men by a ratio of almost two to one: while, in the business courses, approximately nine men enrolled for every woman.<sup>17</sup> One of the first new courses that Gilley authorised was an evening course in adult education with Dr. J. Roby Kidd, the Director of the C.A.A.E. as the instructor. Another development of the early 1950's was the provision of courses in liberal study run in co-operation with the Royal Ontario Museum. These museum courses appealed to individuals who were relatively well educated and who, during 1951-52, had the choice of taking Chinese Archeology, English and Canadian furniture, or Indians before Columbus. While these museum courses were pitched at a high level that tended to preclude a large attendance, they were a welcome addition to the cultural life of Toronto. Furthermore, this interest in liberal study came at an opportune time because there was simultaneously an increasing interest by teachers in studying for a B.A. degree, principally because local Boards

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16 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1951, p. 84.

	Men	Women	Total
Summer Session in Arts	186	120	305
Summer Session in Pedagogy	37	198	235
Teachers' Classes	288	292	580
Academic Evening Classes	1199	2019	3218
Business Classes	1529	186	1715
Museum Classes	70	184	254
<u>Correspondence Courses:</u>			
Business	1994	59	2053
Arts Preparatory	84	104	188
Grade XIII	14	42	56
Commercial	37	29	66
Division of Public Safety	113	---	113
Institutional Management	96	65	161
Certificate Course in Business	148	21	169
Fire Chiefs	174	---	174
X-Ray Technicians	8	13	21
	<u>5,977</u>	<u>3,332.</u>	<u>9,309.</u>

17 Ibid.

of Education started paying larger salaries to teachers who held a degree.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the new Minister of Education, Dr. W.J. Dunlop, encouraged teachers to work towards securing a degree.

McMaster benefitted from the more enlightened attitude prevailing in the Provincial Department of Education. C.H. Stearn reported that attendance at the Summer Session rose from 165 students in 1951 to 215 students in 1952 and explained that:

Part of the reason was the policy of the Department of Education which allows students in the Departmental summer courses held in Hamilton to take academic courses at the McMaster Summer School providing their timetable allows.<sup>19</sup>

In effect, this meant that public school teachers taking a Department of Education course in Physical Education in the morning could stretch their minds in the afternoon, by studying one of the academic subjects on the B.A. curriculum. Stearn continued to speculate about the role of university adult education, so that one finds him ruminating about the success of the academic year 1951-52:

Assuming that one of the chief functions of a Department of Extension is to 'extend', whether the verb be used transitively or intransitively, and that the fulfilment of one of its chief functions may be regarded as a reliable measure of success, then the academic year may certainly be counted a successful year.<sup>20</sup>

In England, the terms "extension" and "extra-mural" were frequently used as synonyms, but Stearn attempted to keep a clear distinction between the usage of these words:

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18 The Toronto Board of Education started to pay teachers on the basis of academic qualifications in 1951. Toronto Board of Education, Minutes, Minutes of February 15, 1951. Information received from Mr. D. Nethery, Director of Historical Collection, Toronto Board of Education.

19 C.H. Stearn, McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension for the Year 1951-52, September, 1952, p. 15.

20 Ibid., p. 2.

McMaster abides by the literal translation of this phrase, (extra-mural) applying it to studies carried on outside the walls of the University, and thus does not include classes given in the evenings or at the Summer School, when conducted on the campus.<sup>21</sup>

In practice, "extra-mural" referred to home study in those subjects that could be handled by private reading, such as History, Sociology and English Literature. Stearn went on to ask rhetorically what were the limits of "extension work" and commented, "There are University Extension departments on the American continent which accept any study as a subject for an extension class (by correspondence or otherwise) regardless of both the age of the student or standard of instruction given".<sup>22</sup> Stearn specifically excluded courses where the standard was guarded by a reputable institution, such as the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants, for whom McMaster would soon be handling correspondence courses in Accounting that could be credited towards a R.I.A. qualification.<sup>23</sup> But Stearn was concerned about the interest of an Extension Department in the Fine Arts:<sup>24</sup>

I would sound a note of caution, for here is the perfect playground for the amateur ... The dilettante is more frequent than the serious student ... at the university level the teaching of skills, as also the provision of forms of diversion for their own sakes must always follow, not precede, the intellectual approach. The Extension Department does not exist primarily to amuse or to train.<sup>25</sup>

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21 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, Annual Report for the Year 1950-51, p. 11.

22 C.H. Stearn, McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension for the Year 1951-52, September, 1952, p. 6. The brackets are contained in the original copy.

23 Ibid., p. 18.

The headquarters of the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants was in Hamilton. The Society approached McMaster to take over from Queen's University those courses entitled Accounting I and II.

24 Ibid., p. 6.

Stearn classified the Fine Arts as:

- (i) Music, Dancing and Singing
- (ii) Painting, Drawing and Sculpture
- (iii) Dramatics

It should be noted that Stearn had been criticised for offering these "frill" subjects during the Summer School.

25 Ibid., pp. 7-8.



In addition to his scepticism about extension activity connected with the Fine Arts, Stearn was concerned about what he termed marginal courses, such as "How to Invest Wisely" or Salesmanship. Stearn recognised that "the purpose of such courses, in the minds of their sponsors, however carefully disguised, is usually financial gain".<sup>26</sup> But this concern for university traditions of liberal study was somewhat undermined by the admission that at McMaster, over the previous five years, courses had been provided for many business organizations, including the Investment Dealers' Association.<sup>27</sup> Courses had been provided for the Industrial Accident Prevention Association, National Office Management Association, the Illuminating Engineering Society and the Life Insurance Managers Association.<sup>28</sup> One can only conclude that while the philosophical speculations of Director Stearn were a valuable expression of what should be happening, the reality of the Department's programme tended to be at odds with some of his educational maxims.

A by-product of the desire of some Ontario directors of extension to expand their operations, by willingness to sell university adult education in the market place, was an increasing concern over the deterioration of standards. Stearn noted that expansion of degree course work into small towns termed "outside centres" had revealed a practice of the University of Western Ontario (U.W.O.). A school-teacher who instructed at a U.W.O. outside centre might see students only once a fortnight, and Stearn commented:

Perhaps we should not look with disapproval on institutions of 'higher learning' which are reported to be employing as instructors at outside centres teachers from schools of 'lower learning'.<sup>29</sup>

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26 Ibid., p. 9.

27 Ibid., p. 3.

28 Ibid.

29 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, Annual Report for the Year 1950-51, p. 10.

In the scramble for students and carving up of territories in an imperialistic manner, there was obviously a tendency by at least one Ontario university to minimize costs while ignoring the impact on standards. Unfortunately, this Ontario practice tended to combine some of the weaker features of both British and American university adult education. The British use of secondary school teachers was joined to that of the American emphasis on university credit. What was basically involved in this situation was a lowering of the standard considered appropriate to university work. This vital issue was of concern to many universities on both sides of the Atlantic.

At the University of Toronto on Remembrance Day, 1951 concern was voiced by members of the Committee on University Extension concerning the use of the word "tutorial". It was felt that the title "Evening Tutorial Classes" was not suitable, as these classes were not of a tutorial nature.<sup>30</sup> Although no decision was reached about dropping the word "tutorial" one detects, in the records of the post-Dunlop era, the gradual substitution of the term "evening course" for "university tutorial". There were courses in the programme offered by the Department of Extension that were clearly not normal university subjects and a natural concern whether they were of "university standard".

A similar concern about university standards was also being shown in England in the debate that was generated by the revelations of Professor S.G. Raybould about trends in English university adult education. Moreover, some Americans were also exhibiting interest in the debate over university standards and, in 1951, the Ford Foundation funded a Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The Director of this new research body wrote:

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30 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 11, 1951, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

Some adult education courses are clearly not appropriate for a college or university; there has been insufficient examination of what constitutes 'university level'. A difficulty here is that many of the academic less impeccable courses none-the-less cost very little and bring assured income, an attractive situation for the pay-as-you-go evening operation.<sup>31</sup>

This situation provides an interesting contrast to the English situation, where university extra-mural departments were funded from governmental or university resources. Dr. J.R. Kidd has noted that in countries "lacking a federal structure, such as England ... it had been relatively easy to secure financial ... support for continuing education".<sup>32</sup> One of the reasons why England did not need a federal structure was that there was a high degree of cultural homogeneity and this social characteristic was accompanied by a paternalistic tradition. Directors of English extra-mural departments were sometimes seen as performing an educational mission by passing the cultural benefits of liberal education along to a working class. But the English directors were seeking to escape the limitations imposed upon them by the government stipulation that they promote liberal education: in essence, this meant that the English extra-mural directors wanted essentially the same freedom enjoyed by their North American counterparts. On the other hand, some Canadian educators who were concerned about the need to maintain university standards would have preferred to sacrifice some of their freedom to offer any type of course, in exchange for a guaranteed financial subsidy.

Another interesting contrast of this period concerns the subject of International Affairs which became increasingly popular in Canada<sup>33</sup> while, in England, students were turning their backs on this subject.

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31 A. Liveright, Adult Education in Colleges and Universities, Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1960, p. 22.

32 J.R. Kidd, Financing Continuing Education, New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1962, p. 114.

33 J.R. Kidd, ed., Adult Education in Canada, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, p. 16.

This decline of interest in international affairs seems to have been related to the diminishing power of Britain to influence world events; while in Canada there was considerable pride in the prominence of L.B. Pearson in the councils of the United Nations. Moreover, this situation could be fitted into the Canadian Whig version of history, as a new chapter in the saga of how Canada, having solved the difficulties of the British Empire, was progressing towards the use of her expertise in securing world peace and international brotherhood. But, in addition to these opposing trends concerning International Affairs, there were subjects where the student response was similar on both sides of the Atlantic. In both Britain and Canada, the study of Economics declined in popularity: while the lack of science courses in England were paralleled in Canada where, "the field of natural science rarely appears except in relation to agriculture".<sup>34</sup>

At the University of Toronto, Director Gilley began a reorganization of the Department of Extension through establishment of a separate division to take care of courses for Business and Industry; this new division expanded at a faster rate than the evening tutorial classes that provided liberal study. Between 1952-54 evening enrolment for Business and Industry courses went from 2027 students to 3622 students. Among the new courses that aided this phenomenal growth were those on Transistor Electronics, Atomic Energy, Construction Management, Retail Lumbering, Pre-stressed Concrete and Executive Development for Women.<sup>35</sup> In addition, statistics on the provision of correspondence courses show that the enrolment of students increased from 2316 in 1952 to 4016 students by 1955.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1954, p. 100.

Correspondence courses were conducted for the Certified Public Accountants Association, a five year course: the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants, a four year course: the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, a two year course: the Institute of Canada, a six year course: the Life Underwriters of Canada, a three year course and the Canadian Credit Institute, a two year course. This heavy emphasis on courses for business and industry aroused the ire of some of the academics who served on the Committee on University Extension. The nature of this opposition deserves to be examined.

On October 29, 1952 the Director of Extension reported that a correspondence course entitled "How to Invest Your Money" had enrolled 211 students.<sup>36</sup> This title sounds very similar to the one which had caused C.H. Stearn at McMaster to have misgivings about whether such a course belonged in a university. At the University of Toronto, there was immediate opposition from Professor C.E. Hendry, Director of the School of Social Work, who questioned the qualification of this course as a university course when there were no assignments.<sup>37</sup> Deans Tupper and McFarlane, members of the Committee on University Extension, both supported Professor Hendry; while Professor Bladen felt that the course comprised a book handed out piecemeal. However, instead of refusing to authorise the course as a legitimate course of university calibre, the Committee decided to request that some questions be asked of the students which they had to answer.<sup>38</sup> Presumably these academics were not prepared to brave the wrath of the business community by rejecting this

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36 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of October 29, 1952, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

course, but preferred to suggest some window dressing that made it technically conform to "university quality". In defence of the Committee, it could be said that possibly members were willing to condone things done in the name of "extension" that they would have stoutly resisted if proposed for regular day courses. Furthermore, this resistance of academics on the Committee on University Extension towards the emphasis on business courses was just beginning.

On May 20, 1953, Dean Tupper objected to a course for Chartered Public Accountants being termed a graduate course. A motion was adopted that in future no course given by the Department of Extension should be called a "Graduate Course", as only the School of Graduate Studies could offer such courses.<sup>39</sup> On November 4, 1954, the Chairman of the Committee, J.R. Gilley, had to face two irate Deans. Dean Woodside asked what the course in Paint Power consisted of, and Dean Tupper questioned the propriety of the title of this course.<sup>40</sup> Chairman Gilley sought to explain the significance of the title and stated that an identical course was given at McGill University. At this point the minutes of the meeting record this statement:

Dean Tupper urged that we maintain a high standard in our courses and that we must be careful that the name of the University is not linked to organizations and publications whose standards are not of the highest level.<sup>41</sup>

On February 3, 1954 the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, J.A. MacFarlane, gave his views upon a proposed course for the Canadian Jewellers Institute:

While he (Dean MacFarlane) could understand Adult Education per se, he questioned whether the idea of conducting a course for training which would prepare a jeweller to sell a watch was in accord with

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39 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954, Minutes of May 20, 1953.

40 Ibid., Minutes of November 4, 1953.

41 Ibid.

the philosophy of the University and the function of University Extension.<sup>42</sup>

On April 20, 1954 the Chairman of the Department of Political Economy, Professor V.W. Bladen, queried correspondence courses proposed for the Canadian Association of Real Estate Boards and the Canadian Council of Purchasing Agents, as he felt these "might jeopardize the standards of the University".<sup>43</sup> While rarely did this Committee dominated by Deans and Chairmen veto proposals produced by Chairman J.R. Gilley, the pattern of tacit opposition to business courses provided by the University for outside organizations is apparent. Gilley probably, also, aroused opposition by introducing the idea of Special Conferences for "Businessmen. Short courses were held concerning nuclear energy for senior executives of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission and the Brazilian Traction Light and Power Company Ltd; while another was held to study the operation of large scale digital computers.<sup>44</sup> But the course description that undoubtedly stiffened the backs of university academics was one that used the term "educational", when describing "Oral Expression for Business Executives", which formed part of "the educational programme of the Investment Dealers of Canada".<sup>45</sup>

There was less uproar at McMaster University concerning business courses, possibly because the scale of operation was much smaller. Dr. Stearn reported a "phenomenal gain" upon viewing the enrolment figures for the Fall of 1952 which, for the credit courses leading to the B.A. degree or R.I.A. qualification, amounted to a forty per cent increase.<sup>46</sup>

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42 Ibid., Minutes of February 3, 1954.

43 Ibid., Minutes of April 30, 1954.

44 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1953, p. 82.

45 Ibid.

46 "Phenomenal Gain Says Doctor Stearn", Silhouette, November 7, 1952. This publication was the campus newspaper.

In 1953, Dr. Stearn announced that four graduate courses were to be held in Business Studies for students who already held a bachelor's degree, and that such study could be credited to the requirements of the M.Comm. degree run by the Institute of Business Administration at the University of Toronto.<sup>47</sup> There seems to have been a close liaison between the two Ontario universities. In 1954, W.J. McCallion informed the McMaster University Extension Committee that correspondence courses offered by the University of Toronto, on behalf of the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants, were being transferred to McMaster.<sup>48</sup> Another business course developed at McMaster was for Secretaries in Industry, designed for stenographers, which comprised six subjects: Accounting, Office Management and Business Organization plus three cultural subjects such as English, History or Psychology.<sup>49</sup> The cultural subjects provided a liberal content for this course and indicates an awareness of the need to keep university courses as broad as possible.

While business courses were receiving a great deal of attention at the Ontario universities, liberal education was still being offered in the B.A. degree programmes. In 1952-53, McMaster had 384 in evening credit classes, 204 in the 1953 Summer Session and 142 students enrolled in extra-mural work.<sup>50</sup> At Toronto, the Pass Course for Teachers continued but, in 1952, a new course was started entitled the General Course for Teachers where one subject was added to the curriculum of the first year. This revised curriculum applied to all new students who enrolled and stemmed from the introduction of a new General Course in the Faculty of

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47 McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension for the Year 1952-53, September, 1953, pp. 4-5.

48 McMaster University, Meeting of September, 1954, Extension Committee, Minute Book.

49 McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension for the Year 1953-54, August, 1954, p. 4.

50 McMaster University, Report of the Director of Extension for the Year 1952-53, p. 8.



Arts which permitted more specialization in one subject.<sup>51</sup>

There was a sudden drop in enrolment in the B.A. course, when the combined enrolment for both the Winter and Summer Sessions decreased from 1300 in 1953 to 836 students in 1954,<sup>52</sup> but there was an explanation. In December, 1952 the Minister of Education, Dr. Dunlop, had established a committee consisting of representatives of Extension Departments of the six Ontario universities which was asked to:

work out a modus vivendi and to bring in recommendations for correlating the courses provided by these universities for teachers and others undertaking extra-mural studies leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree.<sup>53</sup>

This committee proposed and implemented a policy where the map of Ontario was divided into areas, each of which was under the control of a different Extension Department. In effect this meant a termination to the scramble for students, which had led the universities to set up local centres far from their campuses, so as to attract students away from their rivals. Naturally, the newly declared truce between the extra-mural departments led to a period of re-adjustment during 1953, which temporarily affected the enrolment at the University of Toronto.

A measure of the importance of the B.A. degree course is that, in the year 1953-54, the Teachers' Course had only thirteen per cent of the total enrolment of the Department of Extension, but provided thirty-eight per cent of the revenue.<sup>54</sup> But while the evening B.A. course was important in a budgetary sense, its academic importance was not yet accepted. In 1954 Dean M. St.A. Woodside, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, expressed the view that the programme of the General Course for Teachers was not as

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51 University of Toronto, University Extension Calendar Summer Session, General Course for Teachers, 1952, p. 1.

52 See statistics in Appendix for the University of Toronto contained in Table 9.

53 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1953, pp. 81-2.

54 University of Toronto, University Extension Report dated September, 1954, President's Papers, July 1st, 1954 - June 30th, 1955.

good as the regular course, but "that it could be considered a good second best".<sup>55</sup> Academics were reluctant to concede that mature adults were able students and even President S. Smith seems to have viewed the General Course for Teachers as mainly an important facet of public relations.<sup>56</sup> Any praise bestowed upon the Extension B.A. course was usually couched in cautious language, possibly because within the Arts faculty there were numerous critics of evening study.

This was a period of readjustment at the University of Toronto. By 1955 the number of students enrolled in evening business courses was greater than the enrolment in the evening tutorial classes.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, a conscious effort was made to upgrade the level of the tutorial classes by more emphasis on traditional liberal arts subjects. In 1953-54, there were courses in Anthropology, Contemporary History, Astronomy, English Literature, Philosophy, Psychology and Classical Studies.<sup>58</sup> A revival of interest in liberal study was timely because, as a Royal Commission had stated on the subject of the National Development in the Arts and Sciences:

There is a persistent illusion that what we call the humanities is mere educational embroidery, perhaps agreeable but certainly irrelevant. It is easy to forget that the liberal arts provide not the decoration but

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55 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 11, 1954, p. 2, Minute Book, February 24, 1944 to November 11, 1954.

56 Ibid.

57 The following enrolments were recorded.

	Evening Tutorial Classes	Evening Classes in Business and Industry
1953	3,529	2,522
1954	3,940	3,622
1955	3,869	4,158

See statistics in Appendix.

58 See Summary of Registration for Evening Classes as of October 31, 1954, attached to Minutes of April 3, 1955, University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minute Book, April 5, 1955 to December 3, 1959.

the fabric itself.<sup>59</sup>

The view of the Royal Commission seems to have been substantiated by some comments made about extension activity by Dr. C.H. Stearn of McMaster University. Stearn addressed the National Conference of Canadian Universities in 1953 and stated:

It is the Extension Departments which in more recent years have laid themselves open to something akin to suspicion by the extreme generosity of the interpretation of the word 'university' ... A glance through our booklets and pamphlets will reveal a list which will include such courses as Paint Power, Lighting Fundamentals, Wise Investment, Salesmanship, Office Management, Advertising, etc. ... when the interested party undertakes to pay all the expenses connected with the course, the temptation to co-operate is almost overwhelming ... The plain truth is that certain forces are abroad (pressures veiled under the innocuous and more familiar cliché 'trends') which would remove all boundaries from the activities of University Extension. These insist that we provide classes for any subject for which there is a demand, or for which, an instructor can be found. (I quote from the credo of one Director of Extension I have met) I submit that under such a policy, we might as well delete the word 'university' from the title of our extension department.<sup>60</sup>

Stearn's summary focused upon "standards", which was also a subject of continuing interest in both British and American adult educational circles.

An American wrote:

There is a widespread feeling in academic circles ... that the adult educational activities of American colleges and universities operate at a standard which is considerably below that on the campus. The 'soft pedagogy' contention is often heard in discussion and occasionally it breaks into print.<sup>61</sup>

Part of the reason for this situation may have been the approach taken to adult education in North America.

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59 J.R. Kidd, Adult Education in the Canadian University, Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1956, p. 103. Dr. Kidd cites the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-51, Report, Ottawa: Kings' Printer, 1951.

60 C.H. Stearn, "The Extent of Extension", National Conference of Canadian Universities, 29th Annual Proceedings, 1953, pp. 31, 34-35.

61 Cyril O. Houle, Major Trends in Higher Adult Education, Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1959, pp. 43-44.

An Englishman who moved from the world of British Adult Education, into that of Canada, analysed the different emphasis in his new homeland:

Anyone who goes from Britain's adult education work, trained in its tradition of academic study and tutorial standards, and enters the same world in Canada, soon receives a healthy shock. Academic study occupies only a small part of the whole field. There the concern is more with what one might call the 'community aspects of adult education' ... This is a conception quite different from the British tradition. It implies a determination to see that the average person shall learn about world affairs, say as an aspect of his own daily experience.<sup>62</sup>

In effect, this approach meant that in Canada the university academic community had a different outlook towards evening students compared to those enrolled in the regular day time classes. In turn, this attitude was reflected by undergraduates. C.H. Stearn at McMaster voiced his concern about the way intra-mural student viewed the adults who attended evening classes:

It is much to be regretted, though perhaps natural enough, that the more fortunate 'regular' students do nothing to dispel the suspicion that one must admit, attaches to a degree won by the various facilities offered by University Extension ... To whisper the phrase 'cafeteria-style' suffices to suggest suspicion of the resultant award!

At the same time, however, it must be admitted that the actions of extra-mural directors sometimes gave grounds for concern. C.H. Stearn had frequently been eloquent on the need for the use of discretion in ensuring that extension courses were of genuine university quality. Yet Stearn's philosophy seemed to be at odds with some comments he made after the Investment Dealers' Association of Canada had supplied lecturers for a course entitled "How to Invest Wisely". Stearn commented that "To teach and dispense wisdom, even in so material an occupation as investing one's

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62 G. Hawkins, "As Others See Us", Food for Thought, Vol. 14, No. 8, May - June, 1954, p. 26.

63 McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of Extension, 1954-55, July, 1955, p. 2.

money, may be regarded as not unworthy of a department of University Extension".<sup>64</sup> Possibly this discrepancy, between the declared belief in university quality by a classics scholar and the provision of "extension" courses of doubtful validity, helps to explain why there were sceptics of extension activity.

This scepticism about the value of some university extension work may help to account for the negative attitude taken towards the idea of awarding university qualifications, such as diplomas; for the attitude that has already been discussed with regards to the University of Toronto, was also manifested at McMaster. It should, moreover, be noted that this desire in the 1950's to secure a certificate or diploma was also evident in England. One can speculate that this widespread demand was related to rapid economic and social change, which caused students to seek security in credentials from a respected institution. In any event the desire for certificates or diplomas was a sign of the times and was not a passing phenomenon peculiar to one university. Stearn outlined the position at McMaster in these terms:

Of late there has been a demand for a diploma or certificate of standing in evening courses provided by this Department signifying that the recipient has passed an examination set by the University. This matter has been thoroughly canvassed in the Extension Committee, the Faculty and the Senate, and it was agreed that, while the word 'Diploma' or 'Certificate' was to be avoided when used in a context suggesting a parallel with such diplomas and certificates as were awarded by the University to its regular day students, this Department might award an 'Extension Certificate' for certain courses duly approved.<sup>65</sup>

The distinction drawn between "regular university diplomas" and "extension certificates" is indicative of the fact that the latter were considered second-class qualifications. Stearn recognized the problem was related to prestige when he commented, "An Extension Certificate is not an aca-

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64 McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of University Extension 1953-54, August, 1954, p. 13.

65 Ibid., p. 3.

demic degree. The good students want an academic degree, a B.Sc. or B.Comm ... both are honours degrees".<sup>66</sup> There was obviously a considerable difference between what the serious evening student wanted and what the university was prepared to give.

But a new wave of change was on its way. In 1954, at the University of Toronto, J.R. Gilley resigned because of ill health and was succeeded by J.R. Coulter. This was an important appointment because there was a considerable difference between these two men. Gilley had been an engineer who had lacked a background of teaching experience and had not had sufficient time to change the quantitative approach that had been the legacy of Dunlop. Coulter had been a High School English teacher and a well known University football quarterback prior to his appointment: also, he was a man of great industry and ambition. Coulter was chairman of the University Advisory Committee on Television and, in 1954-55, helped to arrange a programme called Exploring Minds which involved different universities but mainly used professors from Toronto. Moreover, like Professor S.G. Raybould of Leeds University, Coulter believed that extension work should be of "university quality". Admittedly many pious announcements had been made over the years, in the President's Reports at the University of Toronto about a policy of ensuring Extension offerings should be of university standard but, in reality, Dunlop had constructed an empire that included work of doubtful calibre. Coulter took his new position with a determination to restrict extension activity to those areas in which the university was uniquely equipped to serve. Furthermore, Coulter had potential allies in developing a programme that would extend the activity of the university without sacrificing quality for quantity. The Committee on University Extension was a very powerful

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<sup>66</sup> McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of University Extension, 1954-55, p. 5.

body in terms of its membership that included the Chancellor, President, numerous Deans and professors.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, Coulter had to cope with prejudice against extension activity that had been intensified by the willingness of the Department of Extension to put on marginal courses for business and industry.

Initially, the momentum of the programme of providing courses for business and industry continued apace. In 1955 there were new business courses in Introductory Personnel Administration, Introduction to Time and Motion Study and Business Communication: while engineering courses included short courses on Applied Science for Heating and Power, Corrosion, and Engineering Aspects of Town Planning.<sup>68</sup> In the same year, however, J.R. Coulter broadened the appeal of the B.A. degree course by changing the name from the "General Course for Teachers" to "General Course (Department of Extension)". The proportion of teachers had been diminishing although they still continued a majority. But the change of name was symbolic in the sense that a wider appeal was being made to the general public to study on a credit earning, liberal arts course. J.R. Coulter also pointed out that this change of name which eliminated the word teacher would prevent the confusion of the past, when some people had assumed the teachers' course was concerned with pedagogy. Also, for the first time, an enlightened policy was adopted of admitting students who did have the full admission standards but were "mature adults of at least 25 years of age ... and if they prove themselves may be allowed to continue as regular students proceeding to a degree".<sup>69</sup> The revamping of the image of the B.A. course appears to have aided enrolment, because this climbed from a low point of 836 students in 1954, to 1060 in 1955, and then to 1137 students by 1956.<sup>70</sup> J.R. Coulter analysed some of the

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67 See the Appendix for the list of members of the Committee on University Extension in 1954-55.

68 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1955, p. 110.

69 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1956, p. 99.

70 Ibid.

departmental trends in 1955 when he answered a questionnaire from Dr.

J. Roby Kidd of the C.A.A.E., and noted that:

Since 1948 three trends have definitely influenced the programme - one, the demand of business and industry for highly technical and semi-professional courses; two, public interest in leisure-time courses in the liberal arts and in courses such as those preparing for retirement and living in the later years; and three, larger enrolment in correspondence courses for business organizations.<sup>71</sup>

These three trends were neatly summarised by the statement that the objective of University Extension was "to help people to earn a living; to help them to live a life; and to help them make a world".<sup>72</sup>

On April 5, 1955 a meeting of the Committee on University Extension at the University of Toronto was chaired by J.R. Coulter. All of the members in attendance were either Deans or professors and some interesting dialogue ensued concerning the role of the Extension Department. Professor Hendry of the School of Social Work wanted to know if it was public demand that prompted the many courses offered or whether pressure groups pushed aside valid needs. Professor Graham observed that, while he approved in general of the objectives set forth in the brief submitted to the C.A.A.E., he wondered whether these objectives had been really considered in accepting proposals for some of the business courses. At this point the minutes record the following exchange:

Mr. Coulter replied that often our negotiations ended in a 'saw off'; the Department insisting that certain academic subjects be included in order to keep the courses to a University level.

Professor Bernhardt (of the Department of Psychology) asked for an interpretation of the term 'University level'.

Mr. Coulter ... for our purposes, 'University level' inferred that a course be in content of the level of work offered to undergraduates, and that it be conducted by

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71 University of Toronto, Brief Sent to the Canadian Association of Adult Education for the Use of Dr. J. Roby Kidd, March 18, 1955. Committee on University Extension, Minutes of April 3, 1955, Minute Book, April 5, 1955 - December 3, 1955.

72 Ibid., p. 2.



a member of the University staff or a person delegated by a Department.

Professor Bernhardt replied that if such a criterion was insisted upon, it would be violated continually.<sup>73</sup>

In such a discussion, Professor S.G. Raybould of Leeds University would have felt quite at home and, once again, this highlights the similarity of problems faced by extension departments in Ontario and Northern England. Academics were not prepared to accept the Extension Department as a legitimate member of the university family. As Coulter began his struggle to establish the respectability of extension work within the university fraternity at Toronto, simultaneously there was a change of leadership taking place at McMaster.

Professor C.H. Stearn retired in 1955 and, before doing so, provided some parting thoughts about the role of extension:

Extension Departments have been accused of 'concentrating on profits'. This charge, though utterly unfair is based upon just sufficient truth to keep it alive ... it is still to be regretted that Extension classes are expected to be self-supporting in a way the day classes are not.<sup>74</sup>

Stearn saw the root problem concerned the method of financing. Moreover, in a remarkable piece of foresight that would ultimately be fulfilled in the 1970's, Stearn suggested that students in Extension degree work should receive support from the Government. Stearn suggested that the grant could be calculated by "accepting a given number of enrolment (say six) in any Extension Course as equal to one full time student ... (this) may sound like crying for the moon".<sup>75</sup> In 1955, as Professor Stearn departed from extension work, this did look like asking for the moon; but, within two decades, the situation had so changed as to make a reality of this of this suggestion. What is noticeable is that Stearn's proposal of a

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73 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of April 5, 1955, p. 2., Minute Book, April 5, 1955-December 3, 1959.

74 McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of University Extension, 1954-55, p. 3.

75 Ibid., p. 8. The words "say six" are contained in brackets in the original copy.

ratio of six to one was the policy that eventually the Ontario government adopted in 1971. Stearn departed from the scene in 1955 and the new Director of Extension at McMaster University was W.J. McCallion, whose immediate concern was to maintain the continuity of the extension programme.

During 1955-56, the University of Toronto extension programme began to exhibit some of the ideals expressed by Director J.R. Coulter. There were special courses on the Appreciation of Ballet and La Comedie Francaise. Among the record enrolment in evening tutorial classes of 5,505 students, organised into eighty-three classes, were courses upon the Legacy of Rome, Know Your Museum and Chess. In contrast to the introduction of these intellectual courses, the controversial course on Paint Power disappeared. Meanwhile correspondence courses were being scrutinised and twenty-five were revised and rewritten in 1956.<sup>76</sup>

Coulter had a chance to express his views on adult education in 1956, when he spoke at the National Conference of Canadian Universities on the theme of "Credit and Certificate Courses". The comments of Coulter contained the following observations:

A demand for 'Extension' certificates has grown out of a demand among businessmen for concrete recognition of a substantial educational course successfully completed. Students claim the right to say to their employers and friends, 'Here is positive proof that I have done something at a university which the university recognises as worthwhile'.<sup>77</sup>

But this view from outside the university was not shared within it. Coulter provided a definition that reflected the views of many people within

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76 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1956, p. 100.

77 J. R. Coulter, "Credit and Certificate Courses", Proceedings of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, University of Montreal, 1956, p. 64.

the university:

A certificate is often an illegitimate child, conceived in the extension department, and adopted by the full university family, only when it has grown to a stature of sufficient respectability. A diploma course is merely an older brother whose respectability is a little less questionable because no one is quite sure whether it is a bastard child or not.<sup>78</sup>

Coulter went on to consider the status of the certificate courses conducted in co-operation with professional bodies, such as the Chartered Accountants, where the professional body itself awarded a certificate:

The only real problem here is to convince these associations that the university does not exist merely as a convenience to satisfy their practical short-term needs and to give them desirable prestige. The University of Toronto has made it a policy to insist on roughly 50 per cent of the course being comprised of 'university subjects'.<sup>79</sup>

Coulter also considered the special problems of a mature adult who enrolled for the General B.A. course which was based upon:

The questionable assumption that what is desirable for the inexperienced undergraduate of immature years is also desirable for the experienced adult of greater maturity ... Many adults return to serious study from five to thirty years after they have matriculated from secondary school. When they find that they must take a foreign language or science or mathematics, many of them refuse to proceed; others curse university regulations, grit their teeth and begin to relearn verb forms, mathematical formulae and basic scientific principles. A few students develop new interests from this distasteful task; most, however, quickly drop the undesirable subjects to go on with other studies which they were eager to pursue in the first place.<sup>80</sup>

This shows considerable understanding of the dilemma faced by a mature adult who tried to tackle an undergraduate programme. Members of the general public enjoyed more leisure in the 1950's, but an adult student who enrolled for a B.A. degree course faced regulations framed for immature youths.

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78 Ibid., p. 63

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid., pp. 61-2.

There was a good deal of soul searching taking place at the University of Toronto in 1956 and President Smith endorsed the desire of J.R. Coulter to upgrade extension standards. President Smith stated:

The philosophy of extension work on this continent has been tinged with the sentiment that anything goes, so long as it pays. It would be desirable ... to leave the frivolous courses to other agencies. Work offered by a university should involve the study of principles as distinguished from techniques, and should call for teaching of the calibre associated with higher education.<sup>81</sup>

Later that year the President attended a meeting of the Committee on University Extension and moved, "that we command the efforts of the Director in seeking to establish standards of acceptance for proposed new courses to the end that those with a flimsy and flossy content will not be offered".<sup>82</sup> President Smith was obviously trying to provide firm support for J.R. Coulter in his efforts to upgrade standards.

Also, in 1956, J.R. Coulter attended a conference held at Bangor in North Wales and his report to President Smith reveals a penetrating insight into the discrepancies between the theory and practice of English adult education. Two of the leading members of the English contingent at this U.N.E.S.C.O. seminar were Professor R.D. Waller from Manchester University and Professor S.G. Raybould of Leeds. Raybould was at the height of his fame and Coulter recorded that:

Professor S.G. Raybould maintained there was developing a tendency for more and more work to be done residually in weekends ... or in courses of three or four days ... he also admitted that some universities were finding examinations desirable in order to achieve a more disciplined kind of course.<sup>83</sup>

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81 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1956, p. 32.

82 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 28, 1956, Minute Book, April 5, 1955 to December 3, 1959.

83 J.R. Coulter, "Report on UNESCO Seminar on 'The Universities and Adult Education' held at Bangor, North Wales, September 1-14, 1956, p. 3, University of Toronto, President's Papers, July 1st, 1956 - June 30, 1957.

This hardly sounds like the apostle of the need for hard work in three-year tutorial classes. But then the statements of the British delegates seemed at odds with the practice of their role as adult educators because, as Coulter reported:

In general, the British delegates agreed that only subject matter which could be found in the regular day-time courses could be taught in adult education. It was stated that 'English literature and social studies have for years constituted between them anything up to 80 or 90% of the programmes of the extra-mural departments'. A close examination of the syllabi of some extension departments revealed that courses were not quite as 'pure' as the delegates were led to believe.<sup>84</sup>

One can certainly agree that Coulter put his finger upon an illusion that seemed to exist in the mind of a leading adult educator such as Professor Raybould. As Coulter quickly realised, the courses provided in Extension courses in England were not usually the same as those provided intramurally. Coulter also recorded the reaction of American and Canadian delegates to Raybould's statement that, "The fees paid by students amounted to less than 3% of the total cost of doing the work".<sup>85</sup> The North American delegates were amazed. On the one hand they disagreed with the principle that students should pay such a small percentage of the total cost. They were, however, "forced to envy a system that does not offer the temptation to provide 'bread and butter courses' merely for their monetary return and not because of their intrinsic educational value".<sup>86</sup>

The North American delegates might have been even more amazed if they had been familiar with the trend at universities such as Leeds and Manchester, where programmes were inclined to follow the North American practice of catering to vocational needs. It was, apparently, one thing to extol the virtues of British liberal education, as embodied in the

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84 Ibid., p. 4.

85 Ibid., p. 6.

86 Ibid.

overwhelming predominance of English Literature and the Social Sciences, to a group of visiting adult educators from North America: but quite another story when Professors Raybould and Waller returned to their respective departments. One must, however, allow here for the natural pride in English traditions of adult education, plus the danger that delegates to such conferences can become intoxicated with the jargon of the trade. But, in 1956, this conference was merely one element in the ferment of discussion concerning the role of Extension at the University of Toronto.

It was not only at Toronto that extension work was being closely scrutinised. The new Director of Extension at McMaster, W.J. McCallion, made his first annual report in 1956 and observed:

I have discovered ... that there is no clear-cut channel of responsibility for the Director of Extension. There seems to exist some confusion as to the organization of this Department ... I feel ... that the Director of Extension should be responsible to the President and through him to the Senate and Board of Governors.<sup>87</sup>

This was a reasonable request as it was already the administrative arrangement at the University of Toronto. W.J. McCallion also felt that the arrangements for extra-mural students had to be improved, because the idea that the individual Arts departments could supervise home study had not proved to be too satisfactory. In order to get some efficiency, Director McCallion felt that such courses had to be placed in charge of someone other than the department concerned.<sup>88</sup> Plans were also being laid to offer a Master of Commerce degree in co-operation with the Department of Political Economy.<sup>89</sup> Descending down to what have been termed "bread and butter" courses, there was that familiar title of "Investment" which enrolled 177

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87 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, Annual Report, 1956, p. 7.

88 Ibid., p. 9.

89 Ibid., p. 12.

students.<sup>90</sup> There was also a number of courses for business and industry that were vital to the financial health of the department. One example is provided by the course in Metallurgy I in 1955-56, which had a registration of 596 students and provided 22% of the total income of the Department.<sup>91</sup> By the following year, despite a decreased enrolment in Metallurgy I and Metallurgy II, this particular subject still accounted for 10% of the total income.<sup>92</sup>

For the purpose of this thesis, these figures are only important for indicating trends. During the year 1956-57, approximately 77% of the total income came from Winter Evening Classes, with business and industry providing over half this income.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, in the Summer Session, attended by teachers, income from liberal study predominated. So, in the overall picture, for the whole year, liberal study provided approximately 56% of the total income.<sup>94</sup> The point that seems to emerge from these figures is that the survival of the McMaster Department of Extension depended heavily upon organising courses for business and industry, because liberal study could not sustain a department that had to be self-sufficient. This lesson became even more apparent in the following year, when, considering the total operation of the year, the financial contribution of liberal study declined to approximately 45% of the total income.<sup>95</sup>

Possibly the clear financial picture that emerges concerning

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90 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, List of Registrations, Annual Report, 1956, p. 4.

91 Ibid., p. 3. The receipts from Metallurgy I were \$23,840. while the total income for that Winter was \$104,190.

92 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, List of Registrations, Annual Report, 1956-57, p. 2. Metallurgy I and II produced a combined revenue of \$10,825. The total income was \$107,946.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid. Total receipts for liberal study are recorded as \$78,856.

95 McMaster University, Department of University Extension, List of Registrations, Annual Report, 1957-58.

extension work at McMaster University reflects the fact that a mathematician was now viewing the scene, rather than a philosopher. W.J. McCallion followed through upon his earlier comment about the weakness of extra-mural work which, in McMaster language, meant correspondence courses; extra-mural study was dropped with effect from September, 1957.<sup>96</sup> At the time, a Bachelor of Physical Education degree (B.P.E.) was approved for Extension students. The Department of Physical Education felt that a considerable advantage could be achieved by offering their B.P.E. degree through Extension, as courses could be offered in the Summer School and during Winter evenings. Moreover, as was the case with the University of Toronto, McMaster was under pressure to award certificates. W.J. McCallion reported that Extension Certificates were being offered in Business, Credit Union Administration, in the Metallurgy of Iron and Steel, Office Management, Retail Management and for Secretaries in Industry.<sup>97</sup> Possibly these courses were consistent with the image of McMaster University that had emerged in the post-war period, which was better known for the teaching of nuclear physics than that of Theology. The changed character of McMaster was underlined by the decision in 1957 to remove the denominational character of the University. McMaster became a non-denominational institution and thus became a provincial university similar to the University of Toronto.

The Arts in Canada received a much needed boost through the foundation of a Canada Council and it is interesting to note a British reaction to this development. The Arts Council of Britain saw the Canada Council as analagous to its own position except in terms of financing. Unlike the British system of providing an annual grant from the exchequer,

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96 McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of Extension, 1956-57, September, 1957, p. 2.

97 Ibid., p. 4.



the Canada Council had an endowment of \$50 million and its income was derived from the annual interest upon this sum. Britain's Arts Council felt that the Arts in Canada received inadequate support which made it difficult to make long range plans.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, the very fact that the federal government was attempting to aid the study of Arts and Sciences in Canada provided a better climate of opinion for developing liberal study for extension students.

In Britain at this time there was a fervent debate about the meaning of the word "liberal" as applied to adult education. Some directors of extension study chose to make the term as all encompassing as possible, so that professional or vocational training could be offered and financially supported by the Government. From the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults in the United States came some timely comments which, while they particularly concerned England, also had relevance for Canadian adult education:

Can it be said that there is an indisputable content to a liberal education? Of course not ... It is possible, however, to say that there is a range of subject matter which has proved itself more useful than other subject matters in the pursuit of a liberal education. This range of subject matter is the liberal arts: languages, arts, the social sciences, mathematics and the natural sciences ... It is possible to conceive of a course in business correspondence under the guidance of a teacher so inspired that it would contribute to a liberal education; it is also possible to conceive of a course in philosophy or history so stultifying as to be devoid of liberal values. But - other things being equal - certain content is superior for the purpose of liberal education.<sup>99</sup>

Because the post-war world of adult education tended to be multi-national, the ideas of adult educators were now widely circulated. Before the war, these ideas expressed by the Center for the Study of Liberal

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98 Arts Council of Great Britain, Annual Report 1956-57, p. 6.

99 Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Liberal Education, Chicago: 1957, p. 13.

Education for Adults would, if exported to England, have seemed like shipping coals to Newcastle. But this was no longer true in view of the efforts of some English extra-mural directors to escape from the requirement placed upon them to promote liberal education, as exemplified by testimony given before the Ashby Committee. Moreover, Canada traditionally watched events in the United States and Britain, and this probably accounts for the relative lack of discussion about liberal education for adults in Canadian journals or books. Certainly J.R. Coulter was aware of the pattern of adult education in England and this was exhibited by some comments concerning the difficulty of obtaining staff for extension classes. Coulter noted that the Department of Extension was "being forced to recruit more and more of its staff from off the campus".<sup>100</sup> Coulter speculated, as had Dunlop before him, about a possible solution of this problem:

One might assume that the Extension Department should have its own academic staff. To a degree this step has been taken in many English universities - at Leeds, for example, whose adult education department has a full-time academic staff of more than 30 members. This desirable end will be achieved in time at Toronto, but it must be admitted that in Canada Extension Departments have not gained sufficient prestige to attract, on a permanent basis, their share of the best minds.<sup>101</sup>

But the recruitment of adequate staff was not really the complete answer in terms of encouraging liberal education. An American adult educator pointed out in a dialogue with Professor Raybould of Leeds University that, as far as the United States was concerned, "The impressive post-war expansion of adult education came through public interest in vocational subjects, the open door to better jobs and a higher standard of

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100 J.R. Coulter, "University Extension" Varsity Graduate, Vol. 5, No. 2, April 1957, p. 59.

101 Ibid.

living".<sup>102</sup> Professor Raybould might well have responded that the same comment could apply to England. Raybould did record an opinion, reported by Dr. J. Roby Kidd that, "The English situation is changing, and since 1950 there has been a marked increase in the proportion of Extension courses having a vocational interest".<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the similarities between adult education in North America and England extended to the type of man that was attracted to university extension work because, as an American historian of adult education recorded:

There can be no doubt that the adult education movement during this period (the 1950's) has been dominated by professional adult educators, just as during the two earlier periods it had been largely influenced by social reformers and intellectuals ... The rather substantial body of literature that has accumulated from 1947 ... has been in the nature of articles and books written by adult educators for other adult educators.<sup>104</sup>

Possibly one of the strengths of J.R. Coulter was that he had not been involved in university extension work long enough to be regarded as a professional who conformed to the usual image of an adult educator.

During 1956-57, Coulter pressed on with his crusade to upgrade the quality of courses under the control of the Department of Extension. Coulter provided his own definition of what constituted a "university subject" in these words:

Whether courses are genuine currency or counterfeit depends upon who leads them. Most subject areas can provide legitimate courses if an instructor has sufficient knowledge and insight to deal with significant and profound elements within those areas, and if his students are prepared to share an examination of philosophical and artistic concepts with him. The only criterion that one can offer for the formation of adult classes is a general one: classes must be led by a university trained person who insists on

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102 A. Kaplan and S.G. Raybould, "Adult Education in the U.S.A. and Britain a Dialogue", Food for Thought, Vol. 19, No. 1, September - October, 1958, p. 6.

This article reports a dialogue held at the University of Manitoba during the summer of 1958.

103 J.R. Kidd, Financing Continuing Education, New York: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1962, p. 37.

104 William E. Cotton, On Behalf of Adult Education. An Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature, Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1968, pp. 11-12.

dealing with a subject chosen for the consideration of intelligent mature adults. If classes are planned on the basis of such a criterion, only those students who can benefit will attend.<sup>105</sup>

This sounds as if Coulter firmly believed that university lecturers should try to incorporate an element of liberal education into most courses, and that these should be conducted at a high level for well educated students. The emphasis upon the quality of both instructor and students provides a change from the usual North American pattern of stating that everybody should have a democratic right of entry to adult education classes. Moreover, the view of J.R. Coulter appears to have been realistic, because there are indications that the democratic theory of adult education did not seem consistent with the practice. For example, a study entitled The Audience for Liberal Education discussed the trends of the 1950's in these terms:

The typical man enrolled in a non-credit liberal educational course is about 40, married, in the middle class, having either a professional or managerial occupation and a bachelor's degree. The typical woman registrant, if she is a homemaker (as about half of them are) is married to someone like the male registrant. In any case, she will have a little less formal education, will be about the same age, and she may have taken some adult education course recently. On the average, six women will attend for every four men.<sup>106</sup>

This is a revealing insight into American liberal education for adults. It would seem that the promotion of liberal education in the United States had produced the same result as that in England. The clientele for liberal education came mainly from a well educated, middle-class social strata and female students were in a majority. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it would seem reasonable to assume that what was true for these two countries was true for Ontario. Certainly, the

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105 J.R. Coulter, "University Extension", Varsity Graduate, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1957, pp. 58-9.

106 Alan B. Knox, The Audience for Liberal Education, Chicago: The Center for the Study of Liberal Adult Education for Adults, 1962, p. 5.

evidence from the two older countries about the appeal of liberal education supported the relevance of the approach taken by J.R. Coulter.

In the light of the philosophy expressed by Coulter, it is not surprising to find that reforms were planned in the programme offered by the Department of Extension:

Because of the pressure of ... numbers and because of a conscious change in its philosophy of university adult education, the department has decided to curtail its programme in the 1957-58 session. At least twelve courses considered to fall short of university standards will be discontinued. It is hoped that students seeking information in areas such as home gardening, interior decoration, accident prevention and salesmanship will be satisfied by organizations outside the University.<sup>107</sup>

Consistent with this new attitude was a course designed for the Association of Administrative Assistants which was to begin during the next term. This course was the first of its kind to require the study of English Literature as a subject.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand the course offered in co-operation with the Investment Dealers Association was discontinued, "because it consisted primarily of dissemination of knowledge".<sup>109</sup> These two examples provide a good contrast of how, on the one hand, a liberal subject was incorporated into a course designed for a vocational group: while, on the other hand, a course on how to make money was eliminated. Coulter was obviously making a determined effort to implement his philosophy.

Another way in which Coulter improved the quality of courses was to provide better conditions for the instructors of the two non-credit divisions, the Evening Tutorial and the Business and Industry Division. Coulter commented that:

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107 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1957, p. 92.

108 Ibid., p. 93.

109 Ibid.

The trend in both these divisions is away from large classes haphazardly planned towards smaller classes in which a maximum effort is directed towards the intensive treatment of important subject matter ... Course directors are being appointed for courses involving more than one lecturer to ensure the presentation of a correlated body of knowledge followed by meaningful discussion. The fact that students do not receive credit for such courses should not minimize their importance; indeed, the strongest case can be made for students who pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge - a principle that runs through the Tutorial Classes especially.<sup>110</sup>

The last sentiment reflected the liberal approach taken by J.R. Coulter. Indeed, the strong case he mentions of "knowledge for the sake of knowledge" truly represents the classical tradition that goes back to Aristotle. The liberal emphasis can be seen in the diverse offerings of the tutorial classes, which provided courses upon Russian, Shakespeare, The Problems of India and the East, and the Revolution of East Asia.<sup>111</sup> Support for the educational policy introduced by J.R. Coulter was to appear in an article entitled "Towards a Philosophy of University Extension", where the author stated:

Instruction should be given by competent authorities in the field, with an understanding of the special problems of adult education. Instruction should be of high standard ... to have the weak students set the standard and climb down to it inevitably results in (a) a corruption of standard, and (b) the establishment of 'dabbling kindergarten for immature adults'.<sup>112</sup>

To his credit, Coulter was trying to eliminate such "dabbling kindergartens" from the evening tutorial classes.

The policy of limiting the size of classes and of discontinuing classes considered to be not typical of university offerings caused the total enrolment of the Department of Extension to drop from 18,341 in

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110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 H. Wohlfarth, "Towards a Philosophy of University Extension", Food for Thought, XX, 1960, p. 324.

1956-7 to 16,772 students in 1957-8.<sup>113</sup> In the annual summary ending in June, 1958, Coulter said:

The Business and Industry division continued its difficult but important role of satisfying the needs of business and industry without perverting the function of the University. Steps were taken to persuade business groups to provide their own training courses; courses which consisted in the reality of a series of after-dinner speakers were eliminated or re-organized. In the process the enrolment dropped from 4,314 in 1956-7 to 3,430 in 1957-8.<sup>114</sup>

An increase in the quality of the offerings provided by the Department of Extension implied that the quantitative approach to the recruitment of students had to be abandoned. But, at the same time, the arrival of television meant that a programme of university quality could reach out to a larger audience. J.R. Coulter was chairman of the University Television Committee and encouraged a new university television programme entitled "Live and Learn", which was presented in co-operation with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This programme comprised a series given by Professor D.C. Williams of the Department of Psychology and was the first of its kind; furthermore, this pioneering venture seemed to open a vast new field of service by the University to the community.<sup>115</sup> The introduction of educational television as a tool for broadening the audience available for adult education was not merely a new fad, but a crucial element in trying to maintain a continuity of academic values amid a changing society. One spokesman for the point of view that educational television had a crucial role to play was Andries Dienum, an educator associated with the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. Dienum was a man grounded in European culture and he spoke bluntly to his fellow educators in the universities:

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113 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1958, p. 76.

114 Ibid., p. 77.

115 Ibid.

While formal and professional education is fine and necessary, it has done little to counteract the drift towards 'mass man', the alienated person, the 'higher illiterate', the 'everyman' who is rapidly becoming an island, in spite of John Donne ... with educational television we can build bridges between people, between groups, between specialists, between academic disciplines.<sup>116</sup>

The drift towards a mass culture was of concern to thoughtful adult educators on both sides of the Atlantic. But the problem for adult educators in North America was intensified by the fact that television was viewed as an ideal medium for commercial exploitation by the business world. Dienum wanted to use educational television to counteract the pressure on an individual to conform to a mass consuming society and stated:

I say educational television stands for the tree of life as against the sales spiral and the commercial jingle. Taking this stand will involve us in arguments, but universities are made of arguments ... To play it safe is to play it dead.<sup>117</sup>

If one accepts the premise that mass culture, as produced by commercial television, was undermining the attempt of adult educators to encourage liberal education, then the interest of J.R. Coulter in this medium is not surprising.

One of the by-products of the development of methods of communication through the use of mass media was that it tended to reduce national insularity. People were more aware of an international community seen on their television sets and this had its counterpart in the free exchange of ideas within the world of adult educators. International conferences were held more frequently and these mingled mingled adult educators. Probably it was representative of the times when an American and an Englishman met in Canada, in order to discuss "Adult Education in the

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116 Andries Dienum, Speaking for Myself. A Humanist Approach to Adult Education for a Technical Age, Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1966, p. 15.

Andries Dienum was Associate Professor of Humanities and Consultant to the Division of Continuing Education of the Oregon State System of Higher Education.

117 Ibid., p. 18.



United States and Britain". Some of the more fundamental differences in approach between these two countries were analysed at this meeting.

Professor S.G. Raybould of Leeds University examined the premise of North America that adult education existed in order to train leaders. Raybould observed that the term "leadership training" was unique to North America as, "We certainly haven't got the term as far as I know in England".<sup>118</sup> Raybould went on to say that it could be argued that English University Extension was, "doing a better job now by going for the better educated section of the community and in that sense we're gearing our work to training for leadership".<sup>119</sup> But Raybould commented, "I am a bit doubtful about all this ... the notion that the function ... of university extension is to cater for those who are already educated".<sup>120</sup> Certainly Canadian adult education was showing a tendency to follow the American pattern in stressing the need for community development and training leaders. But Raybould had been moulded in the different social milieu of Yorkshire and his published works made it quite clear that he still believed in a tradition that stressed a social mission of educating the underprivileged.

Raybould saw that the financial support enjoyed by university extension departments in England gave rise to a different approach to educational policy:

Briefly, the contrast between the English and Canadian patterns ... lies in the fact that in England extra-mural students pay a much smaller proportion of the cost of teaching than do extension students in Canada ... In regard to curriculum and purpose, the difference between the two countries is that the Canadian department provides courses in a much wider range of subjects, and go

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118 A. Kaplan and S.G. Raybould, "Adult Education in the United States and Britain A Dialogue", Food for Thought, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1958, p. 8.

119 Ibid., p. 9.

120 Ibid.

much further to meet avowedly vocational needs.<sup>121</sup>

Financial support from the Government placed English university adult education in a strong position for promoting liberal study, relative to university extension work in Canada. The difference in adult education between the two countries can perhaps be illustrated by the role into which Dr. J. Roby Kidd, the Director of the C.A.A.E., was forced. A biographical sketch stated that:

Roby (James Robbins Kidd) is inclined to fancy himself a rather hard boiled, practical administrative type who is willing to tread in where angels fear to rush - the angels being mainly American foundations, large corporations and the federal government.<sup>122</sup>

Undoubtedly Dr. Kidd would have much preferred to have concentrated upon his role as an adult educator, in the style of Professor Raybould: instead, Dr. J.R. Kidd was forced to devote much of his energy towards the role of being a professional fund raiser. Moreover, as Canadians were reluctant to finance research initiated by the C.A.A.E., the fact finding projects conducted by the Association were "paid for almost entirely by grants from American foundations".<sup>123</sup> This analogy between the respective positions of the director of the C.A.A.E. and the Director of the Extension Department at Leeds University is only intended to illustrate the difference of attitude produced by financial arrangements.<sup>124</sup> In one sense, Canadian adult education was a creation similar to the federal parliament at Ottawa; the use of British terminology was widespread, but the method of operation was usually American.

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121 J.R. Kidd, Financing Continuing Education, New York: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1962, pp. 36-37.

122 Walter B. Herbert (Director Canada Foundation, Ottawa), "Profile: J.R. Kidd", Food for Thought, Vol. 20, No. 1, September-October 1959, p. 12.

123 J.R. Kidd, 18 to 80 Continuing Education in Metropolitan Life, Toronto: The Board of Education, 1960, p. 110.

124 A direct comparison would require comparing the Director of Extension at either the University of Toronto or McMaster University to Professor Raybould. But both S.G. Raybould and J.R. Kidd had a larger role as well known adult educators.

Against this Canadian background, the attempt of J.R. Coulter to insist upon the importance of "university quality" in extension work at the University of Toronto provides an interesting example of the influence of British thinking. The disciples of Raybould in England were fervent supporters of the idea of "university standards", as outlined in his influential book English Universities and Adult Education. Obviously the English furor over the need to upgrade standards in university extra-mural work had some influence at the University of Toronto. What seems even more interesting is that the concept of the Great Tradition of liberal education for adults, associated with the name of Professor H. Wiltshire of Nottingham University, appears to have been taken seriously at the University of Toronto.

Enrolment in the liberal arts classes organised by the Department of Extension were increasing by 1958. During the year 1957-58, there was a total of 2,117 students enrolled in the B.A. course: while there were 5,145 enrolled in evening tutorial classes. Among the evening tutorials were new courses that indicated the trend towards what was considered to be more typical university subject matter. There were courses in Canadian-American politics, History of Relations of the Soviet Union with the Western World, How to Approach Poetry, Music Appreciation, Law and the Layman, Geology, Minerology, the Opera and Modern European History.<sup>125</sup> Another course was aimed at the increasing number of Canadian tourists and was entitled "So You're Going To Europe" and enrolled 100 students.<sup>126</sup> Prospective tourists could supplement information gained from this course by studying in one of the numerous language classes: there were seven classes in French, two each in German and Russian, plus three in Spanish.<sup>127</sup>

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125 University of Toronto, President's Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1958, p. 77.

126 University of Toronto, Committee on University Extension, Minutes of November 20, 1958, Summary of Registration, Minute Book, April 5, 1955 to December 3, 1959.

127 Ibid.

Such a programme was truly an implementation of the liberal point of view expounded by J.R. Coulter.

In 1958, J.R. Coulter resigned to become headmaster of a private school and his successor as Director of Extension was Professor D.C. Williams of the Psychology Department. This change provides an additional reason for the selection of 1958 as a terminal date for this thesis. It is not proposed to attempt a discussion of the Williams regime beyond an indication of the immediate impact of Professor Williams in 1958. There were two actions that helped to continue the Coulter programme of improving extension study at the University of Toronto. D.C. Williams changed the name of the Department of Extension into the Division of Extension because, as an academic, Professor Williams knew that the new role being developed for Extension in the university community required an acknowledgement of enhanced status. Possibly even more importantly this change of name symbolised a new start was being made in extension work. Secondly, Williams announced in the B.A. Calendar for 1958-59 that a student was now required to have an obligatory term mark: this represented an attempt to ensure regular attendance in classes along with the intention of pushing up standards.

Concern over standards was also shared at McMaster where Professor McCallion adopted a far sighted attitude towards the quality of instruction and felt "That the university should take cognizance of the winter evening programme when new faculty appointments are made".<sup>128</sup> Most of the evening classes were held on the McMaster campus but, in addition, there were courses held at the outside centres of Niagara Falls, Oakville, St. Catherines and Welland. These centres offered both vocational and liberal courses. McMaster's extension programme seemed to be

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128 McMaster University, Annual Report of the Department of University Extension 1957-58, December, 1958, p. 4.

undergoing a period of consolidation, after the period of rapid change that had seen co-operation with the business world and the introduction of the B.P.E. degree. Liberal study was well established through the courses offered in the B.A. degree programme. Non-credit liberal study was not so well developed as at Toronto but, even here, there were courses on Canadian Literature and French.<sup>129</sup>

By 1958 university extension work was firmly established in both Hamilton and Toronto. The period covered by this chapter saw many rapid changes related to the introduction of new personnel and ideas. Also, analogies have been drawn concerning liberal study between North America and England. This broad perspective is needed to view an age that saw the birth of television and widespread air travel which, in turn, tended to create an international body of adult educators. In order to broaden the focus to survey the entire Anglo-Canadian situation, the next and final chapter will summarise some of the major trends over the entire period from 1914-1958

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129 McMaster University, Department of University Extension Calendar, 1958-59, p. 23.

## AN OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY

In this chapter it is proposed to try to isolate some of the trends that have emerged from this research. In order to bring this summary into focus, the discussion starts with a brief analysis of the legacy from the nineteenth century.

University extension in England originated as a paternalistic gesture from Cambridge and Oxford, who sent lecturers into the northern manufacturing areas to discuss scientific principles with working men. But the pattern that subsequently developed seems to have followed the route established by Mechanics' Institutes, which tended to recruit a middle-class clientele and placed more emphasis on literary pursuits. Another feature of the early university extension movement appears to have been the recruitment of a high proportion of female students, many of whom saw access to higher education as a way of aiding them in their fight for social and political emancipation. Another group that viewed adult education as a way to improve their condition were those workers who were determined to overcome the lack of opportunity to attend a secondary school. The nineteenth century English legacy therefore contained elements of remedial work. But the broader legacy contained elements of class consciousness and social concern that carried over into Edwardian times. Although English universities were generally elitist institutions, the Victoria University<sup>1</sup> developed very early a tradition of integrating the University with provincial life, and a major facet of

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1 The Victoria University of Manchester received a university charter in 1880. In 1884 University College, Liverpool was admitted and, in 1887, the Yorkshire College of Science, Leeds. The federal University lasted until 1903, when a separate university was established in Liverpool followed, the following year, by the founding of the University of Leeds.

this interest was the development of extension work.

University extension work at the University of Toronto was established on the model of Oxford and Cambridge. There were, however, some facets of life in Ontario that created a different environment for extension work. The population of Ontario was scattered over a large area compared to that of England. Moreover, despite the class barriers that existed within England, the English population was essentially homogeneous in terms of cultural background; this was not true of an Ontario that had large ethnic groups. The population of northern England was clustered in a largely industrialised and urbanised setting, while the only really comparable conditions in Ontario were found in Hamilton and Toronto. Social attitudes were different in North America compared to England, principally because there was a belief that greater opportunity existed for upward social mobility in North America. Furthermore, the University of Toronto was funded by the Ontario government as a provincial university to serve the needs of the community. Therefore, the climate in Ontario for extension work might be described as one that stressed public service, in contrast to the English concept which included an element of paternalistic concern about a minority of members of the general public who were earnest in their pursuit of self improvement.

Edwardian England witnessed a return to the original stress upon extending university training to workers when Albert Mansbridge founded the Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.). In the years before 1914, Manchester developed as the focal point for the northern activity of the W.E.A., with the Yorkshire District being established just prior to the outbreak of war. The W.E.A. organization also expanded westwards, at the end of the Great War, when Frank Garstang moved to Liverpool in 1919 in order to form the North Lancashire and Cheshire District. Another example of wartime interest in the W.E.A. was the export of the idea to Toronto where a branch was formed in 1918.

World War One provided a tremendous impetus for the education of adults. The talent of a first rate mind was employed on establishing a British Institute of Adult Education, when Richard Haldane sought to combat the type of ignorance that had made him suffer the indignity of being labelled Pro-German. Haldane had run the gamut of public opinion from being an efficient Minister of War to being called an ally of the Kaiser by misguided chauvinists. Another talented individual, R.H. Tawney, came back from the battlefield in France determined to ensure that the wartime sacrifice was not in vain, and is generally credited with being the principal author of the remarkable 1919 Report of the Committee on Adult Education. Another man of vision, President Robert Falconer, used war-time interest in liberal education to establish a degree course for teachers, as well as proffering financial support to the newly established W.E.A. branch in Toronto.

World War One acted as a catalyst in promoting the establishment of extra-mural departments in English universities, following the recommendation of the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919. This recommendation may have helped to influence the decision at the University of Toronto to appoint a director of extension in the following year: although the appointment of W.J. Dunlop seems to have rested more upon a desire to compete with Queen's University at Kingston. World War One was undoubtedly a watershed for university adult education, because the social upheavals produced by the European struggle brought in their wake a belief that there should be greater access to higher education. Any assessment of the pro and con of the aftermath of World War One should include the positive virtue that the war helped to establish university extra-mural departments. It is true that the W.E.A. District Secretaries tended to dominate the scene in the tutorial classes organised by the joint committees of the three northern English universities: but the idea of having



a full-time director of university extension study was firmly implanted, if not implemented, at that time.

Initially, during the early 1920's the Toronto W.E.A. played a large role in establishing extension work at the University of Toronto. But the lack of a deeply rooted working-class consciousness in Canada, allied to a hope of obtaining support from non-political American trade unions, provided a poor base from which to build up the W.E.A. in Ontario. W.J. Dunlop gradually pushed the W.E.A. off the campus of the University of Toronto and ultimately into a backwater of Canadian life. In short, Dunlop eliminated the W.E.A. as a possible competitor to his expanding extension department, and even claimed exclusive control over the term "university tutorial" in which the W.E.A. exhibited such pride. In his clash with the W.E.A. in Toronto, Dunlop laid bare the fact that the term "worker" had a very flexible meaning for the Association. While Dunlop was busy making life difficult for the Toronto W.E.A., the reverse was true in the Yorkshire District of the W.E.A. in England. The autocratic District Secretary, G.H. Thompson, virtually dictated policy to the Joint Committee that was organised under the auspices of the University of Leeds. It is important to recognise that the promotion of the interests of the W.E.A. did not usually coincide with the long range plans of the directors of extension departments, as these tussles at Toronto and Leeds indicate. But in the inter-war period there was relative harmony at Manchester and Liverpool, where the appointment of full-time extra-mural directors only occurred just prior to outbreak of the Second World War.

During the inter-war period, the study of the subject of Economics was bound to be popular in an era that witnessed a Great Depression. Students that were enrolled in the study of Economics, particularly in the three-year tutorial class that was the pride of the W.E.A., often had the incentive of a social dynamic whereby they felt that they were pre-

paring themselves to aid in a socialist reform of society. But, at the same time in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the reports of H.M.I.'s indicate a strong belief in academic values and an interest in a broad range of subjects. English literature was popular. History seems to have been extolled as a vital element in an adult's education but, in practice, was not very popular. If history had a value in adult education in England, it seems to have lain mainly in providing raw material for the subject of International Affairs, which was a subject peculiar to extra-mural departments. Furthermore, despite the periodical exhortations about the value of Science, the English tradition was essentially a literary one. This was also true of the Ontario tradition and was reflected in the subjects studied in classes devoted to liberal arts and science. At the same time there was a vocational element involved in the way Ontario universities recruited students into a B.A. programme, which was tailored so as to appeal to public school teachers. In the Teachers' Courses, the subject of History was popular, possibly because it required less in the way of prerequisites than such alternatives as Latin or Higher Mathematics.

In Ontario, the term "extension" was preferred to "extra-mural" because, at both the University of Toronto and McMaster, it was felt that the existence of a B.A. degree programme for evening students showed that the work of the university was being extended. In England the term "extra-mural" had historical connotations and had been enshrined in the recommendation of the Final Report on Adult Education in 1919. Moreover, when the term "extension" was promoted after the Second World War, the English directors of extra-mural departments were seeking to distinguish their vocational or semi-vocational courses from the liberal education run in co-operation with the W.E.A. It would seem that because of the willingness of Ontario universities to offer credit earning courses leading to a B.A. degree, the use of the word "extension" was more specific than in northern England.

A constant theme seems to run through all evening classes run by the five universities covered by this thesis. There were always critics of the idea of offering university instruction to the general public. The real issue concerned whether the subjects offered to evening students were representative of university standards because some of the instructors were not regular university lecturers. Some academics seem to have had a fear that the debasement of standards would provide an academic version of Gresham's Law, with bad evening courses having a disastrous effect on the image of university courses in general. The prestige attached to the word "university" meant that the expression "the university" carried implications of scholarship expected of higher education. But, in practice, there was difficulty in attracting a large number of academics into extension or extra-mural work, with the result that it was difficult to claim the evening classes reproduced the regular daytime courses. In England, grammar school teachers often taught the tutorials classes organised in co-operation with the W.E.A.; in Ontario, the desire of junior members of the university academic staff to supplement their meagre earnings often provided the main incentive to lecture on a winter's evening. In short, evening study by adults in the 1930's was seen as a marginal activity by the universities, and catered to an "earnest minority" of the population, who were physically tired when they arrived at classes at the end of a day's work. But the significance of this activity in a social sense was much greater than the numbers would imply. Some students in the classes held in Lancashire and Yorkshire had instructors of the calibre of R.H. Tawney, Arthur Greenwood and R.H. Crossman. The work of the 1920's and 1930's helped to produce a situation where, by 1945, the British Labour Party took office at Westminster complete with over seventy former W.E.A. instructors or students as M.P.'s.

These British M.P.'s trained in W.E.A. classes seem to demonstrate the influence of a working-class social movement which was a fundamental factor in the growth of adult education. Despite the claim of the

W.E.A. that the Association was non-political, some tutorial classes appear to have trained a number of socialists. In addition to M.P.'s serving the Labour government in the late 1940's, there were many more former W.E.A. students serving in posts at the municipal level. It is hardly surprising that the Conservative government that followed the Labour administration in 1951 made a determined effort to restrict further expansion of W.E.A. classes, by proposing financial retrenchment in adult education. It seems apparent that liberal education intended to provide an individual with broader mental horizons, through a "non-political" approach, sometimes resulted in producing leaders of the working class. On the other hand, in North America, one of the ostensible goals for adult education was training men for leadership but, in practice, this approach frequently enabled ambitious individuals to ascend the social ladder. Paradoxically, the system in England that was intended to broaden individuals often trained leaders of a group: while, in Canada, the intended leaders often preferred to regard their training as a form of individual self improvement. This situation illustrates how the social and cultural traditions of a country must affect the end result of adult education.

World War Two established university adult education as an important segment of the educational field. Both the British and Canadian governments felt that a need existed to educate the citizen soldier and this led to the advice of adult educators being sought. Men such as Professor R.D. Waller at Manchester assumed wartime responsibilities for education of the troops, as did Dr. W.J. Dunlop in Ontario. Financing adult education was no longer a problem when the government authorised schemes intended to educate members of H.M. Forces. The success of such wartime schemes, such as A.B.C.A., British Way and Purpose and the Canadian correspondence study, firmly established adult education. At the University of Liverpool the Director of Extra-mural Studies recorded the

experiences of his department during the wartime boom years.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Allan McPhee stated, for example, that after 1941, the Liverpool Regional Committee provided over 38,535 lectures and educational meetings for H.M. Forces and the U.S. Forces.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, this wartime surge of interest in university adult education extended to the civilian population; with both Lancashire universities experiencing a rise in enrolments in the latter years of the war. Meanwhile, in Ontario, a wartime appointment, symbolic of expanding activity, was that of Professor C.H. Stearn to head the Extension Department at McMaster University.

Moreover, the wartime co-operation between Britain and North America produced a broader approach to adult education. A trans-atlantic world had emerged by 1945 and relevant reports about education were read by adult educators, who were conscious of the similarity of problems faced by their counterparts across the Atlantic. In 1945 appeared the Harvard study entitled General Education in a Free Society, which stated that the purpose of liberal education was to encourage students "to think effectively, to communicate, to make relevant judgements and to discriminate among values".<sup>4</sup> The Harvard Committee clearly recognised the need to spread the benefits of liberal education as widely as possible, for their report stated:

The primary concern of American education today is not the development of the appreciation of the 'good life' in young gentlemen born to the purple. It is the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system. Our purpose is to cultivate in the largest number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and are free.<sup>5</sup>

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2 Allan McPhee, A Short History of Extra-mural Work at Liverpool University especially during the Second World War, Liverpool: University of Liverpool Extra-mural Department, 1949.

3 Ibid., p. 16.

4 Harvard University, General Education in a Free Society, Report of the Harvard Committee, Cambridge: 1945, p. 65.

5 Ibid., p. IX.

Adult educators in England and Canada could readily endorse sentiments like this, particularly after their experience of educating large numbers in H.M. Forces.

Part of the explanation for the interest shown in university extension work seems to lie in wartime concern over the future social well being of the general public. When Sir William Beveridge published his report in 1942 it represented a blueprint for the creation of a welfare state. This development had implications for adult education. As the British Government began to exhibit interest in implementing the framework of a welfare state, this promised to reduce the social dynamic that had motivated many W.E.A. classes in the past. Furthermore, a crucial decision was made in 1945, at the Annual Conference of the W.E.A., when the authority of R.H. Tawney tipped the scales against seeking financial aid from the government in favour of continuation as an organisation supported by voluntary contributions. Tawney was later to admit that he made a mistake in 1945, as the W.E.A. could not subsequently command the degree of financial support enjoyed by university extra-mural departments. University extra-mural departments began to become increasingly important, relative to the W.E.A., and the start of this shift of power was symbolised by the installation of an extra-mural director at the University of Leeds in 1945. The grip that G.H. Thompson, Secretary of the Yorkshire North District of the W.E.A., had established upon adult education had been weakened by the developments of World War Two, which made the West Riding become less insular in its thinking. Consequently, when S.G. Raybould became Director of Extension at the University of Leeds a new era began, because he took a national view of adult education.

Raybould focused attention on inconsistencies between the proclaimed goals of adult education and the actual performance of the W.E.A.

and university extra-mural departments. Raybould's books The W.E.A. The Next Phase and English Universities and Adult Education were seminal works in the field. In effect, Raybould argued that extra-mural directors were abandoning what he conceived to be their historic mission of aiding the W.E.A. to help the educationally underprivileged. That particular issue had been settled in Ontario long before World War Two, when W.J. Dunlop had ruthlessly exposed the inconsistency of a movement that was reluctant to define the word "worker". Unfortunately for the W.E.A., the apostles of the Association, Albert Mansbridge and R.H. Tawney, tended to confuse this issue by their pronouncements as to who could be regarded as a worker. In both Britain and Canada the issue seems to have resolved itself into a question of whether the professional or white collar elements of society should be regarded as workers. This philosophical discussion was very important because, as university extra-mural departments increased their enrolment, they tended to compete with the W.E.A. in the provision of liberal education. Raybould diagnosed a tendency for some English extra-mural departments to concentrate upon offering short courses rather than the three-year tutorials.

By the 1950's it was apparent that the pre-war alliance between the W.E.A. and English universities was breaking down. University extra-mural directors at the three northern universities saw that new educational needs had to be met in the age of the welfare state. In particular, the restriction of university adult education to liberal education presented problems. The reason for insisting upon liberal education appears to have rested in the concept that workers should not be trained in technical skills at the expense of the State, so that industrialists could profit from such training. But in the new age of the welfare state, the employer was frequently the government. An age that needed many specialists such as, for example, social workers represented a new situation that was vastly different from any period that preceded it.

In England, the attempt to change the pre-war mould of adult education tended to project a clash between the interests of the W.E.A. and those of extra-mural directors. One of the by-products of this attempt by some extra-mural directors to make their programmes relevant to the needs of the 1950's, as they saw them, was a desire to enlarge the meaning of the word "liberal" to cover vocational training. It could be argued that liberal education had possessed a vocational value for centuries, in terms of preparing men to govern and for professions such as the law and the church. In that sense, the word "liberal" was not the antonym to the word "vocational". But, however, the world of adult education had been a unique creation that followed few of the normal rules. The choice of the word "liberal" as an antonym to "vocational" was not based on any semantic difference, but rather on the political premise that education for workers should benefit them as individuals, and not provide a skilled workforce for the use of employers. Furthermore, this interpretation of the word "liberal" was based upon a British frame of reference where the existence of a social class system was accepted.

On the other hand, Canada was exposed to the influence of a widespread American resistance to the word "liberal". An American adult educator explained this resistance in these terms:

In the United States we have not bridged the inherited chasm between liberal education and practical education. Liberal education is still identified with the aristocratic, with that which is not sympathetic to the every-day problems of every-day people ... On the other hand, practical education is identified with that which is democratic.<sup>6</sup>

In the years following World War Two, as Canada moved more firmly into the American sphere of influence, such thinking was bound to make an impression. In fact there are indications that some adult educators in both Canada and England admired the operation of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. A Royal Commission on Adult Education in Manitoba, that reported in 1948, drew attention to the scale of operation

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6 Robert J. Blakely, Adult Education in a Free Society, Toronto: Guardian Bird Publications, 1958, p. 152.



at the University of Wisconsin which enjoyed a state subsidy of \$300,000 a year:<sup>7</sup> and which, during World War Two, had provided lessons for over 300,000 members of the U.S. Armed Forces.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham visited the University of Wisconsin and viewed the operation of the Extension Division: the visit made such an impression that Wisconsin was viewed as a model on which the operation of extension activity at Birmingham might be based.<sup>9</sup> The appointment of D.R. Dudley to the post of Director of Extension at the University of Birmingham was viewed, by at least one interested observer,<sup>10</sup> as an attempt to try a new approach to adult education in England in the style of Wisconsin. But Canadian and English adult educators might well have considered an American observation, in a book entitled The Extension of University Teaching that was published in 1941, which recorded:

The vocational theme plainly runs through the history of what universities have done in the extension of teaching. It becomes the dominant theme at the University of Wisconsin.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly it was noted earlier in this thesis that, during the 1950's, Professor Raybould of Leeds commented that American trade unionists travelling on Fulbright scholarships had questioned the value of English liberal education for adults. From these indications of American influence, one can reasonably assume that the expansion of vocational content in the offerings of university extension in Ontario and Northern England

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7 Report of the Royal Commission on Adult Education, Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1947, p. 42.

8 Ibid., p. 43.

9 Professor A.J. Allaway outlined the background of events at the University of Birmingham, after World War Two, that preceded the appointment of D.R. Dudley as Director of Extension. Professor Allaway explained the situation in a meeting in his home at Leicester, England in February, 1973.

10 Ibid.

11 J. Leese, The Extension of University Teaching, New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941, p. 157.

may have owed something to the spread of American antipathy towards liberal education for adults. In any event, governments on both sides of the Atlantic gave priority to development of technological and scientific instruction in higher education.

The decade of the 1950's formed a period of rapid change. In 1953 the Ashby Committee Report allowed the validity of the claim by some extra-mural directors that they should not be impeded by a set of rigid regulations and recommended changes in the allocation of funds. This example of the way in which changes were proposed for the official regulations, governing university adult education, tends to illustrate a general postulate of S.G. Raybould: the history of adult education in England since 1924 represented a situation where regulations were changed to conform to the practices of extra-mural directors. Raybould's emphasis had been upon the results of the actions of some university extra-mural departments, such as those of Nottingham and Birmingham, in promoting short elementary courses instead of concentrating upon the more rigorous three-year tutorial. Raybould had deplored the impact of this approach upon the idea of university standards in extension work. By 1953, there was a successful bid by many university extra-mural directors to permit them to plan a programme which was not restricted to liberal education.

Some university extra-mural directors were vitally concerned that standards should be maintained in work performed in evening classes. Certainly Professor Raybould, Director T. Kelly and Professor R.D. Waller were leading supporters of maintaining university standards, as was also, on the other side of the Atlantic, J.R. Coulter of the University of Toronto. Possibly a lecture delivered by Sir Robert Livingstone, at Toronto in 1945, went to the root of the matter as to why it was important to maintain university standards and resist pressures to lower them. Livingstone spoke upon the theme "On Speaking the Truth" and observed:

I have heard respectable people say that history is uninteresting if it is impartial ... as if the truth were dull! But passing outside academic circles, we are apt to find ourselves in a waste land, where truth, if recognized as a possible ideal, is not a major preoccupation. On controversial issues we do not expect to hear from all politicians or journalists an impartial statement.<sup>12</sup>

In the years following this lecture, the situation to which Sir Richard referred was intensified by the increased range of mass communication through the medium of television.

There was consciousness among the educators of the three English universities that adult education could be a vital force in upholding liberal values in an age of mass communications. Similarly, on the other side of the Atlantic, J.R. Coulter was wondering how to harness educational television for the benefit of the University of Toronto. This was a crucial issue in a new age. The eminent sociologist C. Wright Mills summarised the trends of the 1950's in society at large, and then stated:

What the evening college ought to do for the community is to fight all those forces which are destroying genuine publics and creating an urban mass; or stated positively: to help build and to strengthen the self-cultivating liberal public. For only that will set them free.<sup>13</sup>

Possibly in one respect, university extension was ill equipped to cope with a new technological age, because Science had never loomed very large among the subjects offered to evening students. On the other hand, an academic tradition that emphasized the humanities and the social sciences could be invaluable in a world that threatened to become more impersonal. Moreover, the northern universities of England had a distinct advantage over those of Ontario in terms of promoting liberal education, because the British government continued to subsidize liberal education for adults.

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12 Sir Richard Livingstone, On Speaking the Truth, The Third Sir Robert Falconer Lecture delivered at the University of Toronto, November, 1945; Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946, pp. 6-7.

13 Andries Deinum, Speaking for Myself, A Humanist Approach to Adult Education for a Technical Age, Boston: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1966, p. 28.

It would be hard to conceive of English university liberal education for adults surviving in a healthy condition without the support of a government policy.

The development of extra-mural work at English universities was directly related to the support provided by yearly grants from the Exchequer. This situation needs to be kept in mind when evaluating the missionary zeal in Canada of visitors such as Dr. Albert Mansbridge and Professor S.G. Raybould, both of whom were staunch advocates of three-year tutorial classes. As Dr. J. Roby Kidd was to observe on a number of occasions, the Canadian federal structure and related separation of powers made financial support for adult education difficult to obtain. On the other hand, it is relevant to ask the question, "Can university liberal education for adults pay for itself?"

The available evidence at the University of Toronto for the 1950's indicates that liberal education was indeed profitable.<sup>14</sup> Both the B.A. degree course and the non-credit liberal studies appear to have taken in more in student fees than the expense involved in presenting the courses.<sup>15</sup> Yet, in order to keep the picture in perspective it must be admitted that the evidence uncovered in this research indicates that adult education was often regarded as a marginal activity by Ontario universities. Even where the evening programme extended the audience for a daytime Arts programme, as happened with the B.A. courses at Toronto

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14 The following figures are taken from a survey conducted in 1966 by Mrs. D. Cook, who was the Secretary of the Director, Division of University Extension, University of Toronto.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
1953-54	\$274,399	\$241,284
1954-55	\$317,253	\$256,279
1955-56	\$412,468	\$289,907
1957-58	N.A.	\$343,482.
1958-59	\$654,184	\$420,178

15 It should be recalled that, as discussed on p. 452, the terms of reference for the operation of Extension work at the University of Toronto require the maintenance of financial solvency.

and McMaster, there was an unwillingness to accord the same status to such extension courses. The actions of J.R. Coulter and Professor D.C. Williams between 1955-58 indicate that they recognized that the evening B.A. course was not regarded as so important as the regular daytime degree course.

The only English institution that could be compared with the two Ontario universities in terms of offering an evening degree programme was Birkbeck College in London. But Birkbeck did not have the same difficulty in maintaining standards, possibly because the demands made upon students there were the same as those of day classes, instead of the credit system employed in Ontario. As the biographer of George Birbeck<sup>h</sup>, Dr. T. Kelly, the Director of the Extension Department at the University of Liverpool, was well aware of the possibilities for study towards a B.A. degree. But Dr. T. Kelly was faced by the elitism inherent in English university education, which did not provide the same opportunity to introduce a degree programme for evening students as did the situation in Ontario.

Non-credit liberal education flourished on both sides of the Atlantic and the evidence suggests that this was principally a question of educating the educated. In the 1950's, the study of foreign languages and European culture appears to have been related to the increased opportunities for travel by an affluent society. Liberal education became more associated with the idea of recreational activity, rather than the concept of a social philosophy that sought to reform society. In turn, the social sciences often became linked with the emerging profession of social work. Such a situation caused considerable philosophical problems for the English W.E.A. which continued to stress the voluntary spirit in an age that accepted the welfare state. By 1958, it had become necessary to clarify the purpose and role of the W.E.A., and Professor Asa Briggs, the incoming President, attempted to update the philosophy of the Association to make it relevant to the contemporary scene.

No final conclusion can be drawn for this thesis that rests

upon the assumption that the universities discussed were all alike. Each university had a set of circumstances unique to its own location and, therefore, the commentary derived from this research does not claim to present a definitive study that relates all the educational activity to a central philosophy. On the other hand, certain common features seem to emerge from this historical account of university extension work in Northern England and Ontario. There was some opposition to the idea of extension work which seems to have usually originated from academics who felt that the prestige of the institution would suffer from debased standards. During the national crises generated by the two World Wars this opposition was muted. Extra-mural work in England and at the University of Toronto was an outgrowth of the aftermath of World War One. The subsequent entrenchment of university adult education can to a large extent be attributed to the interest displayed by the British and Canadian governments in World War Two.

By the early 1950's, voices were heard on both sides of the Atlantic expressing concern about the need for rapid growth of vocational training, under the auspices of university extension departments. A widespread debate started about the role of liberal education for evening students, which saw considerable speculation about trends by the extension directors of the five universities discussed in this research. In England, this debate was highlighted by the espousal of a "Great Tradition" by Harold Wiltshire at the University of Nottingham: while in Toronto, J.R. Coulter seems to have waged the same type of battle against the erosion of liberal study. But if there were similarities between the experiences of the five universities in the field of liberal education for adults, there were also differences of approach.

Ontario had degree granting programmes for evening students. In turn, this meant that the academic traditions which supported the B.A. course in the regular daytime classes applied to the evening programme.

Consequently there was far less philosophical speculation about the value of university liberal education for adults compared to the discussion in the educational journals of England. There was a vigorous dialogue among English adult educators as to the purpose of their activity and, in particular, the significance of liberal education.

In the last analysis, no precise definition of the adjective "liberal" is likely to be universally acceptable. To some extent the problem can be traced to the different conceptions as to the objective to be served by liberal training. For example, R.B. Haldane had the aim of reconciling social classes by means of enlightened individuals. On the other hand, G.H. Thompson viewed liberal education as a tool that could be used to reconstruct society by means of raising the entire working class. Therefore while R.B. Haldane was instrumental in founding Birkbeck College, as a regular University college, G.H. Thompson sought social emancipation by means of a subject such as Economics. At the same time it needs to be said that, while these approaches were different in emphasis, they both expressed a belief in the value of liberal education for adults. Whether liberal education was pursued for purely academic reasons, or motivated by an ideological commitment, merely reflected different facets of the total programme concerning liberal education for adults.

As time passed, the social structure of England changed and this had a bearing upon the development of liberal education. There was, for example, the elevation of the school teacher in status, so that a teacher was generally classified among the middle class. Given the academic orientation of adult education, the appeal of liberal training was to an enlarging middle class, rather than to manual workers who felt less need for training in the handling of ideas or words.

The financial crisis of the early 1950's created a need to evaluate the relevance of liberal education. Some directors of English

extra-mural programmes argued in the 1950's that a liberal spirit could animate the presentation of any subject and that the motivation of students was unpredictable. While there was merit in such claims, the broadening of the discussion to include student motivation raises questions as to the motivation of the directors themselves. It would seem that the desire to expand the meaning of the word "liberal" so that it covered courses attended by professional workers, such as social workers or engineers, was related to the prospect of obtaining more freedom in the use of Exchequer grants. But, in fairness to the extra-mural directors, there seems to have been a feeling that vocational and technical training had been undervalued in the past, compared to an elitist tradition that could be traced back to a classical age when there had been master and slave. In other words, there was an emotional element involved in the discussion about the word "liberal". Moreover, in the trans-atlantic setting of the late 1950's, the world of adult education seemed to be becoming more homogenized. For example, at the time that extra-mural directors in England were arguing for more freedom to introduce vocational courses, the Director of Extension at the University of Toronto, J.R. Coulter, was busy extolling the value of liberal education.

The liberal ideal continued to be upheld at the three northern universities in England, and it is relevant to consider why this tradition was maintained. Possible the main answer lies in the academic background of the directors of extension activity. Professor R. Waller of Manchester was grounded in English literature and a student in Italian culture. Dr. T. Kelly at Liverpool was an historian of adult education familiar with the English traditions of educational thought. Professor S.G. Raybould was an economist who tended to argue along historical lines when analysing past trends in adult education. Taken collectively, the three directors were academics who were concerned about the erosion of the liberal



tradition of adult education. In turn this possibly points up the fact that, before liberal education for adults can flourish, there is a need for liberally educated individuals to assume leadership. Liberal education is a strand of educational thought that requires careful nurturing in an industrialised world that places the major emphasis on vocational training.

The extension departments of the three universities of Northern England and the two of Ontario started from a similar premise: namely, that the idea of liberal education had value. This concept often had to face strong pressure from an outside world that frequently had a commercial approach to education. In the final analysis, the question would not seem to be why more was not done in the area of liberal education by 1958, but rather how well an idea traceable to ancient Greek and Roman times had survived into this technical age.

## A P P E N D I X

CONTENTS

Table	1. Comparative Statistics for England and Wales, 1925-29.
Table	2. Comparative Statistics, Tutorial Classes, 1914-1930.
Table	3. Subject Analysis of W.E.A. Classes, 1938-1957.
Graphs.	Adult Education provided by Regional Committees, 1939-46.
Maps	W.E.A. Districts associated with the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester.
Table	4. Subject Material Taught During the War Years at the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1939-45.
Table	5. Attendance Patterns at the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1946-55.
Table	6. Subjects Taught at the University of Liverpool, 1950-55.
Table	7. A Comparison of the Subjects Provided by the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, 1947-58.
	Explanatory Note on the Statistics Concerning the University of Toronto.
Table	8. Statistics, University of Toronto, 1920-51.
Table	9. Statistics, University of Toronto, 1952-58.
	Members of Committee on Extension, University of Toronto, 1954-55.
Table	10. Attendance in Credit Courses, McMaster University, 1930-52.
Table	11. Attendance in Non-Credit Classes, McMaster University, 1942-57.

TABLE 1.COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

	<u>*1925-26</u>	<u>1926-27</u>	<u>1927-28</u>	<u>1928-29</u>
University Advanced Tutorial	14	8	7	10
University Three Year Tutorial	392	543	568	584
University Extension	118	158	148	177
University Preparatory Tutorial	45	91	82	94
Under Other Bodies-One Year	196	226	264	295
Under Other Bodies-Terminal	293	344	414	482

\* For the Year 1925-26 the figures apply to England only.

Compiled from Board of Education, Annual Reports.

TABLE 2.

## TUTORIAL CLASSES, 1914-1930.

## COMPARATIVE STATISTICS.

SUBJECT.	Number of Classes.						
	1914-15.	1919-20.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.
Economics, Industrial and Social History ...	77	118	153	197	215	195	194
Economic Geography ...	—	1	8	9	12	10	11
Ethics ...	1	—	—	—	1	—	2
European Art and Culture ...	—	—	—	1	—	4	—
History, Biographic ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
History, European, etc. ...	32	12	20	39	60	60	61
History, Jewish ...	—	—	—	1	5	2	2
History of British Commonwealth ...	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Hygiene ...	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
International Relations ...	—	—	5	4	3	3	4
Language and Literature ...	15	44	97	120	170	173	164
Local and Central Government ...	3	2	—	4	7	6	8
Logic ...	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
Music ...	—	5	13	21	25	34	33
Political and Social Science and Sociology ...	12	14	18	19	43	54	60
Principles of Education ...	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Psychology, Philosophy and Metaphysics ...	9	24	68	95	113	124	112
Science :—Geology, Biology, Anthropology, etc.	4	5	13	17	19	21	23
	153	228	398	528*	675*	688*	681*

UNIVERSITY.	Number of Classes.						
	1914-15.	1919-20.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.
Birmingham ...	6	9	22	32	38	39	40
Bristol ...	5	—	7	14	28	32	33
Cambridge ...	5	6	13	19	24	27	24
Durham and Newcastle ...	9	18	33	44	53	59	54
Exeter ...	—	—	5	8	10	9	11
Hull ...	—	—	—	—	—	11	11
Leeds ...	13	28	33	39	47	46	52
Leicester ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Liverpool ...	19	21	33	43	55	60	61
London ...	26	31	37	44	55	54	50
Manchester ...	17	21	34	40	48	53	57
Nottingham ...	6	5	43	51	77	75	72
Oxford ...	16	14	19	27	35	32	31
Reading ...	2	2	3	3	2	2	2
Sheffield ...	10	25	37	40	46	44	46
Southampton ...	—	1	3	5	6	6	9
University College of Wales, Aberystwyth ...	10	19	20	27	27	30	19
University College of N. Wales, Bangor ...	4	12	12	19	33	37	35
University College of S. Wales, Cardiff ...	5	14	23	42	56	43	43
University College, Swansea ...	—	—	16	23	35	29	28
Aberdeen ...	—	1	4	5	—	—	—
Edinburgh ...	—	1	3	3	—	—	—
	153	228	398	528*	675*	688*	681*

1923-24 includes 27 Shift Classes as two Classes each.

1924-25 " 27 " " " " " "

1927-28 " 41 " " " " " "

1928-29 " 36 " " " " " "

1929-30 " 38 " " " " " "

\* Including Preparatory Classes

From Central Joint Advisory Board on

Tutorial Classes Statistics.

TABLE 3.

**SUBJECT ANALYSIS OF W.E.A. CLASSES**  
(Number of Classes)

Year	All Classes	Social Studies		Literature, Language and Fine Arts		Science		Miscellaneous	
	No.	No.	% of Total	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1938-39	3,219	2,067	64.2	843	26.2	226	7.0	83	2.6
1945-46	5,013	3,362	67.1	1,337	26.7	210	4.2	104	2.1
1946-47	5,276	3,242	61.3	1,670	31.7	308	5.8	56	1.1
1947-48	5,515	3,396	61.6	1,725	31.3	329	6.0	65	1.2
1948-49	6,287	3,916	62.0	1,921	31.0	371	6.0	79	1.3
1949-50	6,266	3,859	62.0	1,971	31.7	436	6.9	—	—
1950-51	6,026	3,691	61.3	1,902	31.6	385	6.6	—	—
1951-52	5,678	3,492	61.5	1,801	31.7	382	6.7	—	—
1952-53	5,341	3,265	61.1	1,621	30.6	373	7.1	—	—
1953-54	5,125	3,121	60.9	1,547	30.2	371	7.2	—	—
1954-55	5,282	3,223	61.0	1,635	31.0	410	7.8	—	—
1955-56	5,473	3,350	61.4	1,627	30.0	476	8.6	—	—
1956-57	5,226	3,200	60.5	1,619	31.0	447	8.5	—	—

**Social Studies:** General history (including local and European); economic, social and industrial history; economics, political and social science; political and social problems (including current affairs); reconstruction; international relations (including European and world problems); geography (including economic geography); anthropology and human geography; local and central government; psychology; philosophy, social philosophy, ethics and logic; religious history and literature; agriculture and nutrition; town and country planning.

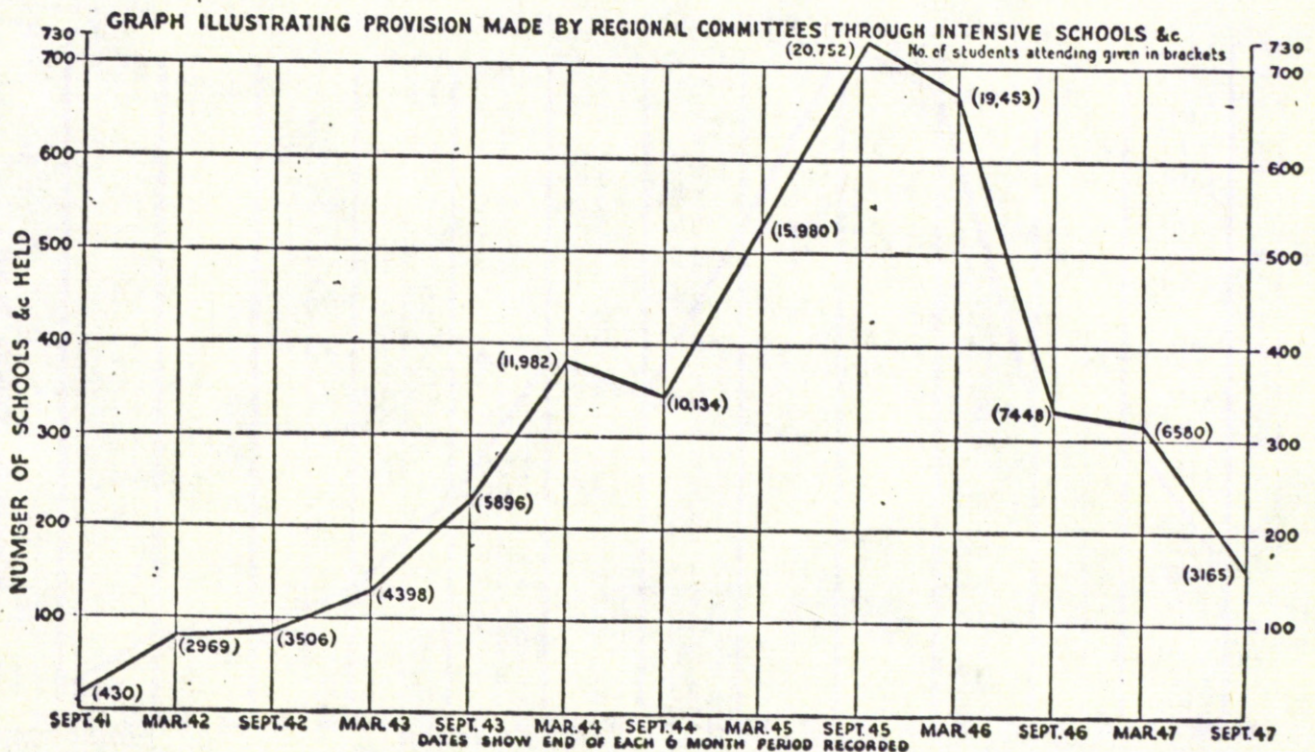
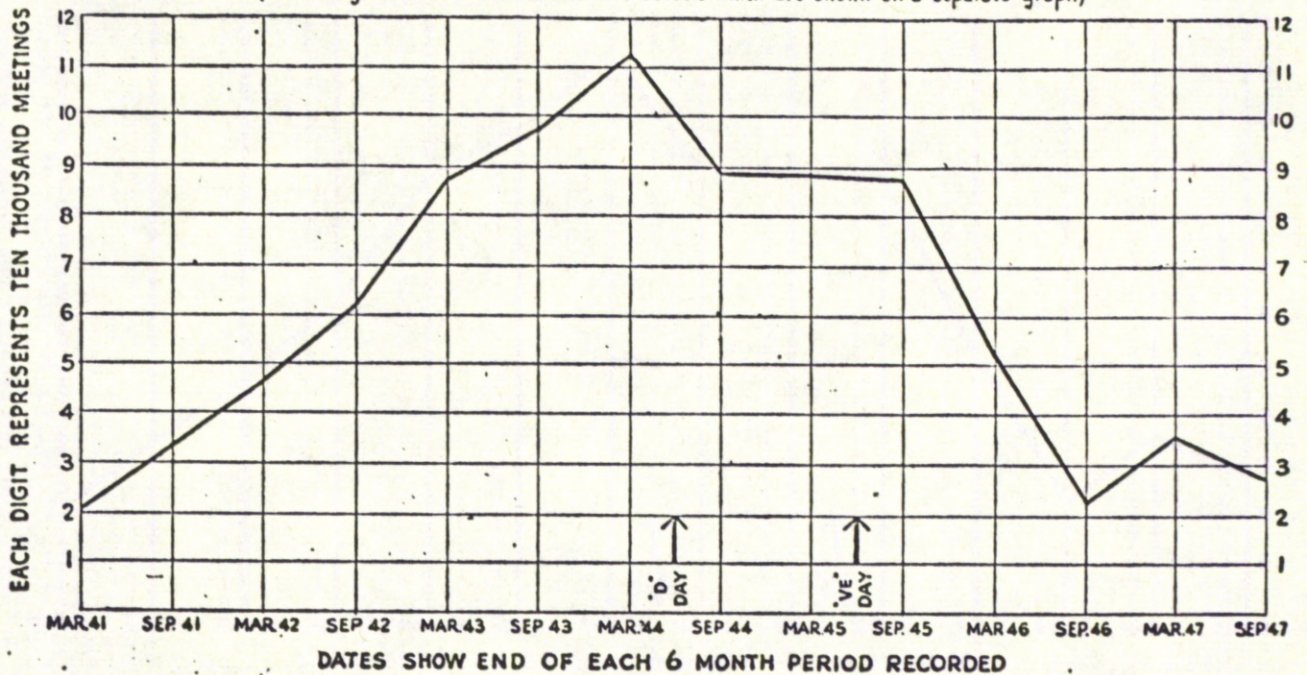
**Literature, Language and the Arts:** Literature and drama elocution, dramatic art and public speaking; music and appreciation of music; art and architecture; languages (including Esperanto); film.

**Source:** S.G. Raybould, ed., Trends in Adult Education, London: Heinemann, 1959, p.251.

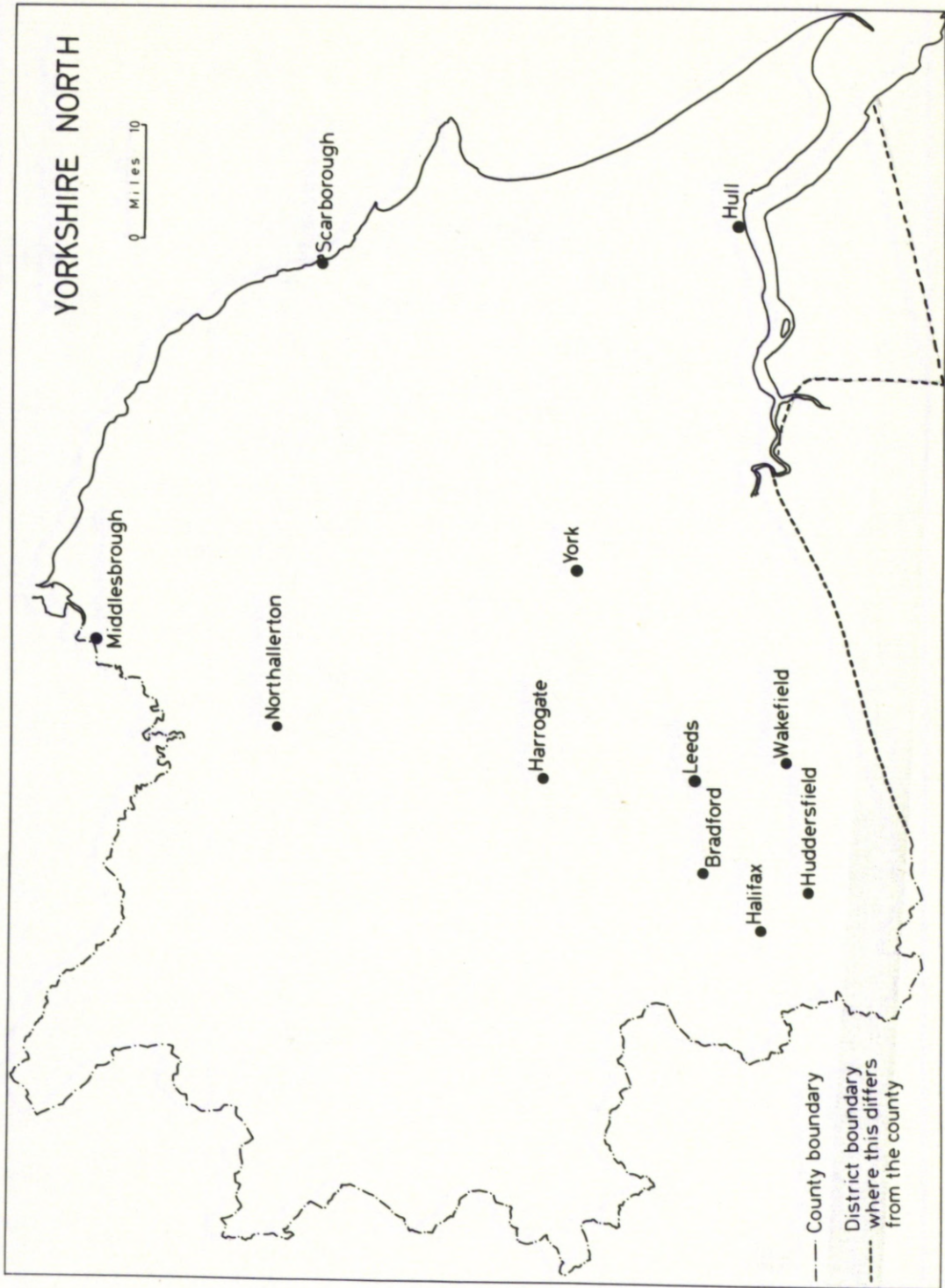


The following graphs are reproduced from N. Scarlyn Wilson, Education in the Forces 1939-46, The Civilian Contribution pp. 172-3.

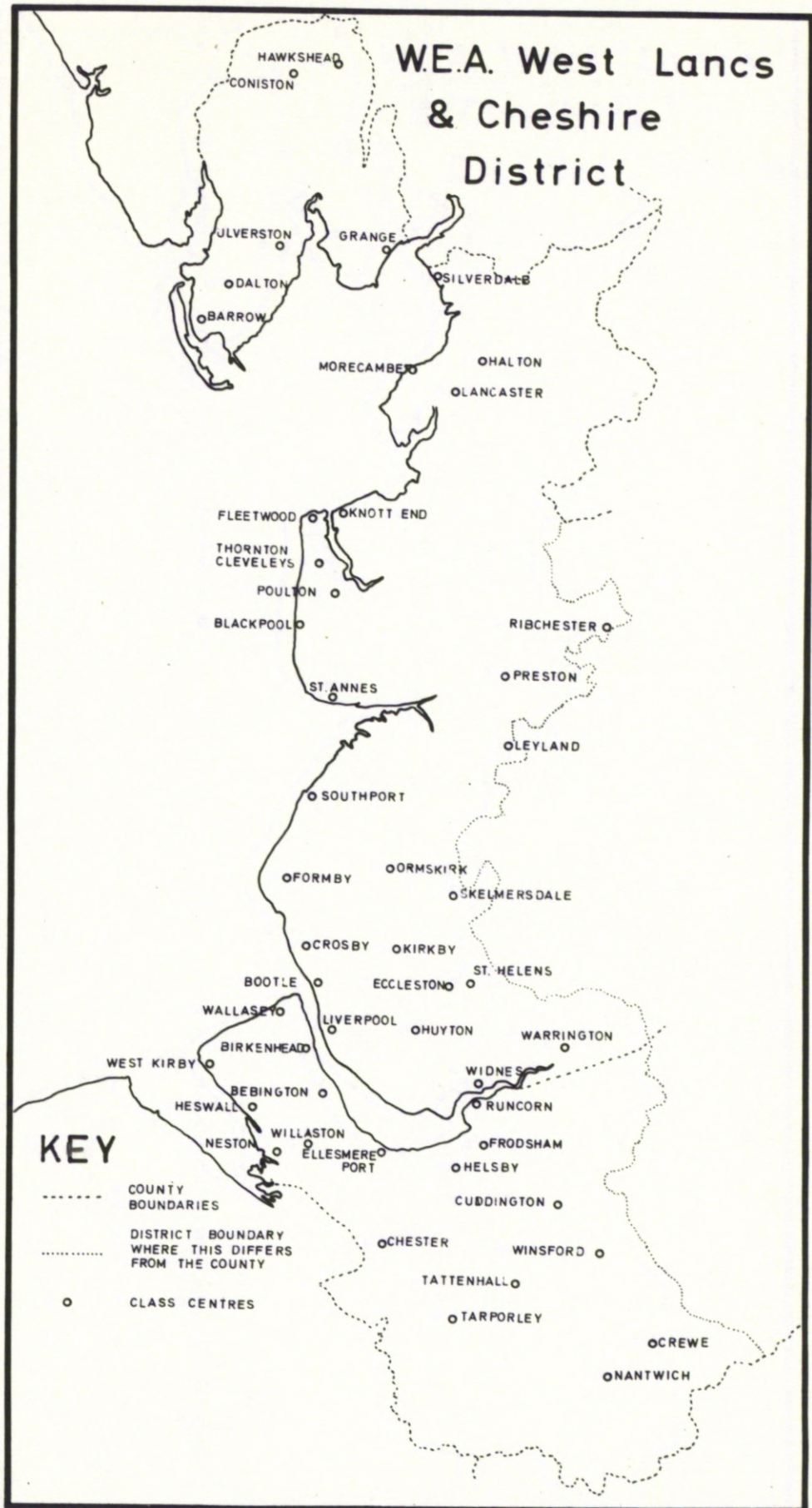
**PROVISION OF LECTURE, SHORT COURSE AND CLASS MEETINGS MADE THROUGH REGIONAL COMMITTEES**  
(Excluding residential & other intensive schools which are shown on a separate graph)















..... COUNTY BOUNDARIES  
 / / / / COUNTY BOROUGH BOUNDARIES

# NORTH WESTERN DISTRICT

The following table refers to Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester only, with the information being extracted from the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, Report on the War Years 1939-40 to 1944-45.

Abbreviations used are    Tut. for Tutorial  
                                 Sess. "    Sessional  
                                 Ext. "    Extension  
                                 Liv. "    Liverpool  
and - Manca. "    Manchester

TABLE 4  
SUMMARY OF SUBJECT MATERIAL DURING THE WAR YEARS

Subject	Type of Course	1939-40			1940-41		
		Leeds	Liv	Mancs	Leeds	Liv	Mancs
International Affairs	Tut.	11	8	7	12	6	8
	Sess.	-	3	7	2	1	10
	Ext.	-	-	3	-	-	4
Economics, Economic & Social Problems	Tut.	6	7	7	5	6	2
	Sess.	1	1	1	-	-	3
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	-
Post-War Problems	Tut.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sess.	-	-	-	-	1	-
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
History	Tut.	6	6	6	7	3	5
	Sess.	-	-	2	-	-	2
	Ext.	-	-	2	-	-	2
Political Theory Local & Central Govt.	Tut.	13	6	5	10	4	6
	Sess.	-	-	1	-	2	3
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	Tut.	-	1	3	-	-	2
	Sess.	-	-	2	-	-	3
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	2
Philosophy	Tut.	4	-	1	5	3	4
	Sess.	-	-	1	1	-	-
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	-
Science	Tut.	10	6	3	13	3	4
	Sess.	-	1	4	-	-	2
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Literature	Tut.	13	8	6	10	8	7
	Sess.	2	3	5	3	-	5
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Music	Tut.	4	2	3	4	5	3
	Sess.	2	3	3	1	3	5
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Religion	Tut.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sess.	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Ext.	-	-	2	-	-	2
Geography and Geology	Tut.	-	1	3	-	3	2
	Sess.	-	1	-	-	3	-
	Ext.	-	-	2	-	-	-
Psychology	Tut.	4	6	10	3	3	8
	Sess.	-	1	8	-	1	1
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4 (Cont'd)

Subject	Type of Course	1941-42			1942-43		
		Leeds	Liv	Mancs	Leeds	Liv	Mancs
International Affairs	Tut.	9	8	8	14	8	4
	Sess.	-	1	13	1	1	11
	Ext.	-	-	5	-	-	9
Economics, Economic & Social Problems	Tut.	3	5	2	3	5	6
	Sess.	-	-	3	-	-	5
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	2
Post-War Problems	Tut.	8	-	-	6	-	1
	Sess.	3	-	-	-	-	-
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	5
History	Tut.	3	3	3	3	9	1
	Sess.	-	-	1	-	-	2
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Political Theory Local & Central Govt.	Tut.	8	5	4	6	5	2
	Sess.	-	3	2	-	2	-
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	Tut.	-	-	1	-	1	-
	Sess.	-	-	2	1	-	6
	Ext.	-	-	3	-	-	5
Philosophy	Tut.	4	3	3	5	2	5
	Sess.	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science	Tut.	12	4	1	6	5	1
	Sess.	2	-	3	3	-	4
	Ext.	-	-	4	-	-	-
Literature	Tut.	9	10	5	13	9	4
	Sess.	3	-	7	1	1	8
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Music	Tut.	6	5	4	5	7	6
	Sess.	-	1	10	2	1	10
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Religion	Tut.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sess.	-	-	1	-	-	-
	Ext.	-	-	5	-	-	9
Geography and Geology	Tut.	-	3	2	-	3	1
	Sess.	-	3	-	-	-	-
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psychology	Tut.	2	3	6	3	7	8
	Sess.	-	1	2	-	1	2
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 4 (Cont'd)

Subject	Type of Course	1943-44			1944-45		
		Leeds	Liv	Mancs	Leeds	Liv	Mancs
International Affairs	Tut.	11	13	5	12	8	7
	Sess.	-	1	12	-	2	12
	Ext.	-	-	2	-	-	2
Economics, Economic and Social Problems	Tut.	4	3	6	3	6	7
	Sess.	-	1	5	-	1	4
	Ext.	-	-	2	-	-	3
Post-War Problems	Tut.	5	-	1	6	-	5
	Sess.	1	-	3	-	-	8
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	5
History	Tut.	2	10	-	5	9	-
	Sess.	-	1	3	-	1	3
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	2
Political Theory Local and Central Govt.	Tut.	9	5	1	7	5	2
	Sess.	1	3	3	-	3	3
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	Tut.	-	1	1	-	1	1
	Sess.	-	-	2	2	1	3
	Ext.	-	-	11	-	-	4
Philosophy	Tut.	6	2	3	7	2	4
	Sess.	1	-	4	-	2	1
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science	Tut.	6	5	2	7	6	2
	Sess.	1	-	4	-	1	3
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	4
Literature	Tut.	11	10	5	11	10	7
	Sess.	-	-	12	-	1	9
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	1
Music	Tut.	5	9	8	6	11	8
	Sess.	1	1	9	-	1	12
	Ext.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Religion	Tut.	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sess.	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Ext.	-	-	8	-	-	7
Geography and Geology	Tut.	-	1	-	-	4	-
	Sess.	-	1	-	-	4	-
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psychology	Tut.	7	11	8	9	14	9
	Sess.	1	1	2	-	2	5
	Ext.	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 5 (a)  
ATTENDANCE PATTERNS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

THREE YEAR TUTORIALS  
(Under Regulation 24A)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>LEEDS</u>		<u>LIVERPOOL</u>			<u>MANCHESTER</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1946-47	81	487	585	98	778	1242	57	407	506
1947-48	81	600	702	113	971	1554	49	387	456
1948-49	87	567	633	111	1044	1297	55	430	492
1949-50	88	569	553	97	578	646	52	386	426
1950-51	74	470	476	82	510	509	57	430	449
1951-52	76	503	469	78	494	583	53	442	400
1952-53	65	431	371	69	406	526	53	399	390
1953-54	61	424	321	51	261	404	66	490	573
1954-55	61	405	348	43	230	334	70	547	620

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports

Note: The statistics shown in the group of tables identified in this appendix as 5a to 5e cannot be continued beyond 1954-55. After that year a change was made in the way the statistics were presented.



TABLE 5 (b)  
ATTENDANCE PATTERNS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

ONE YEAR COURSES  
(Under Regulation 24B)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>LEEDS</u>		<u>LIVERPOOL</u>			<u>MANCHESTER</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1946-47	9	75	74	6	76	165	88	980	909
1947-48	12	128	152	2	11	20	103	1188	1181
1948-49	16	161	172	3	27	39	90	853	862
1949-50	20	138	171	10	112	121	98	991	939
1950-51	25	212	189	10	76	72	87	817	693
1951-52	27	183	233	12	84	75	105	871	950
1952-53	32	297	214	7	71	41	80	596	713
1953-54	34	551	243	17	201	213	80	553	795
1954-55	34	267	205	29	292	276	80	549	638

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports.



TABLE 5 (c)  
ATTENDANCE PATTERNS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

SHORT COURSES  
(Under Regulation 24c)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>LEEDS</u>		<u>LIVERPOOL</u>			<u>MANCHESTER</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1946-47	18	138	142	10	151	89	25	253	321
1947-48	16	105	111	15	332	399	41	478	396
1948-49	21	145	165	16	174	221	42	403	320
1949-50	15	201	195	8	132	218	52	584	497
1950-51	6	56	97	16	131	284	43	389	335
1951-52	8	112	28	27	329	397	60	597	486
1952-53	9	96	93	23	348	339	40	397	397
1953-54	6	41	47	21	273	338	44	416	379
1954-55	6	32	39	17	165	312	43	416	402

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports.

TABLE 5 (d)

ATTENDANCE PATTERNS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

INFORMAL COURSES  
(Under Regulation 25b)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>LEEDS</u>		<u>LIVERPOOL</u>			<u>MANCHESTER</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1946-47	5	549	613	-	-	-	44	765	907
1947-48	35	1351	1346	1	12	11	56	1147	918
1949-50	20	635	441	18	332	379	85	1393	1305
1950-51	22	313	296	26	479	277	68	1248	1124
1951-52	9	239	164	21	431	340	48	949	1171
1952-53	8	411	324	27	247	366	61	902	1227
1953-54	12	211	327	30	258	330	30	644	712
1954-55	13	520	487	49	446	609	39	541	651

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports.

TABLE 5 (e)

ATTENDANCE PATTERNS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

OTHER COURSES

(Under Regulation 25A)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>LEEDS</u>		<u>LIVERPOOL</u>			<u>MANCHESTER</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Courses</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1946-47	2	10	5	5	89	8	-	-	-
1947-48	14	406	378	11	185	207	-	-	-
1949-50	5	178	59	1	13	4	10	32	28
1950-51	1	45	75	1	9	3	19	107	88
1951-52	-	-	-	3	16	30	36	515	423
1952-53	-	-	-	8	46	73	23	317	470
1953-54	1	3	5	-	-	-	35	325	375
1954-55	-	-	-	3	13	34	50	427	545

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Reports.

TABLE 6

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA-MURAL STUDIESSUBJECT ANALYSIS 1950-55

	1950-51		1951-52		1952-53		1953-54		1954-55		Total No. of Courses	% of Total
	E.M.	Ext.	E.M.	Ext.	E.M.	Ext.	E.M.	Ext.	E.M.	Ext.		
Economics and Sociology	8	14	6	11	7	7	6	7	8	9	83	12
Language and Literature	15	10	15	9	12	8	11	16	11	19	126	20
Physical Sciences	6	10	8	9	5	9	5	13	3	9	77	11
Psychology	6	8	5	6	4	8	4	7	1	6	55	8
History	4	6	6	7	7	8	6	8	7	10	69	10
Geography and World Affairs	15	4	16	3	16	7	14	11	11	10	107	16
Education		3		4		3		-		-	10	1
Biology		1		-		4		5		10	20	3
Art	-	1		2	-	4	-	3	-	6	16	2
Music	13	1	13	5	12	8	9	5	9	6	81	12
Philosophy	5		8		7		5		2		27	4
Welsh Literature	2		-		2		2		2		8	1
Other Courses		2		1		-		-			3	0

Code E.M. = Extra-Mural Classes. Ext. = Extension

Extra-Mural classes cover tutorials and, after 1951-52,  
Sessional Classes.

Extension classes cover Sessional courses (20 meetings or more).

Terminal Courses (10-19 meetings), Short Courses and  
Residential Courses

Source: University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural  
Studies, Reports.

TABLE 7 (a)

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GEOGRAPHY</u>			<u>LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	3	1	5	14	22	30
1948-49	2	3	6	23	27	34
1949-50	-	10	1	29	28	31
1950-51	-	12	5	32	29	30
1951-52	-	6	4	28	29	28
1952-53	-	8	2	30	21	25
1953-54	1	10	2	29	29	42
1954-55	-	1	-	26	32	48
1955-56	-	10	13	24	32	45
1956-57	-	9	4	23	28	48
1957-58	-	6	5	22	36	30

TABLE 7 (a) Contd.

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS</u>			<u>THE ARTS</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	14	18	26	8	18	33
1948-49	11	21	29	11	20	35
1949-50	9	11	10	10	20	35
1950-51	6	6	25	11	17	34
1951-52	6	14	16	11	20	32
1952-53	7	17	19	11	25	27
1953-54	8	14	21	8	18	41
1954-55	11	21	28	7	22	43
1955-56	9	17	10	12	24	51
1956-57	9	17	14	In 1956-57 the area of the Arts was split into Music and Art.		
				Music 6	15	27
				Art 3	22	25
1957-58	8	16	11	Music 7	10	21
				Art 4	19	24

Source: Universities Council for Adult Education Reports  
which included tutorial and sessional classes.

TABLE 7 (b)

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>HISTORY</u>			<u>GOVERNMENT</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	9	12	24	7	12	5
1948-49	13	13	18	3	6	2
1949-50	13	11	33	13	4	5
1950-51	11	10	23	9	3	4
1951-52	13	11	22	5	1	11
1952-53	13	14	20	6	1	4
1953-54	13	15	16	4	-	1
1954-55	16	19	16	2	-	3
1955-56	21	24	22	10	10	1
1956-57	27	21	26	11	2	1
1957-58	22	30	30	9	4	3

TABLE 7 (b) Contd.

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SOCIAL SCIENCES</u>			<u>PHILOSOPHY</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	16	16	34	12	7	13
1948-49	28	15	31	8	5	14
1949-50	36	21	32	4	2	19
1950-51	33	29	28	11	4	21
1951-52	38	22	32	14	8	18
1952-53	29	18	28	9	8	14
1953-54	39	15	57	6	8	20
1954-55	38	18	74	6	4	18
1955-56	30	17	81	4	6	13
1956-57	34	21	81	3	6	14
1957-58	40	11	78	3	5	13

Source: Universities Council for Adult Education

Reports which include tutorial and sessional classes.



TABLE 7 (c)

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PSYCHOLOGY</u>			<u>RELIGION</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	13	41	16	7	-	10
1948-49	12	27	21	6	-	10
1949-50	9	31	16	1	-	10
1950-51	6	14	19	1	-	-
1951-52	12	11	22	2	2	10
1952-53	5	10	22	2	3	11
1953-54	3	10	20	-	2	7
1954-55	6	7	26	-	-	14
1955-56	8	7	15	2	1	14
1956-57	8	9	15	2	1	18
1957-58	3	11	12	3	2	18

TABLE 7 (c) Contd.

A COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF COURSES PROVIDED  
BY THE UNIVERSITIES IN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PHYSICAL SCIENCE</u>			<u>BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES</u>		
	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>Liver- pool</u>	<u>Manches- ter</u>
1947-48	11	9	19	N.C.	N.C.	N.C.
1948-49	9	15	24	N.C.	N.C.	N.C.
1949-50	12	2	15	7	11	24
1950-51	10	10	10	4	7	23
1951-52	9	8	12	5	9	25
1952-53	10	8	11	6	8	15
1953-54	8	18	14	4	8	18
1954-55	5	13	24	4	13	17
1955-56	4	18	21	5	11	15
1956-57	6	22	25	3	5	17
1957-58	4	19	22	2	9	11

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTENSION  
STATISTICS

The available statistics do not lend themselves to a comprehensive presentation set out in one set of figures. In order to indicate the fragmented picture presented by a diverse range of activities, the statistics applying to the era of W.J. Dunlop are set out in Table Eight.

In Table Nine the more simplified structure applying in the post-Dunlop era is set forth.

The figures are adapted from a term assignment by Phyllis Dunlop entitled The Department of University Extension. Miss Dunlop explains in her introductory statement that there was a dearth of information and that she was presenting a compilation of earlier figures prepared by various individuals. Where possible the figures have been checked with basic sources and corrected where necessary.

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
1920 - 29

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1922</u>	<u>1923</u>	<u>1924</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1927</u>	<u>1928</u>	<u>1929</u>
Total Enrolment	130		1676		2650	2545	2225	2746		18,400
B.A. Students	70	76	270	228	617	566	350	401	395	369
W.E.A.		160	325	926	1137	982	815	1142	623	505
Urban Evening Tutorials			190		333	321	148	242	1267	1488
Rural Tutorials			134	105					235	
Farmer's Courses		279	225	84						
Correspondence Courses		47		556			144	511	490	46
Local Lectures	18	53	83	138	188	244	267	338	269	210
Journalism			125	98	120			10		
Household Science			157							
Town Planning			49							
High School Specialist		31)								
Type "A"		)	66					13	28	
Pedagogy		)								
		44)								
Upper School Tuition		24	62				195	273)		
Middle School Tuition		68	23				52	39)	372	370
Commercial Tuition		26	10				46	39)		



TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1930-39

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>1933</u>	<u>1934</u>
Total Enrolment	29,121	29,100		19,440	
B.A. Students	468	465	565	588	765
W.E.A.	498	675	1,088	1,388	1,598
Evening Tutorials	1,826	2,393	2,200	2,322	1,862
Rural Tutorials	235				
Farmer's Lectures			100	272	
Correspondence	62	723			
Radio Broadcasts			40		40
Can. Credit Institute				229	372
Nurses		198			
Graduate Nurses		20	20	106	222
Physiotherapy					
Occupational Therapy					0
Type "A" Courses	19	15			25)
Pedagogy		100			)
Preparatory Correspondence	168				159

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
1930 - 39

	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1938</u>	<u>1939</u>
Total Enrolment		30,000	33,579	25,000	
B.A. Students	450	981	1,195	908	747
W.E.A.	1,880	1,800	1,579	1,442	1,432
Evening Tutorials	3,045	2,407	3,725	3,225	3,208
Rural Tutorials					
Farmer's Lectures					
Correspondence		221	277	206	138
Radio Broadcasts	40				
Can. Credit Institute	446				
Nurses					
Graduate Nurses					
Physiotherapy	20	34	45		44
Occupational Therapy		36	41		47
Type "A" Courses )		42	37		10
) 375					
Pedogogy )		128	126		104
)					
Preparatory Correspondence					

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1930 - 39

Years 1930-34 Contd.

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>1933</u>	<u>1934</u>
Upper School )					
Tuition )					
Middle School)					
Tuition )	373				
Commercial )					
Tuition )					
Extension					
Lectures	97	202	220	178	138
Public					
Administration					
Municipal					
Administration					
Short Story					
Writing					
Social Work					
Correspondence					
for Accounting					
Aerial					
Navigation					
Short Courses					
Continuous					
Courses	3,998	5,090	5,159	4,915	4,797



TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1930 - 39

Years 1935-39 Contd.

	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1938</u>	<u>1939</u>
Upper School )		48		84	
Tuition )					
Middle School)		75			
Tuition )					
Commercial )		129		94	186
Tuition )					
Extension					
Lectures	196	175	199	182	175
Public					
Administration		54	65	158	
Municipal					
Administration		90			
Short Story					
Writing		53			
Social Work				72	
Correspondence					
for Accounting	446	221	277	412	307
Aerial					
Navigation				25	20
Short Courses					303
Continuous					
Courses	5,825	7,142	7,622	6,712	6,730

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

	<u>1940 - 51</u>					
	<u>1940</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1945</u>
Total Enrolment			6543		10,187	12,000
B.A. Students	622	570				
Certificate in Business	54	54	6			
Business Courses	116					
Evening Tutorials	1,872	2,642	2,133	2,341	5,185	5,503
Accountancy Correspondence	483					
Physiotherapy	76	44	)			
			)			
Occupational Therapy	97	47	)	209		
			)			
Firefighting	118	192				
Aerial Navigation	49	125				
Upper School Tuition	65				94	
					P.O.W.	
Extension Lectures	136	142	110	113	131	101
Pedagogy		125				
Marketing	507					
Russian		39				
Gliders		125				

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

	<u>1940 - 51</u>					
	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>
Total Enrolment	12,224	13,199	13,167	13,974	10,002	9,309
B.A. Students	614	722	768		858	886
Certificate in Business	50	60	88		138	169
Business Courses						
Evening Tutorials	8,002	8,247	7,806	6,938	4,821	3,218
Accountancy Correspondence	400	1,000	400		1,715	2,053
Physiotherapy					57	
Occupational Therapy					139	
Firefighting	397	863	392		242	113
Aerial Navigation						
Upper School Tuition	500	138	247			56
Extension Lectures				24		
Pedagogy						235
Marketing						
Russian						
Gliders						

TABLE 8

## UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1940 - 51Years 1940-45 Contd.

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1945</u>
Business and Engineering						
Institutional Management						
X-Ray Technician						
Nurses Courses						
Continuous Courses	4,688	5,190				

TABLE 8  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

1940 - 51

Years 1946-51 Contd.

	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>
Business and Engineering	50 176	60 51	88 182	156	141	161
Institutional Management					22	21
X-Ray Technician					265	
Nurses Courses						
Continuous Courses						
	12,224	13,199				

TABLE 9  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>
Total							
Enrolment	9,468	10,000	12,052	13,856	16,615	18,341	16,772
B.A. Course	1,073	1,300	836	1,060	1,137	2,117	2,563
Courses in Business and Industry	2,027		3,622	2,895	2,815	3,591	2,504
Certificate in Business	186	210		335	400	491	502
Correspondence for Business and Industry	2,316	2,522	2,844	4,016	4,025	5,007	5,492
Evening Tutorials	3,084	3,529	3,940	3,689	5,505	5,145	5,057
Social Work							20
Single Lectures					1,580	1,500	1,057
English for Professionals		193	271	148			

## UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

COMMITTEE ON UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, 1954-55

The Chairman, J.R. Gilley, Director of University Extension.

Dr. S. Beatty, Chancellor, University of Toronto.

Dr. S.E. Smith, President, University of Toronto.

Dr. F.C.A. Jeanneret, Principal, University College.

Rev. A.B.B. Moore, President, Victoria College.

Rev. R.S.K. Seeley, Provost, Trinity College.

Very Rev. L.K. Shook, Superior, St. Michael's College.

M. St.A. Woodside, Esq., Dean, Faculty of Arts.

Dr. A.C. Lewis, Dean, Ontario College of Education.

Dr. J.A. MacFarlane, Dean, Faculty of Medicine.

Dr. R.G. Ellis, Dean, Faculty of Dentistry.

J.W.B. Sisam, Esq., Dean, Faculty of Forestry.

Dr. C.A. Wright, Dean, School of Law.

Miss Evelyn McDonald, 49 Elm Avenue, Toronto 5.

R.R. McLaughlin, Dean, Faculty of Applied Science &  
Engineering

Miss M. Edith Bruin, 75 Hampton Avenue, Toronto 6.

Professor R.J. Getty, University College.

Professor V.W. Bladen, Chairman, Department of Political  
Economy.

Professor A.F. Coventry, Biology Building, University of  
Toronto.

Professor K.S. Bernhardt, Department of Psychology,  
University of Toronto.

Professor P.B. Hughes, Department of Mechanical Engineering.

Professor V.G. Smith, Department of Electrical Engineering.

Professor C.E. Hendry, Director, School of Social Work.

Professor A.S. Michell, Faculty of Forestry.

F.N. Hughes, Esq., Dean, Faculty of Pharmacy.

Professor T.C. Graham, Director, Institute of Business  
Administration.

TABLE 10

## McMASTER UNIVERSITY

CREDIT COURSES - B.A. DEGREE, TEACHER'S CERTIFICATES

1930-31	91 students	1931	55 students
1931-32	131 "	1932	91 "
1932-33	143 "	1933	81 "
1933-34	150 "	1934	75 "
1934-35	153 "	1935	79 "
1935-36	370 " *See Foot- note A	1936	225 "
1936-37	394 "	1937	128 "
1937-38	367 "	1938	N.A.
1939-40	327 "	1939	166 "
1940-41	N.A.	1940	N.A.
1941-42	352 "	1941	158 "
1942-43	275 "	1943	139 "
1943-44	130 "	1944	227 "
1944-45	194 "	1945	182 "
1945-46	208 "	1946	N.A.
1946-47	N.A.	1947	N.A.
1947-48	257 "(84) See Footnote B	1948	199 "
1948-49	334 "(117)	1949	184 "
1949-50	376 "(139)	1950	161 "
1950-51	424 "(162)	1951	178 "
1951-52	526 "(142)	1952	204 "

\* For Footnotes see following page -



## FOOTNOTES - McMASTER UNIVERSITY

## CREDIT COURSES - B.A. DEGREE, TEACHER'S CERTIFICATE

- (a) For the winter of 1935-36 and subsequent winters the annual number of students includes those attending the outside centres of Cayuga, St. Catharines and Waterdown.
- (b) The figure in brackets represents the number of students taking extra-mural (i.e. correspondence) study: These students are included in the total for the winter.

Compiled from McMaster University, Enrolment  
Charts - Extension Students

TABLE 11

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Extension Students  
NON-CREDIT CLASS ENROLMENT

"WINTER CLASSES"

1942-43	98 Students
1943-44	337 "
1944-45	330 "
1945-46	541 "
1946-47	N.A.
1947-48	634 "
1948-49	997 "
1949-50	886 "
1950-51	666 "
1951-52	1,517 "
1952-53	1,504 "
1953-54	2,248 "
1954-55	2,935 "
1955-56	3,440 "
1956-57	2,867 "

Source: McMaster University, Enrolment Charts  
Extension Students.

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